



HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN MDCCLXXXIX

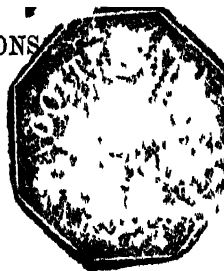
TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCLV

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART



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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS, AND CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

APRIL 1—JULY 30, 1814.

1. NAPOLEON was now overthrown : but a duty of no small difficulty awaited the allied sovereigns in deliberating upon who was to be acknowledged as his successor. In truth, it was a question of the most delicate kind ; and there was not a little danger that the alliance, which had been held together with such difficulty during the vicissitudes of war, would be broken up in determining what use was to be made of its victory. Not only political principles and passions of the most profound, but family interests of the strongest kind, were at issue in the determination that was about to be taken. It was of the last importance to avoid rendering the war a national one in France, and to continue to hold it out as directed, as in reality it was, solely against the violence and injustice of the Revolution. But how was this to be done if a dynasty which they had proscribed, and which was possibly still unpopular, was forced upon an unwilling people ? The allied sovereigns had uniformly declared, that they would wait for some manifestation of public opinion in France, but none such had hitherto been generally evinced ; and it would soon be necessary to take some decided measure while yet in uncertainty as to the race of sovereigns, or the species of govern-

ment, which would be acceptable to its inhabitants. Nor were the inclinations of the allied sovereigns less at variance on the subject. Alexander had more than once repudiated the idea of a crusade for the restoration of the Bourbon line ; Austria naturally and openly inclined to a regency, of which Marie Louise might be the head ; while, although the English ministers in private inclined to the ancient race, yet no official act implicating the nation had hitherto taken place ; and, following the principles of their constitution, and the uniform principles of their government during the war, they too deprecated the idea of any forcible interference in the internal affairs of France.

2. When the review was concluded, and the troops were dividing into small parties to reach the quarters assigned them in the barracks and suburbs of the city, Alexander alighted at the hotel of M. Talleyrand, where the leading members of the senate, and the most distinguished characters of the capital, were assembled. The fact of his taking up his residence there sufficiently evinced the part which the arch-diplomatist had taken in the measures which had preceded, and was to take in the negotiations which followed. The meeting was of a very various char-

acter, and exhibited a strange example of the manner in which the most opposite parties are thrown together in the later stages of a revolution. On the side of the Royalists there were the Baron Louis and M. de Pradt, the well-known and acute archbishop of Malines, the Duke de Dalberg, Bourrienne, formerly Napoleon's private secretary, and the senator Bournonville; and these, with the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzberg, Prince Lichtenstein, Count Nesselrode, and Count Pozzo di Borgo, constituted this memorable assemblage. Their proceedings are well worth recounting; the fate of the world depended upon their deliberations.

3. Alexander opened the discussion by stating that there were three courses to adopt: either to make peace with Napoleon, taking the necessary securities against him; to establish a regency; or to recall the house of Bourbon. Upon these momentous questions he requested the opinion of the meeting, protesting that the only wish of the allied sovereigns was to consult the wishes of France, and secure the peace of the world. Talleyrand immediately rose, and strongly urged that the two former projects were altogether inadmissible; and that there could be no peace in Europe while Napoleon, or any of his dynasty, were on the throne. He concluded that the only course was to adopt the third, which would be generally acceptable, and which offered the only way of escaping from the evils by which they were surrounded. He added, under the mild rule of a race of princes who had learned wisdom in misfortune, all the guarantees which could be desired would be obtained for durable freedom. To this proposition it was replied by Schwartzberg, that no indications of indifference to the Emperor had been witnessed by the army in its passage through France; that the declarations in favour of the Bourbons had been few and far between; and that the heroic resistance of the national guards at Fère-Champenoise, many of whom had been only a few days before at the plough, gave

no indications of such a disposition. Alexander then turned to Talleyrand, and asked him how he proposed to arrive at his object. Talleyrand replied, by means of the constituted authorities: that he would answer for the senate, and that their example would be speedily followed by all France.

4. Alexander then asked the Abbé de Pradt and Baron Louis their opinion; and prefaced it by declaring, in the most energetic terms, "that the Russian Emperor was not the author of the war; that Napoleon had, without a cause, invaded his dominions; that it was neither a thirst for conquest nor the lust of dominion which had brought him to Paris, but the necessity of self-preservation; that he had done all in his power to spare that capital, and would have been inconsolable if he had failed in that object; finally, that he was not the enemy of France, but of Napoleon, and all who were hostile to its liberties." In these sentiments the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzberg expressed their entire concurrence; and then the Abbé de Pradt and Baron Louis declared that they were Royalists; "that the great majority of the French nation were of the same opinion; that it was the knowledge of negotiations going on at Châtillon with Napoleon, that alone had hitherto prevented this opinion from manifesting itself; but that, now they were concluded, Paris would readily declare itself, and the whole of France would immediately follow its example." "Sire," resumed Talleyrand, "there are but two courses open to us: Buonaparte or Louis XVIII. Buonaparte, if you can—but you cannot; for you are not alone. What would they give you in his place? A soldier? We want no more of them. If we wanted one, we would keep the one we already have: he is the first in the world. After him, any one that could be offered us would not have ten votes in his favour. I repeat it, Sire! any attempt except for Buonaparte or Louis XVIII. is but an intrigue." "Well, then," said Alexander, "I declare that I will no longer treat with

the Emperor Napoleon;" and added, on the suggestion of the Abbé de Pradt, "nor with any member of his family."

5. The die being thus cast, the next step to be taken was to announce the resolution of the allied sovereigns to the inhabitants of Paris. An address to the French nation was immediately drawn up and published, in which they declared that they would grant more favourable terms to a wise government, than when it was necessary to provide against the devouring ambition of Napoleon; that they would not treat with Napoleon, nor any member of his family; that they would respect the integrity of France, as it had been under its legitimate monarchs; that they wished that France should be great and powerful, and would respect and guarantee any constitution which it might adopt; and concluded by inviting the senate to appoint a provisional government, and prepare a suitable constitution for the French people.* Orders were, at the same time, sent to the police to liberate all persons detained in prison for state offences, or "for having prevented the inhabitants in their communes from firing on the allied troops, and so saved their persons and effects, or who were

* "The allied powers having occupied Paris, they are ready to receive the declaration of the French nation. They declare, that if it was indispensable that the conditions of peace should contain stronger guarantees when it was necessary to curb the ambition of Napoleon, they would become more favourable when, by a return to a wiser government, France itself offers the assurance of repose. The allied sovereigns declare, in consequence, that they will no longer treat with Napoleon nor with any of his family; that they respect the integrity of old France, as it existed under its legitimate kings—they may even go further, for they always profess the principle, that for the happiness of Europe it is necessary that France should be great and powerful; that they recognise and will guarantee such a constitution as the French nation may give itself. They invite, consequently, the senate to appoint a provisional government, which may provide for the necessities of administration, and establish such a constitution as may be fitting for the French people. The intentions which I have just expressed are common to me with all the allied powers. ALEXANDER, *Paris*, 31st March 1814: *Three P.M.*"—CAPEFIGUE, x. 477; and THIBAudeau, ix. 642.

in detention on account of their attachment to their ancient and legitimate sovereign." Some difficulty was anticipated in getting a printer who would have courage enough to throw off such a proclamation: but Talleyrand had early in the morning provided against this difficulty, and was ready with an artisan, who did the work with such expedition that before nine at night five hundred copies were placarded over every part of Paris. At the same time Bourrienne, by means of the post-office, of which he got command by authority of Alexander, circulated it next morning over the whole of France.

6. This declaration produced a prodigious impression. It cut short at once all intrigues for a regency, and, in fact, left the nation no alternative but to revert to the Bourbons. The senate, thus specially called upon by the allied sovereigns to act, was not long in being put in motion: it had been secretly prepared in part for such a step by Talleyrand, and the declaration of the Allies at once brought matters to a crisis. Already the municipal council of Paris had, from the Hôtel de Ville, issued a vehement invective against Napoleon, and in favour of Louis XVIII.; but the senators were in great part uninitiated in the secret of the approaching change, and it was with pale visages and trembling steps that they obeyed the summons which, early on the morning of the 1st April, Talleyrand, in his capacity of arch-chancellor of the empire, sent them, to assemble to deliberate in their usual hall of assembly. Only sixty-four out of one hundred and forty attended; but that number comprised several men of distinction, whose names had been known on almost every side through all the phases of the Revolution: many who had voted for the death of the king, and others who, by a kind of miracle, had kept their heads on their shoulders during the Reign of Terror. To the proceedings of that day are affixed the signatures of Destutt de Tracy, Fontanes, the eloquent orator of the empire, Garat, the Abbé Grégoire, Lambrecht, Lan-

juinais, the Abbé de Montesquiou, Roger Duos, Serrurier, Bourdesoules, and the Marshal Duke de Valmy! Strange assemblage of men of the most opposite political sentiments, now met together to pull down the last government of the Revolution!

7. Talleyrand opened the proceedings; and after a short discussion, a provisional government was unanimously established, consisting of Talleyrand, who was president, the Count de Beurnonville, the Count de Jaucourt, the Duke de Dalberg, and M. de Montesquiou. The latter had been a distinguished member of the Constituent Assembly in 1789. Nothing was said of Napoleon, though the very establishment of a provisional government was the most decided act of high treason to his authority; nor of the Bourbons, though every step taken was a nearer approach to their recognition. The principal care of the senate appeared to be the formation of a constitution; and in that view it was provided that the senate and legislative body should be a constituent part of the new government; their ranks and pensions should be preserved to the army, the public debts maintained, the sale of the national domains ratified, an amnesty declared for the past, liberty of worship and of the press established, and a constitution on these bases formed. The last act in the popular drama in France was worthy of all which had preceded it. No provision was made, excepting a word for the press, for public freedom or individual liberty: all that was thought of was the preservation of the *interests* created by the Revolution, and the first stipulation was in favour of these. Doubtless their preservation was an essential element in any restoration which was likely to be durable; but what a picture does the *absence* of any other stipulations give of the principles on which the struggle had been maintained, and the motives by which its promoters had been actuated!

8. The meeting of the senate broke up at half-past nine; and they proceeded to wait upon the Emperor Alexander. He received them in the

most gracious manner. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am charmed to find myself in the midst of you. It is neither ambition nor the love of conquest which has led me hither; my armies have only entered France to repel unjust aggression. Your Emperor carried war into the heart of my dominions when I wished only for peace. I am the friend of the French people; I impute their faults to their chief alone; I am here with the most friendly intentions; I wish only to protect your deliberations. You are charged with one of the most honourable missions which generous men can discharge,—that of securing the happiness of a great people, in giving France institutions at once strong and liberal, with which she cannot dispense in the state of civilisation which she has attained. I set out to-morrow to resume the command of the armies, and sustain the cause which you have embraced: it is time that blood should cease to flow; too much has been shed already: my heart grieves for it. I will not lay down my arms till I have secured the peace which has been the object of all my efforts; and I shall be content if, in quitting your country, I bear with me the satisfaction of having had it in my power to be useful to you, and to contribute to the peace of the world. The provisional government has asked me this morning for the liberation of the French prisoners of war confined in Russia: I gave it to the senate. Since they fell into my hands, I have done all in my power to soften their lot. I will immediately give orders for their return: may they rejoin their families in peace, and enjoy the tranquillity which the new order of things is fitted to induce!" A hundred and fifty thousand men by these words recovered their liberty, and were to be restored to their families and their country. Such was the vengeance which Alexander took for the desolation of his dominions and the flames of Moscow! When Napoleon left Vienna in 1809, he blew up the time-honoured bastions of the capital; when he became master of Berlin in 1806, he said, "I will make the Prussian nobility so poor, that they shall

beg their bread;" when he evacuated Moscow, he gave orders for destroying the Kremlin, the last relic of that capital which had escaped the flames.* If ever the spirit of the Gospel actuated the human breast, it was Alexander's on this occasion.

9. On the day following, being 2d April, the senate by a solemn decree dethroned the Emperor, and absolved the army† and people from their oaths of allegiance.‡ This decisive step was moved in an impassioned speech by Lambrecht; the act of accusation having been prepared by Barbé-Marbois, Lanjuinais, and Fontanes. It abounded in the most severe and cutting invectives against the imperial government; in the justice of which posterity, from the evidence of facts, must almost entirely participate, and which involve the most valuable commentary that history has preserved on the inevitable tendency and final issue of revolutions. Nor is the lesson the less important, if we recollect that the body which now burst forth into this vehement strain of indignation against the Em-

peror, was the very senate which had so long been the passive instrument of his will; that the orators, whose eloquence was now so powerfully exerted to demonstrate the ruinous tendency of his administration, were the very men who had hitherto exalted it to the skies as the height of wisdom and magnanimity; and that the empire, whose exhaustion and miseries they now so graphically portrayed, was the powerful monarchy which they had formerly represented as regenerated by revolution, and conducted by the most splendid abilities to the summit of social happiness and military glory. Either the statement they now made, and the picture they now drew, was true or false. If it was true, what a lesson does it read on the effect of that unrestrained indulgence of the social passions which constitutes a revolution; if it was false, what a mirror does it present of the baseness of character which such a convulsion produces, and the destiny of a state which it throws into the guidance of such hands!§ But, in truth, such was the

* Aute, chap. lx. § 44; chap. xlv. § 83; and chap. lxviii. § 28.

† "Soldiers! France has broken the yoke beneath which she has groaned for so many years! You have never fought save for your country: you can now no longer combat but against her, under the standards of the man who has hitherto conducted you. See what you have suffered from his tyranny: you were once a million of soldiers; almost all have perished under the sword of the enemy; or, without subsistence, without hospitals, they have been doomed to die of misery and famine. You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon: the senate and people of entire France absolve you from your oaths."—*Moniteur*, 5th April 1814.

‡ "Frenchmen! on emerging from civil dissension, you chose for chief a man who appeared on the theatre of the world with an air of grandeur. You reposed in him all your hopes; these hopes have been deceived: on the ruins of anarchy he has founded only despotism. He was bound at least in gratitude to have become a Frenchman with you: he has not done so. He has never ceased to undertake, without end or motive, unjust wars, like an adventurer who is impelled by the thirst for glory. In a few years he has devoured at once your riches and your population. Every family is in mourning, all France groans: he is deaf to our calamities. Possibly he still dreams of his gigantic designs, even after unheard-of reverses have punished in so signal a manner

the pride and the abuse of victory. He has shown himself not even capable of reigning for the interests of his despotism. He has destroyed all that he wished to create. He believed in no other power but that of force; force now overwhelms him—just retribution of insensate ambition!"—*CAPEFIGUE*, x. 488; and *Moniteur*, April 6, 1814.

§ "The conservative senate, considering that, in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of a social compact: that Napoleon Buonaparte's administration for some time was firm and prudent, but that latterly he has violated his fundamental compact with the French people, especially by raising and levying taxes without the sanction of the law, in direct opposition to the oath which he took on ascending the throne: that he committed that infraction of the liberties of the people, when he had, without cause, prorogued the legislative, and suppressed as criminal a report of that body, thereby contesting its title and share in the national representation: that he has undertaken a series of wars of his own authority, in violation of the law, which declared that they should be proposed, discussed, and promulgated as laws: that he has illegally issued several decrees declaring the penalty of death, especially those of 3d March last, tending to establish as national a war which sprang only from his immediate ambition: that he has violated the laws of the constitution by his decrees on state prisons: that he has annihilated the

baseness of those days, that a parallel to it is to be found only in the degraded days of Roman slavery. "Certatim omnis populus, senatus, equites, plebs, in servitutem decurrunt."^{*}

10. The legislative body, in a meeting consisting of seventy-seven members, adhered to the act of the senate dethroning Napoleon, and absolving the army and nation from their oaths to his government. Adhesions speedily came in on all sides. A falling cause rarely finds faithful defenders; in a revolutionary state, where success is the god of idolatry—never. All the public bodies of Paris forthwith prepared addresses, vying with one another in invectives against Napoleon, as they had formerly exhausted all the powers of rhetoric in extolling the unparalleled blessings of his government. It was a realisation of the views, and even the language of Malet, who had so nearly proved successful when the Emperor was in Russia; but with the additional invectives drawn from boundless calamities since incurred, and irresistible military support since obtained. As fast as the intelligence reached the provinces and provincial towns, they lost not an instant in proclaiming the downfall of the tyrant, and their cordial adhesion to the new order of things. Still not a word was said, at least by any of the constituted authorities, on the subject of a return to the Bourbon dynasty. On the contrary, the persons appointed by the provisional govern-

responsibility of monarchs, confounded all powers, and destroyed the independence of the judiciary bodies: that he has trampled under foot the liberty of the press by means of a corrupt and enslaved censorship, and made use of that powerful instrument only to deluge France with false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and outrages on foreign governments: that acts and reports of the senate itself have undergone alteration previous to publication: that instead of reigning conformably to the interest, happiness, and glory of the French nation, in terms of his oath, Napoleon has put the finishing stroke to the miseries of the country, by refusing to treat with the Allies on terms which the national interest required him to accept, and which did not compromise the honour of France: that by the abuse which he has made of the resources in men and money intrusted to him, he has effected the ruin of the towns, the depopula-

tion of the principal offices of state, were almost all drawn from the republican party. Dessolles, an austere democrat, was nominated to the command of the national guard; M. Angles to the police; Henrion de Pansey became minister of public justice; M. Beugnot, of the interior; Malouet, of the marine; M. Louis, of the finances; M. de Laforest, of foreign affairs; Dupont de Nemours was made secretary to the government; and General Dupont minister of war. This last appointment, though made because they thought they were sure of the man, was unfortunate; it recalled to the army the disaster of Baylen, one of the darkest blots on their historic scutcheon. All the persons belonged more or less to the republican or imperial parties: not a Royalist appeared amongst them. Therein Talleyrand showed his knowledge of human nature: the former could be gained only by their interests; of the latter he was sure through their affections.

11. Nothing, however, had yet been heard from the army; and although its force, reduced now to fifty thousand men, could not pretend to cope with the colossal mass of a hundred and sixty thousand Allies, who, having been brought up from all the detachments in the rear, were now grouped around Paris, yet it had Napoleon at its head, and it was of the highest importance, both to the domestic settlement of France and the general peace

tion of the country, and everywhere induced famine and contagious pestilence: considering, in fine, that by all these causes the imperial government *has ceased to exist*, and that the wishes of the French call for a state of things of which the first result may be the re-establishment of a general peace, and the reunion of France with all the states of the great European family,—the senate declares and decrees as follows:—1. Napoleon Buonaparte is cast down from the throne, and the right of succession in his family is abolished. 2. The French people and army are absolved from their oath of fidelity to him. 3. The present decrees shall be transmitted to the departments and armies, and proclaimed immediately in all the quarters of the capital."—*Moniteur*, 5th April 1814; and *CAPEFIGUE*, x. 479, 481.

* "The whole people, senators, knights, plebeians, vie with each other in rushing headlong into servitude."—*TACITUS*.

of Europe, that its sentiments should as soon as possible be expressed. The world was not long kept in suspense. In the *Moniteur* of 7th April appeared an official correspondence between Prince Schwartzemberg and Marshal Marmont, commencing on the 3d, and which terminated in the adhesion of the marshal to the provisional government on the 4th. The stipulated conditions were, that the life and personal freedom of Napoleon should be secured, and a fitting asylum provided for him in some situation designated by the allied powers; and that the French troops which, in virtue of the present convention, might pass over to the Allies, should be provided with secure quarters in Normandy, whither they were to retire with their arms, cannon, and baggage. In consequence of this important step, the whole corps of Marmont, twelve thousand strong, immediately entered the allied lines, where they were received with respect mingled with acclamations, and, passing through their files, took up their quarters at Versailles on their route for Normandy.* At the same time Barclay de Tolly issued a proclamation to the Russian troops, in which he declared that, peace being now restored between France and Russia, all enmity between them and the French inhabitants should forthwith cease, and they should reserve their hostility for the small body of unhappy warriors who still adhered to the fortunes of Napoleon.†

12. That body, however, was daily becoming more inconsiderable: the

fidelity of the Revolution could not withstand the storms of adverse fortune. Caulaincourt, despatched by Napoleon from Juvisy to endeavour to reopen a negotiation with the allied powers, had great difficulty in making his way into Paris, as the barriers were in the hands of the allied soldiers. He was on the point of turning back in despair, when, by accident, the carriage of the Grand-duke Constantine drove up, who, after much entreaty, agreed to put him in the way of seeing the Emperor, though without giving him the slightest reason to hope that any alteration of the determination already taken could be expected. This was on the evening of the 31st March. He was introduced into the palace of the Elysée Bourbon at ten at night, but the Emperor could not leave the conference of the allied sovereigns, at which he assisted. The brilliant lights with which the palace was resplendent; the rapid entry and departure of carriages; the cheers of the Russian Guards round the hotel; the prancing and neighing of steeds which drove up to the door; the busy concourse to and fro—reminded him of the days when, in that identical palace, Napoleon had with him matured his gigantic plans for the conquest of Russia. What a contrast for the imperial plenipotentiary! Here, worn out with care, devoured with misery, steeped in grief, he awaited with breathless anxiety the approach of the Czar, who was to announce the decision of the allied powers on his master's fate.

* "Soldiers! for three months the most glorious successes had crowned your efforts: neither perils, nor fatigues, nor privations have been able to diminish your zeal, or cool your ardour for your country. Your country esteems and thanks you by my mouth, and will never forget what you have done. But the moment has now arrived when the war which you waged has become without end or object; it is time you should repose. You are the soldiers of your country; it is public opinion, therefore, which you are bound to follow; and it desires you to tear yourselves from dangers which are now without an object, to preserve the noble blood which you will know how again to shed, should your country again call for your exertions. Good cantonnements and my paternal cares will soon, I trust, make you forget the fatigues you have experienced."—*MAR-*

MOÛT to his Corps d'Armée, 5th April 1814; Moniteur, 7th April 1814; and CAPEFIGUE, x. 500.

† "Soldiers! your perseverance and your valour have delivered the French nation from the yoke of a tyrant, who acted for himself alone, and forgot what he owed to an estimable and generous people. The French nation has declared for us; our cause has become theirs; and our magnanimous monarchs have promised them protection and support. From that moment the French became our friends. Let your arms destroy the inconsiderable band of unfortunate men who still adhere to the ambitious Napoleon; but let the cultivators and the peaceable inhabitants of towns be treated with consideration and friendship, like allies united by the same interests."—*Ordre du Jour, par le COMTE BARCLAY DE TOLLY, Paris, 4th April 1814; See Moniteur of 5th April.*

13. At length, at one in the morning, the Emperor appeared, and received him in the kindest manner; but gave no hopes of any modification of the resolution of the sovereigns. The utmost that he could get him to promise was, that on the day following, at the council, he would revert to the question of a regency; intimating, at the same time, that any further hope was inadmissible. At four the Emperor retired to rest; he reposed in the bed in which Napoleon formerly slept: Caulaincourt threw himself, in the antechamber, on a sofa on which that great man had in old times worked with his secretaries during the day. Unable to sleep, from the recollections with which he was distracted, he arose, and rested for some hours in an arm-chair: when daylight dawned in the morning, he found that it was the very chair on which Napoleon had usually sat, and which bore in all parts the deep indentations of his penknife [*ante*, Chap. LXXVIII. § 52]. The decision of the sovereigns was, at eleven, announced by Alexander in these words—"Return to the Emperor Napoleon; tell him faithfully all that has passed here, and as soon as possible come back with an abdication in favour of his son. The Emperor Napoleon shall be suitably treated, I give you my word of honour."

14. Caulaincourt arrived with this intelligence at Fontainebleau late on the night of the 2d April. Napoleon at once refused, in the most peremptory terms, to abdicate in favour of his son, and treated as altogether chimerical the idea of restoring the Bourbons in France; alleging that they were obnoxious to nine-tenths of the nation. "Re-establish the Bourbons in France! The madmen! They would not be there a year: they are an object of antipathy to nine-tenths of the nation. And how would the army, whose chiefs have combated the Emigrants—how would they bear the change? No, no; my soldiers will never be theirs: it is the height of folly to think of founding an empire of such heterogeneous materials as theirs of necessity would be composed of. Can it ever be forgotten that they have lived twenty years on

the charity of the stranger, at open war with the principles and interests of France? The Bourbons in France! it is absolute madness, and will bring down on the country a host of calamities. I was a new man, free of the blood which had stained the Revolution: I had nothing to avenge, everything to reconstruct; but even I would never have ventured to seat myself on the vacant throne, had not my forehead been crowned with laurels. The French nation have raised me on their bucklers, only because I have executed great and glorious deeds for it. But the Bourbons—what have they done for France? What part can they claim in its conquests, its glory, its prosperity. Re-established by the stranger, they must yield everything to their masters; they must bend the knee to them at every turn. They may take advantage of the stupor occasioned by the occupation of the capital to proscribe me and my family; but to make the Bourbons reign in France!—never!"

15. Full of the project of resuming hostilities, he mounted on horseback early on the morning of the 3d, and traversed the advanced posts along the whole line. The soldiers, despite their disasters, were full of enthusiasm, and demanded, with loud cries, to be led back to Paris; * and the young generals, who had their fortunes to make, shared the general ardour. But it was not thus with the old generals, or those whose fortunes were made. They surrounded Caulaincourt, eagerly demanding what had been done at Paris; listened with undisguised complacency to his account of the first proceedings of the senate; and it was evident, from

* "Soldiers!" said he, "the enemy has gained some marches upon us, and outstripped us at Paris. Some factious men, the emigrants whom I have pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and surrounded the Emperor Alexander, and they would compel us to wear it. Since the Revolution, France has always been mistress of herself. I offered peace to the Allies, leaving France in its ancient limits, but they would not accept it. In a few days I will attack the enemy; I will force him to quit our capital. I rely on you—am I right? (Yes, yes.) Our cockade is tricolor, before abandoning it we will all perish on the soil of France. (Hurrah! yes, yes!)"—*CARRIAGE*, x. 496.

was able to bear its weight. The happiness of France appeared to be indissolubly bound up with the fortunes of the Emperor: now that fortune has decided against him, the will of the nation alone can persuade him to remain on the throne. If he is really the only obstacle to peace, he willingly gives himself up a sacrifice to France."

17. When Caulaincourt and Macdonald arrived at Paris, however, they found that matters had proceeded too far to render the proposition of a regency admissible. In fact, though the Emperor Alexander secretly inclined to that course, and Austria, as might have been expected, was ready to support it, yet the declaration against Napoleon, and the manifestations in favour of the Bourbons, had been so vehement and unanimous from all incorporated bodies and all classes of society, that to establish the family of Napoleon now on the throne, would appear to be doing a violence to the national will. Nor did it escape observation, that the recognition of Marie Louise as regent, and the young Napoleon as heir, would in fact be a continuation of the revolutionary regime, attended with its passions, its ambition, and its dangers; and that the exclusion of Napoleon personally would be but nominal, as long as his family sat upon the throne, and the imperial authorities continued the government.* Influenced by these considerations, the allied powers unanimously agreed that the sentence of dethronement pronounced by the senate could not be disturbed, and that they must adhere faithfully to their declaration, that they would not negotiate with Napoleon or any of his family. Caulaincourt and Macdonald exerted

* "A regency with the Empress and her son," said the Emperor Alexander, "sounds well, I admit; but Napoleon remains—there is the difficulty. In vain will he promise to remain quiet in the retreat which will be assigned to him. You know even better than I his devouring activity, his ambition. Some fine morning he will put himself at the head of the regency, or in its place; then the war will recommence, and all Europe will be on fire. The very dread of such an occurrence will oblige the Allies to keep their armies on foot, and thus frustrate all their intentions in making peace."—THIBAUDEAU, x. 13.

themselves to the utmost in the Emperor's behalf, but it was in vain; and Alexander announced the final decision in the mournful words—"It is too late." Ney was more flexible: feeble and irresolute in political life, as much as he was bold and undaunted in the field of battle, he was easily gained over to the party of Talleyrand; and next morning his formal adhesion to the provisional government appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*.†

18. In truth, during the four days which had elapsed since the first declaration of the Allies that they would not treat with Napoleon or any of his family, the cause of the Bourbons had been gained. The voice in their favour, which at first had emanated merely from the enthusiastic lips of a few devoted adherents, whose fidelity had survived all the storms of the Revolution, had now swelled into a mighty shout, so as to include not only the whole influential bodies, but nearly all the population of the capital. It was neither any chivalrous feeling of loyalty, nor any abstract repentance for the crimes of the Revolution, which produced this vehement desire. Selfishness was at the bottom of the public feeling. *Deliverance from evil* was the feeling of the multitude—preservation of their fortunes, the passion with the great. Even on the first day of the Allies' arrival, a crowd of persons, flying with characteristic vehemence from one extreme to another, had grossly insulted the busts and monuments of

† "Yesterday I came to Paris with the Duke of Vicenza and the Duke of Tarentum, furnished with full powers from the Emperor Napoleon to defend the interests of his dynasty on the throne. An unforeseen event having broken off the negotiations when they promised the happiest results, I saw that, to avoid a civil war to our beloved country, no course remained but to embrace the cause of our ancient kings; and, penetrated with this sentiment, I repaired that evening to the Emperor Napoleon to declare to him the wish of the French nation. The Emperor, aware of the critical situation to which he has reduced France, and of the impossibility of his saving it himself, appeared to resign himself to his fate, and has consented to an absolute resignation, without any restriction. Le MARÉCHAL NEY."—*Fontainebleau*, 5th April 1814, half-past eleven at night; *Moniteur*, April 7.

the Emperor, and a rope was slung up to his statue on the pillar in the Place Vendôme, with which they strove to pull it down. But the solidity of the fabric resisted all their efforts. When they could not succeed in throwing it down, the mob next covered the statue with a white sheet, so as to withdraw it from the view. "They did well," said Napoleon, "to conceal from me the sight of their baseness." The Royalists were too few to effect anything in the work of demolition; it was the constituted authorities, all the creatures of Napoleon, who succeeded at last by the aid of scaffolding in getting it down. By a decree of the senate on 5th April, all the emblems and initials belonging to the imperial dynasty were ordered to be effaced from the public edifices and monuments in Paris; workmen were immediately engaged to carry this decree into execution, and their ingenuity generally contrived to turn the N into an H, for Henri IV., as quickly as the nation turned from the imperial to the royal dynasty. So great was the violence of public feeling against the

monuments of the late Emperor, that Alexander, to prevent their total destruction, was obliged to issue a decree,* taking them, and in an especial manner the pillar in the Place Vendôme, under his peculiar protection.

19. Such was the impulse communicated to the public funds by the prospect of a termination of the war, that the five per cents, which on the 30th March were at forty-five, had risen in the next five days twenty-five per cent, so as to be quoted on the 5th April at seventy. Universal transports, similar to those which prevailed in England at the Restoration, seized upon the public mind; it was like the joy of a shipwrecked mariner when he first beholds a friendly sail in the desolate main. In the midst of the general rapture, Chateaubriand's celebrated pamphlet, "*De Buonaparte et des Bourbons*," appeared; and contributed, in the most powerful manner, to give a practical direction to general feeling, by pointing out with fervent, though exaggerated eloquence, the origin of the public evils, and the only mode of escape which yet remained open from these.† What-

* "The monument on the Place Vendôme is under the especial safeguard of the magnanimity of the Emperor Alexander and his allies. The statue on its summit will not remain there; it will immediately be taken down and give place to one of Peace."—*Proclamation*, 7th April 1814; *Moniteur*.

† François René de Chateaubriand was born on the 4th September 1768, the same year as Napoleon, in an old melancholy chateau on the coast of Brittany, washed by the waves of the Atlantic Ocean. His mother, like that of almost all other remarkable men recorded in history, was a very remarkable woman, gifted with a prodigious memory and an ardent imagination; qualities which she transmitted in a very high degree to her son. His family was very ancient, going back to the year 1000; but till illustrated by François René, who has rendered it immortal, the Chateaubriands lived in unobtrusive privacy on their paternal acres. After receiving the elements of education at home, he was sent at the age of seventeen into the army; but the Revolution having soon after broken out, and his regiment revolted, he resigned his commission and came to Paris, where he witnessed the storming of the Tuilleries on the 10th August 1792, and the massacres in the prisons on the 2d September. Many of his nearest relations, in particular his sister-in-law, Madame de Chateaubriand, and sister, Madame de Rozambau, were executed, along

with Maleſherbes, shortly before the fall of Robespierre. Obligated now to fly to England, he lived for some years in London, in extreme want, sometimes unable to procure even a single meal a-day. It was there he wrote his first and least creditable work, the *Essai Historique*, which is strongly tinged with the revolutionary principles in religion and politics then so prevalent in France. Tired of such an obscure and monotonous life, he set out for America in 1798, with the Quixotic design of discovering by land the north-west passage. He failed in that attempt, for which indeed he had not any adequate means; but he dined with Washington, and in the solitude of the Far West imbibed several of the noblest ideas, and found the subjects of many of the finest descriptions which have since adorned his works. Finding that there was nothing to be done in the way of discovery in America, he returned to England; from whence, on the amnesty proclaimed by Napoleon in 1800, he went over to Paris. He there composed his greatest works, *Atala et René*, and the *Génie du Christianisme*, which soon gained for him a colossal reputation, and attracted the notice of Napoleon, who gave him a diplomatic situation first at Rome, and afterwards in the Republic of the Valais.

The murder of the Duke d'Enghien in 1804, however, so deeply affected Chateaubriand, that he instantly threw up his appointment to the Valais: a courageous and

ever might be said of the violence of this production, of which thirty thousand copies were sold in a few days, no reproach could be cast upon the consistency of the author; for he had refused office under Napoleon on the death of the Duke d'Enghien, and braved his resentment in the plenitude of his power [*ante*, Chap. XXXVIII. § 25]. When Alexander and the King of Prussia appeared at the opera, on the 3d April, thunders of applause shook that splendid edifice. Every allusion to passing events was seized with avidity and encored with rapture. The Buonapartists, from the senate downwards, were foremost in adulation of the foreigners, and flattery of the exiled princes; they fêted them in their palaces, applauded them at the theatres, and exhausted all the flowers of rhetoric in their praise, in the press. The splendid melodrama, the "Triumph of Trajan," was brought forth with unequalled magnificence, and had a run of unprecedented success; and a coup-

highly honourable step, which for some days exposed his life to the most imminent danger. Having happily escaped without being shot, he travelled to the East, and visited Athens, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Egypt. These travels furnished subjects for two very charming works, the *Itinéraire à Jérusalem*, and *Les Martyrs*, the scene of which latter romance is laid on the banks of the Nile. He afterwards returned to France, but did not reappear in public life till the approach of the Allies to Paris, when he composed in a few days, and published his celebrated pamphlet, *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons*, which had a powerful effect in bringing about the Restoration. That event opened to him the career of political life, and in a great degree closed his literary career.

The usual jealousies of courts, however, at real genius, long prevented him from being placed in the situations for which he was fitted. He was first appointed ambassador at Stockholm, to which, however, he never went, in consequence of the return of Napoleon, and flight of Louis to Ghent, whither he was accompanied by Chateaubriand, who obtained the situation of Minister of the Interior; in which, during the exile of the royal family, he rendered very important services to the royal cause. So great had his ascendancy now become, that it was only from the overpowering influence of Talleyrand and Fouché, and the phalanx of base-ness with which the fugitive monarch was surrounded on his second restoration, that he was prevented from making him prime minister. He retired from the ministry on their appointment in July 1815, and was sent as

let, the production of a liberal writer, was sung and rapturously encored, which savoured rather of the servility of Oriental despotism than of a nation which had so strenuously contended for liberty and equality.*

20. When the plenipotentiaries of Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau with this decided refusal, he burst out into a violent explosion of passion; declared that it was too much; that he would put himself at the head of his armies, and rather run the hazard of any calamities than submit to a humiliation worse than them all. He called for his generals and maps, talked of retiring to the Loire, and spoke of the resources which still remained to him in the armies of Soult and Suchet. "I have," said he to Caulaincourt, "twenty-five thousand of the Guards and cuirassiers at Fontainebleau—those giants who are the terror of all Europe: on them I will rally thirty thousand men from Lyons, eighteen thousand under Grenier from Italy,

ambassador to Berlin, and afterwards in the same capacity to London in 1822. He afterwards was one of the plenipotentiaries of France at the Congress of Verona, and had the entire merit of the successful expedition of the Duke d'Angoulême into Spain in 1823. Jealousy, however, again led to his overthrow; he was dismissed from the ministry which he had so ably and successfully served, and was not again restored to power. He was too liberal a man to be employed by Charles X.; but he exhibited an honourable constancy to misfortune on the Revolution of the Barricades in June 1830. Pressed by Louis Philippe to accept the portfolio of foreign affairs, he refused the offer, and retired to Rome, from whence he returned and was imprisoned for a short time by the government of Paris on occasion of one of the disturbances in Paris in 1832. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement, engaged in literary pursuits, and in the composition of the interesting memoir of his eventful life, which have been published since his death in ten volumes. During this period, also, he wrote his *Etudes Historiques* in four volumes. He died in July 1848, in his eightieth year.—See *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, par M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND. 10 vols. Paris: 1849-50.

* The following couplets were added to the air of Henry IV., and sung at all the theatres amidst unbounded applause:—

"Vive Alexandre,	Et ses guerriers vaillants;
Vive le Roi des Rois;	De ses royaumes
Sans nous donner des loix,	Il sauva les enfans,
Le prince auguste,	Par sa victoire.
A le triple sceptre,	Et nous donna la paix;
De héros, de justes,	Et compte le gloire.
Et nous rendit un Bourbon.	Par ses nombreux bienfaits.
Vive Guillaume,	

fifteen thousand under Suchet, and forty thousand with Soult. They form in all a hundred and thirty thousand men, and with them I am still erect. I will rest on that sword which has visited every capital of Europe : I will inscribe on my eagles, 'Independence and our Country,' and they will again become terrible." But during the night he received the most decisive proof of the universal defection of his generals. All, with the exception of a few young, generous, and ardent men, represented the continuance of the war as impossible ; and in fact, during the five days which had elapsed since the battle of Paris, the allied forces had so accumulated both on his front and flanks, that retreat even had become out of the question. Still the iron soul of Napoleon refused to yield ; and it was only after several painful altercations between him and his marshals that, with an agitated hand, and in almost illegible characters, he wrote and signed the absolute and unqualified resignation of the throne.* "Observe," said he, when he affixed his signature, "it is with a conquering enemy that I treat, and not with the provisional government, in whom I see nothing but a set of factious traitors."

21. And now commenced at Fontainebleau a scene of baseness never exceeded in any age of the world, and which forms an instructive commentary on the principles and practice of the Revolution. Let an eyewitness of these hideous tergiversations, an ardent supporter of the Revolution, record them ; they would pass for incredible if narrated from any less exceptionable source. "Every hour after this," says Caulaincourt, "was marked by fresh voids in the Emperor's household. The universal object was how to get first to Paris. All the persons in office quitted

* "The allied powers having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of a general peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the throne of France and Italy : and that there is no personal sacrifice, not even that of life itself, which he is not willing to make for the interests of France.—*Fontainebleau, April 6, 1814. Moniteur, April 12, 1814; and CAPEFIGUE, x. 515.*

their post without leave, or asking permission ; one after another they all slipped away, totally forgetting him to whom they owed everything, but who had no longer anything to give. The universal complaint was, that his formal abdication was so long of appearing. 'It is high time,' it was said by every one, 'for all this to come to an end ; it is absolute childishness to remain any longer in the antechambers of Fontainebleau, when favours are showering down at Paris ;' and with that they all set off for the capital. Such was their anxiety to hear of his abdication, that they pursued misfortune even into its last asylum ; and every time the door of the Emperor's cabinet opened, a crowd of heads were seen peeping in to gain the first hint of the much-longed-for news." No sooner was the abdication and the treaty with the Allies signed than the desertion was universal ; every person of note around the Emperor, with the single and honourable exceptions of Maret and Caulaincourt, abandoned him : the antechambers of the palace were literally deserted. Berthier even left his benefactor without bidding him adieu ! "He was born a courtier," said Napoleon, when he learned his departure : "you will see my vice-constable a mendicant for employment from the Bourbons. I feel mortified that men whom I have raised so high in the eyes of Europe should sink so low. What have they made of that halo of glory through which they have hitherto been seen by the stranger ? † What must the sovereigns think of such a termination to all the glories

† In the general scramble, Constant, the Emperor's private valet, who had served him faithfully for fourteen years, took the opportunity to secrete one hundred thousand francs with which he had been intrusted, and which he buried in the forest of Fontainebleau. The fraud was detected the night before the Emperor set out for Elba, and the money given up by Constant, from the place where he had secreted it. He set off immediately for Paris, accompanied by Rustan, the Mameluke, who had been the Emperor's constant companion ever since he returned from Egypt. What is very remarkable, Constant details all these facts himself, giving them of course the best colouring he could.—*CONSTANT'S Memoirs, vi. 101, 112; and FAIN, ii. 150.*

of my reign!" Alexander was so impressed with this universal baseness, that he said to Caulaincourt, who recounted it to him, "Add to that, that they owed him everything—rank, celebrity, fortune. I verily believe if Kutusoff had lived, and we had proposed to put him on the throne, they would have exclaimed, 'Vive Kutusoff!' What a lesson to us sovereigns! There is no Tartar who would have dishonoured himself by such baseness. Think of the noble blind peasant, Patrowik. Think of Moscow, and its splendid palaces, thrown as a holocaust to our country. What a contrast between these effects of a sublime patriotism and the conduct we see around us!"

22. Nothing remained now but to conclude the formal treaty between Napoleon and the allied powers; and it was signed on the 11th April. By it Napoleon renounced the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy for himself and his descendants; but he was to retain the title of Emperor, and his mother, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, those of princes and princesses of his family. The island of Elba, having been selected by him as his place of residence, it was erected into a principality in his favour: the

duchy of Parma and Placentia was secured to the Empress Marie Louise and the prince her son, in full sovereignty: two million five hundred thousand francs (£100,000) a-year was provided for the annual income of the Emperor Napoleon, to be reserved from the revenue of the countries he ceded; and two millions more inscribed on the great book of France, to descend after his decease to his heirs—the first being a provision for himself, the second for his family: the ex-Empress Josephine was to receive a million of francs yearly (£40,000) from the great book of France. All the movable estate of the princes and princesses of the Emperor's family was to remain with themselves; but the furniture of the palace and diamonds of the crown were to revert to France. Fifteen hundred of the Old Guard were to escort the Emperor to his place of embarkation; and he was to be at liberty to take with him four hundred soldiers to form his body-guard. Finally, the Poles in the service of France were to be at liberty to return to their own country, with their arms and baggage. The treaty bore the signatures of Caulaincourt, Macdonald, Ney, Metternich, Nesselrode,* and Hardenberg. To this

* Charles Albert, Count of Nesselrode, was born at Lisbon in 1770. His father, who was descended of an ancient and noble family of German extraction, was plenipotentiary in that capital to Catherine II. Empress of Russia. Early destined to the diplomatic line by the choice of his father, and the rapid discomfitment of rising talent, which distinguishes the cabinet of St Petersburg, Nesselrode made his first *entrée* into public life as an *attaché* to the French embassy at Paris in 1801, when Napoleon was First Consul. He little thought amidst the succession of reviews, fêtes, and pageants, which then surrounded the throne of the victorious general, that he was destined to sign, in the very same capital, the treaty which told of his overthrow! His remarkable abilities and vast erudition, which were marked even at that early age, soon, however, occasioned his transfer to the inner chancery, or private council, of the Russian empire. The Emperor Alexander early appreciated the importance of his services, and accordingly he accompanied that prince on his important interview with Napoleon at Erfurth, in 1808. From this period he became, as it were, the head of a middle body in Russian diplomacy, equally removed from the ardent patriotism of the old national party, which beheld with undisguised pain

the subjection of the cabinet of St Petersburg to the dominion of Napoleon, and the ambitious dreams of the Greek enthusiasts, who aimed at planting the cross on the dome of St Sophia. Moderate and rational in his views, with extensive knowledge and great address, he soon became indispensable to Alexander—whose views he divined, whose character he studied, to whose interests he was devoted. In 1812, though not as yet the head of the imperial chancery, he had the chief direction of its foreign diplomacy. He was present at the interview at Abo between Alexander and Bernadotte. In 1813 his influence openly appeared; he accompanied the Emperor to Germany in the memorable campaign of that year, and signed the convention of Reichenbach with England on the 15th June 1813. He had a great share in the delicate negotiation which, in the succeeding months, led to the accession of Austria to the grand alliance, and ultimately occasioned the fall of Napoleon; and bore an active part, when military measures were resumed, in the difficult task of keeping Bernadotte to his diplomatic engagements. He signed, with the other plenipotentiaries of the Allies, the treaty of Chaumont, and subsequently that of Paris in the French capital. Since that time he has been almost the Metternich of

treaty Lord Castlereagh, on the part of England, acceded, "but only to be binding upon his Britannic Majesty with respect to his own acts, but not with respect to the acts of third parties."*

23. A terrible catastrophe had well-nigh terminated at this period the life and the sufferings of Napoleon. His departure for Elba had been fixed for the 20th April; and in the interim, while he was totally deserted by all but a few domestics and his faithful Guards, it became evident to those around him that some absorbing idea had taken possession of his mind. He recurred constantly to the last moments of departed greatness; his conversation to his intimate friends was entirely upon the illustrious men of antiquity who, in circumstances similar to his own, had fallen by their own hands; in the close of his career, as in its outset, he dwelt on the heroes of Plutarch, and their resolution not to survive misfortune. The apprehensions of his attendants were increased when they learned that on the 12th, the day after the signature of the treaty, he had directed the Empress Marie Louise, who was on her way from Blois to join him, to delay the execution of her design. On taking leave of Caulaincourt that night, after a mournful reverie he said, "My resolution is taken: we must end: I feel it." Caulaincourt had not been many hours in bed when he was suddenly roused by Constant, the Emperor's valet, who entreated him to come quickly, for Napoleon was in convulsions, and fast dying. He instantly ran in; Bertrand and Maret were al-

ready there; but nothing was to be heard but stifled groans from the bed of the Emperor. Soon, however, his domestic surgeon Ivan, who had so long attended him in his campaigns, appeared in the utmost consternation, and stated that he had been seen, shortly after going to bed; to rise quietly, pour a liquid into a glass, and lie down again; and Ivan had recognised in the phial, which was left on the table, a subtle poison, a composition of opium and other deadly substances, prepared by Cabanis, the celebrated physician, which he had given the Emperor during the Moscow retreat, at his own desire, and which, as long as the danger lasted, he had constantly worn round his neck. When Caulaincourt seized his hand it was already cold. "Caulaincourt," said he, opening his eyes, "I am about to die. I recommend to you my wife and my son,—defend my memory. I could no longer endure life. The desertion of my old companions in arms had broken my heart." The poison, however, either from having been so long kept, or some other cause, had lost its original efficacy; violent vomiting gave him relief; he was with great difficulty prevailed on to drink warm water; and after a mortal agony of two hours, the spasms gradually subsided, and he fell asleep. "Ivan," said he, on awaking, "the dose was not strong enough—God did not will it;" and he rose, pale and haggard, but composed, and seemed now to resign himself with equanimity to his future fate.†

24. Meanwhile the imperial court at

Russian foreign affairs, and continued to enjoy the entire confidence of the Emperors.—See CAPEFQUE, *Diplomates Européens*, ii. 317, 345; *Biog. des Hommes Fivants*, iv. 539, 540.

* Lord Castlereagh's objections to the treaty were twofold: 1st, That it recognised the title of Napoleon as Emperor of France, which England had never yet done, directly or indirectly; 2d, That it assigned him a residence, in independent sovereignty, close to the Italian coast, and within a few days' sail of France, while the fires of the revolutionary volcano were yet unextinguished in both countries. The result proved that he had judged rightly. BEAUCHAMP, ii. 384.

† There can be no doubt now of the accuracy of the preceding account, for Napoleon himself gave precisely the same account

of the matter to Montholon, at St Helena. "Since the retreat from Moscow," said he, "I carried about with me poison, suspended from my neck in a case covered with silk; it was Ivan who prepared it by my order, while under fear of being taken by the Cossacks. At present (at Fontainebleau), my life belonged no longer to my country; the events of the preceding days had made me master of it. Why suffer so much? I hesitated not; I leapt out of bed, and mixing the poison with a little water, I drank it with a sort of happiness. But time had weakened its efficiency. Tremendous pains drew from me some groans; they were heard; aid arrived; it was not the will of God that I should yet die; St Helena was in my destiny."—MONTHOLON, *Captivity of Napoleon*, ii. 87.

Blois, where the Empress Marie Louise and the King of Rome had been since the taking of Paris, was the scene of selfishness more marked, desertions more shameless, than even the saloons of Fontainebleau. Unrestrained by the presence of the Emperor, the egotism and cupidity of the courtiers there appeared in hideous nakedness, and the fumes of the Revolution expired amidst the universal baseness of its followers. No sooner was the abdication of the Emperor known, than all her court abandoned the Empress; it was a general race who should get first to Paris, to share in the favours of the new dynasty. Such was the desertion that, in getting into her carriage on the 9th April, at Blois, to take the road to Orleans, no one remained to hand the Empress in but her chamberlain. The Empress, the King of Rome, were forgotten: the grand object of all was to get away, and to carry with them as much as possible of the public treasure, which had been brought from Paris with the government. In a few days it had all disappeared. At Orleans, the remaining members of the Emperor's family also departed: Madame, Napoleon's mother, and her brother, the Cardinal Fesch, set out for Rome; Prince Louis, the ex-king of Holland, for Switzerland; Joseph and Jerome soon after followed in the same direction. The Empress at first declared her resolution to join Napoleon, maintaining that there was her post, and that she would share his fortunes in adversity as she had done in prosperity. The wretched sycophants, however, who were still about her person, spared no pains to alienate her from the Emperor. They represented that he had espoused her only from policy; that she had never possessed his affections; that during the short period they had been married he had

had a dozen mistresses;* and that she could now expect nothing but reproaches and bad usage from him. Overcome partly by these insinuations, and partly by her own facility of character and habits of submission, she, too, followed the general example. Her French guards were dismissed, and replaced by Cossacks; she took the road from Orleans to Rambouillet, where she was visited successively by the Emperor her father, and the Emperor Alexander; and at length she yielded to their united entreaties, and agreed to abandon Napoleon. A few days after, she set out for Vienna, taking the King of Rome with her, and neither ever saw Napoleon more.

25. Amidst the general and humiliating scene of baseness which disgraced the French functionaries at the fall of Napoleon, it is consolatory, for the honour of human nature, to have some instances of a contrary character to recount. Carnot remained faithful at his post at Antwerp till the abdication of Napoleon was officially intimated; and then he announced his adhesion to the new government in an order of the day to the garrison, in which he concluded with the memorable words, which so completely define the soldier's duty—"The armed force is essentially obedient; it acts, but never deliberates." Yet he was not insensible to the evils which had rendered the farther sway of Napoleon insupportable in France, and said—"The return of the Bourbons produced in France a universal enthusiasm; they were received with an effusion of the heart which is inexpressible; the enthusiasm was universal. The ancient republicans did not feel it the least; Napoleon had in a particular manner oppressed them." Soult was one of the last to give in: his adhesion is dated Castelnauery, 19th April, nine days after the battle of

* There was too much foundation for this scandal. Though women had no lasting power over Napoleon, and never in the slightest degree influenced his conduct, he was extremely amorous in his disposition, so far as the senses were concerned; and his infidelities, though carefully conducted to avoid observation, were very frequent, both before and after his marriage with Marie Louise.

Two instances, in particular, are mentioned by Constant, which occurred at St Cloud recently before this period; and, what was very remarkable, both the ladies, one of whom was of rank, came to visit him at Fontainebleau during the mournful scenes which passed, though neither saw him on that occasion. Both afterwards visited him at Elba. — *CONSTANT'S Mémoires de Napoléon*, vi. 92-97.

Toulouse,* and when, in reality, there was no alternative, as the whole nation had unequivocally declared itself. Of the few, who remained faithful to the Emperor at Fontainebleau; it is impossible to speak in terms of too high admiration. Caulaincourt, after having nobly discharged to the very last his duties to his old master, at his earnest request returned to Paris, a few days before he departed for Elba, and bore with him an autograph letter from Napoleon to Louis XVIII., strongly recommending him to the service of the restored monarch. The Emperor obviously thought, and justly, that his presence there was indispensable to watch over the performance of the treaty of Fontainebleau. Generals Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne, Maret, General Belliard, Baron Fain, General Gourgaud, Colonel Anatole Montesquiou, Baron de la Place, Generals Kosakowski and Vonsowitch, remained with him to the last at Fontainebleau; and Bertrand shared his exile, as well at Elba as at St Helena. Macdonald, though the last of his marshals to be taken into favour, was faithful to his duty: he did not forget his word pledged on the field of Wagram [*ante*, Chap. LIX. § 59]. Napoleon was so sensible of his fidelity that, on the morning when he brought him the ratification of the treaty of Fontainebleau to sign, he publicly thanked him for his affectionate zeal, and lamented the coldness which had at one period estranged them from each other. He had derived one benefit from his misfortunes—he had learned who were his real and who his false friends.† “At least,” said the Emperor, “you will not refuse one souvenir—it is the sabre of Mourad

* “Essentially obedient, the army has nothing new to do but to conform to the will of the nation.”—*Soult's Proclamation*, *Castelnaudery*, 18th April 1814; *Moniteur*, 24th April; and *BEAUCHAMP*, ii. 601.

† “L'unico ben, ma grande,
Che rimar fra' disastri agl' infelici,
E li distinguer da' finti i veri amici,
Oh del tuo Re, nou della sua fortuna,
Fido seguace! E perchè mai del regno,
Ond'è possea premiarti, il Ciel mi priva!”
METAST., *Alceste*, Act ii. scene I.

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Bey, which I have often worn in battle; keep it for my sake. Return to Paris, and serve the Bourbons as faithfully as you have served me.” Amidst the general and hideous defection of the other marshals,‡ it is refreshing to find one man who preserved unscathed, amidst the revolutionary furnace, the honour and fidelity of his Scottish ancestors, which had so long bound the Highlanders, more steadily even in adverse than in prosperous fortune, to the house of Stuart.

26. The last scene of this mighty drama was not unworthy of the dignity of those which had preceded it. When the day for setting out drew nigh, Napoleon in the first instance refused to move, and even threatened to renew the war, alleging that the allied powers had broken the compact with him, by not permitting the Empress Marie Louise and his son to accompany him. Upon the solemn assurance of General Koller, the Austrian commissioner, that the absence of the Empress was of her own free will, he agreed to take his leave. The preparations for his departure were at length completed, and the four commissioners, on the part of the allied sovereigns, who were to accompany him, appointed—viz General Koller on the part of Austria, General Schouvaloff on that of Russia, Colonel Campbell on that of England, and Count Waldburg-Truchsess on behalf of Prussia. The Emperor then at noonday descended the great stair of the palace of Fontainebleau, and, after passing the array of carriages which awaited him at the door, advanced into the middle of the

‡ Angereau, at Valence, on the Rhone, thus addressed his soldiers: “Soldiers! the Senate, the just interpreter of the national will, worn out with the despotism of Buonaparte, has pronounced, on the 2d April, the dethronement of him and his family. A new dynasty, strong and liberal, descended from our ancient kings, will replace Buonaparte and his despotism. Soldiers! you are absolved from your oaths; you are so by the nation, in which the sovereignty resides; you are still more so, were it necessary, by the abdication of a man who, after having sacrificed millions to his cruel ambition, has not known how to die as a soldier.”—*ANGEREAU*, 16th April; *Moniteur*, 23d April 1814.

Old Guard, which stood, drawn up to receive him. Amidst breathless silence and tearful eyes, he thus addressed them: "Soldiers of my Old Guard, I bid you adieu! During twenty years I have ever found you in the path of honour and of glory. In the last days, as in those of our prosperity, you have never ceased to be models of bravery and fidelity. With such men as you, our cause could never have been lost; but the contest was interminable: it would have become a civil war, and France must daily have become more unhappy. I have therefore sacrificed all our interests to those of our country. I depart; but you remain to serve France. Its happiness was my only thought; it will always be the object of my wishes. Lament not my lot; if I have consented to survive myself, it was that I might contribute to your glory. I am about to write the great deeds we have done together. Adieu, my children! I would I could press you all to my heart; but I will at least press your eagle." At these words General Petit advanced with the eagle; Napoleon received the general in his arms, and kissed the standard. His emotion now almost overcame him; but, making a great effort, he regained his firmness, and said, "Adieu, once again, my old companions! May this last embrace penetrate your hearts!"* With these words he tore himself from the arms of those around him, and threw himself into his carriage, which immediately drove off amidst the sobs and tears of his faithful Guard, all of whom had petitioned to be allowed to

accompany him. Certainly never was a great career more nobly terminated.

27. Napoleon ere long, however, received convincing evidence that, how ardent soever might be the attachment of his soldiers, the population of all France was far from sharing the same sentiments. On the road to Lyons, indeed, he was received always with respect, generally with acclamations; but after passing that city, which he traversed on the night of the 23d, he began to experience the fickleness of mankind, and received bitter proofs of the baseness of human nature, as well as the general indignation which his oppressive government had produced. At noon on the following day he accidentally met Augereau on the road near Valence; both alighted from their carriages, and, ignorant of the atrocious proclamation in which that marshal had so recently announced his conversion to the cause of the Bourbons [*ante*, Chap. LXXXIX. § 25, note], the Emperor embraced him, and they walked together on the road for a quarter of an hour in the most amicable manner. It was observed, however, that Augereau kept his helmet on his head as he walked along. A few minutes after, the Emperor entered Valence, and beheld the proclamation placarded on the walls: he then saw what recollection his lieutenant had retained of the days of Castiglione. The troops were drawn out to receive him, and they saluted the Emperor as he passed; but they all bore the white cockade. At Orange loud cries of "Vive le Roi!" were heard; and at Avignon he found his statues overturned, and the public effervescence against his government assuming the most menacing character.

28. As Napoleon continued his journey to the south, the tumult became so excessive that his life was more than once in imminent danger from the fury of the populace. At Orgon he was with difficulty extricated, chiefly by the firmness and intrepidity of Colonel Campbell and the other allied commissioners, who acted with equal courage and judgment, from a violent death. At the inn of La Calade, near Saint Canat, a furious mob surrounded

* Voltaire would seem to have had a pre-sentiment of this impressive scene in *Edipe*, in the noble lines:—

"Finissez vos regrets et retenez vos larmes;
Vous plaignez mon exil, il a pour moi des charmes;
Ma fuite à vos malheurs assure un prompt secours;
En perdant votre roi, vous conservez vos jours.
Du sort de tout ce peuple il est temps que j'ordonne.
J'ai sauvé cet empire en arrivant au trône,
J'en descendrai du moins comme je suis monté;
Ma gloire me suivra dans mon adversité;
Mon destin fut toujours de vous rendre la vie."
Edipe, Act v. scene 2.

the house for some hours, demanding his head; and it was only by getting out by a back window, and riding the next post disguised as a courier, with the white cockade on his breast, that he escaped. Such was the mortification which Napoleon felt at this cruel reception from the people whom he had so long governed, that when the allied commissioners came up to the post-house, they found him in a back room, with his elbows on his knees and his hands on his forehead, in profound affliction. He was persuaded that the government had excited these tumults, in order that he might be murdered in them; and refused to take any nourishment lest it should be poisoned. He put on the uniform of the Austrian general Koller; the helmet of Count Waldburg on his head; hung the order of Maria Theresa on his breast; wrapped himself in the cloak of General Schouvaloff, whose aide-de-camp took his place in the one provided for the Emperor. Relays were provided outside the walls at Aix, to avoid the danger of entering the city; he was clothed in the Austrian uniform, which he wore during the remainder of his journey; and the under-prefect, Dupeloux, a man of courage and honour, escorted him in person on horseback as far as the limits of his department. At Luc, Napoleon met and had an affecting interview with Pauline, who, amidst all her vanities, had some elevated points of character, and offered to accompany him in his exile; on the 27th he reached Frejus; and on the 28th, at eight at night, set sail for Elba, on board the English frigate the *Undaunted*, sent there to receive him. Thus, in its last stage, a British vessel bore Cæsar and his fortunes. He was received by Captain Usher, who commanded that vessel, agreeably to the orders of government, with the honours due to a crowned head: a royal salute was fired as he stepped on board, the yards were manned, and every possible respect was shown to him, from the captain to the humblest cabin-boy. Such was the impression produced by this reception from his enemies, so different from that of his own subjects which he had re-

cently experienced, that he burst into tears. During the voyage he was cheerful and affable; conversed much with Captain Usher and the other officers on board; and was particularly inquisitive concerning the details of the English naval discipline—the object, he said, of his long admiration. A slight shade of melancholy was observed to pass over his countenance while the vessel was in sight of the Maritime Alps, the scene of his early triumphs; but he soon regained his usual serenity, and had, with his wonderful ascendancy over mankind, made great progress in the affections of the crew, when the vessel cast anchor in Porto-Ferraio, the capital of Elba. Moreau said of Napoleon, on hearing of the subterfuges to which he had recourse during this journey to save his life—"What characterises him is a mixture of falsehood and of the love of life: when he is beaten, you will see him fall at your feet and ask his life." But this was not a just appreciation of his character. With more truth Chateaubriand said—"He is like the rebel angels: at one time he can contract into a dwarf, at another expand into a giant."

29. Josephine did not long survive the fall of the hero with whose marvellous fortunes her own seemed in a mysterious manner to be linked. In her retreat at Navarre, she had wept in secret the declining fortune and tarnished glory of the husband who had elevated her to the pinnacle of worldly grandeur, and whose star had visibly become obscured from the moment that he divorced her from his side. He married misfortune, like Louis XVI., when he allied himself with the Austrian line.* Alexander was desirous to see and console her amidst her misfortunes, and promise his powerful protection to her children. At his request

* How applicable to Napoleon's fate were the words which Lucretius makes the shade of Junia, Pompey's first wife, address to him in a dream:—

"Conjuge me, latus quæisti, Magnus, triumphos.

*Fortuna est mutata tibi: semperque potentes
Detrahere in eadem fato damnata maritos,
Insuper tepido pellex Cornelia busto."*

Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. 20.

she came to Malmaison, the much-loved scene of the early and romantic attachment of Napoleon, and there the Emperor saw her frequently, and gave her those assurances in the most unreserved manner. In the midst of these cares, however, she was suddenly taken ill of a putrid sore throat, which proved fatal at the end of a few days. The Emperor, Alexander was with her almost to the last, and soothed her deathbed by reiterated assurances of protection to her children. And well and faithfully did he keep his promise. When some delay took place in making out the letters-patent, erecting the forests around Saint Leu into an appanage in favour of the second son of Queen Hortense, her grandson, as had been stipulated in the treaty of Paris, he declared that his Guards should not leave Paris till they were signed, which induced its being immediately done. In the following year he took Prince Eugene's interests under his especial protection at the congress at Vienna, and was mainly instrumental in there putting them on a proper footing. The friendship thus contracted between the Viceroy and the Czar led to a prolongation of the intimacy in the next generation; and by a remarkable revolution in the wheel of fortune, Eugene Beauharnais' son, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, espoused in subsequent times one of the grand-duchesses, a daughter of the Emperor Nicholas; so that it is not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility, that a lineal descendant of Josephine, and a descendant by marriage of Napoleon, may one day mount the throne of Russia.

30. ALEXANDER, Emperor of Russia, who took so prominent a part in these memorable events, is one of the sovereigns of modern times who has left the greatest name in history, and who has made the most indelible marks on the records of European fame. The vast extension which the Russian empire has received under his rule, the burning of Moscow, and dreadful overthrow of the French army in 1812—the deliverance of Germany, and fall of Napoleon—have conspired to give a character of awful and yet entrancing interest to his reign, to which there

is perhaps nothing comparable in the whole annals of mankind. He was born in 1777, and ascended the throne on the murder of the Emperor Paul in 1800, so that he was at this period only thirty-seven years of age. His character, naturally amiable and benevolent, had been moulded by the precepts of his enlightened, though speculative and visionary, Swiss preceptor, La Harpe. But the ideas of that distinguished philanthropist were formed upon the dreams of the closet rather than a practical acquaintance with men, and this defect strongly appeared when Alexander was first called to act in the great theatre of public life. His early measures were all beneficent in their tendency, and bespoke a warm and susceptible heart; but he was not at first a match for the talent and the wickedness of the Revolution; and he yielded at Tilsit, less to the force of the French arms, than to the irresistible ascendant and magic sway of the great enchanter who wielded its powers.

31. But if he was born good, he became great. He learned wisdom and gathered strength in the school of misfortune. If he had yielded at first, perhaps too easily, to the fascination of Napoleon's genius, no one ever surpassed him in the firmness with which, when again driven to arms, he resisted his aggression, or the tenacity with which he followed up the contest, till he had hurled his enemy from the throne. His early friendship for Napoleon was an affair of the heart; and he who has surrendered his heart, and been deceived, will be deceived no more. But for his firmness and resolution, the coalition would repeatedly have fallen to pieces. From the day Napoleon crossed the Niemen, Alexander clearly saw that peace with him was impossible. With Roman magnanimity, he held the same language when his empire was reeking with the slaughter of Borodino, and his star seemed to pale before the conflagration of Moscow, as when, on the heights of Chaumont, he gave law to a conquered world: and if he has been outshone by few conquerors in the lustre of his victories, or the magnitude of his conquests, none have

equalled him in the magnanimous use which he made of his power, and the surpassing clemency with which in the moment of triumph he restrained the uplifted arm of vengeance. When it was suggested to him to change the name of the bridge of Austerlitz, after the taking of Paris, he replied—"No; it is enough that I have passed over it with my army."

32. In private life his conduct was less irreproachable. Unhappy circumstances, and the usual vices of royal life, had early produced an estrangement between him and the Empress, who nevertheless continued to reside in the imperial palace, where she preserved a spotless reputation. But though external decorum was thus preserved, and they were frequently in company together, they never met in private; and this at once deprived the empire of the hope of a direct succession to the throne, and threw the Emperor into the usual temptations of female fascination. He had frequent *liaisons* accordingly, but they partook of the benevolent and tender character of his mind, and were unattended by open licentiousness or indecorum. He was fond of praise, and often led into extremes by that weakness; but it was the praise only of generous or noble deeds which he coveted. His figure was tall and majestic, his countenance open, his air mild, but such as at once bespoke the sovereign. He possessed the mingled dignity and serenity of aspect which poetic genius has ascribed to Jupiter Tonans.* No one possessed greater personal courage, or more passionately desired the honours of war; but still a sense of duty to Europe led him to forego the command, which he might have obtained, of the allied armies in Germany in 1813. His manners were polished and fascinating in the highest degree, his tastes refined and elegant, and his information sur-

* "And from his eyes (not yet made dim with age)

Sparkled his former worth and vigour brave;

His gestures all the majesty upheld
And state, as his old age and empire craved.
So Phidias carved, Apelles so, perdie,
Ere painted Jove, Jove thund'ring down
from sky."

Tasso, *Ger. Lib.*, xvii. 11.

prising, considering the incessant avocations which the management of such weighty concerns required. Though passionately fond of accomplished female society, he was deeply impressed with the responsibility of his situation at the head of such an empire, and was ever ready to forego its charms, and abandon all the luxuries of the court, to execute justice or stimulate improvement in the remotest parts of his dominions. A profound master, like most of his nation, of dissimulation, he was yet jealous of his personal honour; and whatever he promised on his word, might with confidence be relied on, how much soever he thought himself entitled to elude the wiles of inferior diplomatists.

33. He was ambitious; but his thirst for acquisition of territory was so blended with a desire for, and generally followed by an increase of, the happiness of mankind, that it could hardly be called a fault. Deeply impressed with religious feelings, those noblessements breathed forth in all his addresses to his people and army throughout the whole course of the war, and influenced his conduct to the latest hour of his life. He regarded himself as an instrument in the hand of the Almighty for the destruction of the Revolution and the improvement of mankind, and acted through all his career, sometimes with imprudent haste, under that impression. His character cannot be better illustrated in this respect than by the fact, that he refused to permit his statue to be placed on the summit of the column which the gratitude of his country decreed to him at St Petersburg, but instead, he caused it to be surmounted by one of Religion extending her arms to bless mankind. Serenity and benevolence formed the leading features of his mind: no one more readily overlooked a fault, or forgave an injury; none was so uniformly devoted to the happiness of his people. But his empire was not ripe for the mighty projects of amelioration which he contemplated; mankind were too selfish and corrupt to follow out his wishes. He was perpetually grieved by discovering how all his philanthropic

intentions had been marred by the cupidity or neglect of inferior agents, and how uniformly human wickedness had fastened on the best-conceived plans of social improvement. His very generosity at Paris, the liberal sentiments he there uttered, which entranced the world, were in advance of the people whom he governed, and brought on a dark conspiracy in his own dominions, which embittered his future days, and in the end shortened his life. He died of the malaria fever, at Taganrog, in the south of Russia, on the 31st November 1825, in the arms of the Empress Elizabeth, to whom he had for some time before his death become reconciled.* He retained his faculties to the last, had the Scriptures frequently read to him during his previous illness, and left the theatre of his worldly greatness with the serenity which might have been expected from such a character. Inferior to Napoleon in genius, he was his superior in magnanimity: both conquered the world; but Alexander only could conquer himself. Posterity will certainly award the first place to the matchless genius of the French Emperor; but it will confirm the saying of that great man, extorted from him even in the moment of his fall,—“If I were not Napoleon, I would be Alexander.”

34. Never was character more opposite to the Russian autocrat's than that of his great coadjutor in the pacification and settlement of Europe, PRINCE TALLEYRAND. This most remarkable man was born at Paris in 1754, so that in 1814 he was already sixty years of age. He was descended of an old family, and had for his maternal aunt the celebrated Princess of

* The following letter, written by the Empress of Russia to her mother the day after her husband's death, will show how entirely the bonds of conjugal affection had been reunited before the Emperor's death:—“I have lost all: the angel is no more. Dead, he smiles upon me as he was wont to do while living. There now remains no hope to me but in you, my dear mother, with whom I wish to come and weep, and to be present at the interment. I shall remain near the deceased, and follow him as fast as my strength will permit.”—EMPERESS ELIZABETH to her Mother, Dec. 1, 1825; WHEELER'S *Mémoires*.

Ursins, who played so important a part in the War of the Succession at the court of Philip V. Being destined for the church, he early entered the seminary of St Sulpice; and, even there, was remarkable for the delicate vein of sarcasm, nice discrimination, and keen penetration, for which he afterwards became so distinguished in life. At the age of twenty-six he was appointed agent-general for the clergy, and in that capacity his administrative talents were so conspicuous that they procured for him the situation of Bishop of Autun, which he held in 1789, when the Revolution broke out. So well known had his talents become at this period, that Mirabeau, in his secret correspondence with Berlin, pointed him out as one of the most eminent men of the age. He was elected representative of the clergy of his diocese for the Constituent Assembly, and was one of the first of that rank in the church who voted on the 29th May for the junction of the ecclesiastical body with the Tiers Etat. He also took the lead in all the measures, then so popular, which had for their object to despoil the church, and apply its possessions to the service of the state. Accordingly, he himself proposed the suppression of tithes, and the application of the property of the church to the public treasury. In all these measures he was deaf to the remonstrances of the clergy whom he represented, and already he had severed all the cords which bound him to the church.

35. His ruling principle was not any peculiar enmity to religion, but a fixed determination to adhere to the dominant party, whatever it was, whether in church or state; to watch closely the signs of the times, and throw in his lot with that section of the community which appeared likely to gain the superiority. In February 1790 he was appointed president of the Assembly; and from that time forward, down to its dissolution, he took a leading part in all its measures. He was not, however, an orator: knowledge of men and prophetic sagacity were his great qualifications. Generally silent in the hall of debate, he soon gained the lead in

the council of deliberation or committee of management. He officiated as constitutional bishop, to the great scandal of the more orthodox clergy, in the great fête on the 14th July 1790, in the Champ de Mars, of which an account has already been given [*ante*, Chap. vi. § 46]; but he had already become fearful of the excesses of the popular party, and was perhaps the only person to whom Mirabeau, on his deathbed, communicated his secret views and designs for the restoration of the French monarchy. Early in 1792 he set out on a secret mission from the French government to London, where he remained till the breaking out of the war in February 1793, and enjoyed much of the confidence of Mr Pitt. He naturally enough became an object of jealousy to both parties; being denounced by the Jacobins as an emissary of the court, and by the Royalists as an agent of the Jacobins. In consequence he was accused and condemned in his absence, and only escaped death by withdrawing to America, where he remained till 1795, engaged in commercial pursuits. It was not the least proof of his address and sagacity that he thus avoided equally the crimes and the dangers of the Reign of Terror, and returned to Paris at the close of that year with his head on his shoulders, and without deadly hostility to any party in his heart.

36. His influence and abilities soon caused themselves to be felt. The sentence of death which had been recorded against him in absence was recalled; he became a leading member of the Club of Salin, which, in 1797, was established to counterbalance the efforts of the Royalists in the Club of Clichy; and on the triumph of the Revolutionists by the violence of Angereau in July 1797, he was appointed minister of foreign affairs. Nevertheless, aware of the imbecility of the Directorial government, he entered warmly into the views of Napoleon, upon his return from Egypt, for its overthrow. He was again made minister of foreign affairs by that youthful conqueror, after the 18th Brumaire, and continued, with some few inter-

ruptions, to be the soul of all foreign negotiations, and the chief director of foreign policy, down to the measures directed against Spain in 1807. On that occasion, however, his wonted sagacity did not desert him: he openly disapproved of the design to appropriate the whole Peninsula, and counselled the Emperor to confine his spoliations of Spain to the provinces to the north of the Ebro. He was, in consequence, dismissed from office, which he did not again hold till he was appointed chief of the provisional government on 1st April 1814. He had thus the singular address, though a leading character under both régimes, to extricate himself both from the crimes of the Revolution and the misfortunes of the Empire.

37. He was no ordinary man who could accomplish so great a prodigy, and yet retain such influence as to step, as it were, by common consent, into the principal direction of affairs on the overthrow of Napoleon. His power of doing so depended not merely on his great talents: they alone, if unaccompanied by other qualifications, would inevitably have brought him to the guillotine under the first government, or the prisons of state under the last. It was his extraordinary power of divining the future course of events, the versatility and flexibility of his disposition, and the readiness with which he accommodated himself to every change of government and dynasty which he thought likely to be permanent, that mainly contributed to this extraordinary result. Such was his address that, though the most changeable character in the whole Revolution, he contrived never to lose either influence or reputation by all his tergiversations; but, on the contrary, went on constantly rising, to the close of his career, when above eighty years of age, in weight, fortune, and consideration. The very fact of his having survived, both in person and influence, so many changes of government, which had proved fatal to almost all his contemporaries, of itself constituted a colossal reputation. Men never ceased admiring an address which could

have so long obtained the mastery of the mutations of fortune; and when he said, with a sarcastic smile, on taking the oath of fidelity to Louis Philippe in 1830, "*C'est le treizième*," the expression, repeated from one end of Europe to the other, produced a greater admiration for his address than indignation at his perfidy.

38. He has been well described as the person in existence who had the least hand in producing, and the greatest power of profiting by, revolutions. He was not destitute of original thought, but wholly without the generous feeling, the self-forgetfulness, which prompt the great in character, as well as talent, to bring forth their conceptions in word or action, at whatever hazard to themselves or their fortunes. His object always was not to direct, but to observe and guide the current; he never opposed it when he saw it was irresistible, nor braved its dangers where it threatened to be perilous; but quietly withdrew till an opportunity occurred, by the destruction alike of its supporters and its opponents, to obtain its direction. In this respect his talents very closely resembled those of Metternich, of whom a character has already been drawn [*ante*, Chap. LXXXIX. § 70]; but he was less consistent than the wary Austrian diplomatist; and, though equalled by him in dissimulation, he was far his superior in perfidy. It cost him nothing to contradict his words and violate his oaths, whenever it suited his interest to do so; and the extraordinary and almost unbroken success of his career affords, as well as that of Napoleon, the most striking confirmation of the profound saying of Johnson—that no man ever raised himself from a private station to the supreme direction of affairs, in whom great abilities were not combined with certain meannesses, which would have proved altogether fatal to him in ordinary life. Yet was he without any of the great vices of the Revolution. His selfishness was constant, his cupidity unbounded, his hands often sullied by gold: but he was not cruel or unforgiving in his disposition, and few, if any, deeds of blood stain

his memory. His witticisms and bon-mots were admirable, and repeated from one end of Europe to the other. Yet was his reputation in this respect perhaps greater than the reality; for, by common consent, every good saying at Paris, during his lifetime, was ascribed to the ex-bishop of Autun. But none perhaps more clearly reveals his character, and explains his success in life, than the celebrated one, of which he at least obtained the credit, "That the principal object of language was to conceal thought."*

39. On Easter day, being 10th April, a grand and imposing ceremony was performed in the Place Louis XV. On the spot where Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, the Princess Elizabeth, and so many of the noble victims of the Revolution had perished, a great altar was erected, by command of the Emperor Alexander, in order to a general thanksgiving, by the sovereigns and armies, for the signal and complete success with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the allied arms. There was something to the thoughtful mind inexpressibly impressive in this ceremony. Bareheaded, around the altar, the sovereigns, with their princes, marshals, and generals, partook in the service, which was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, according to the forms of the Greek church, by the bishops and priests of that establishment who had accompanied the Russian army. But it was, in the most emphatic sense, a *catholic* service. All Christendom was there represented; the uniforms of twenty victorious nations were to be seen.

* There can be little doubt that this celebrated expression was original in the person of Talleyrand or Fouché, or both; but it had long before been used by an author very different from either, though not less deeply versed in the secrets of the human heart—Oliver Goldsmith. "It is usually said by grammarians," says he, "that the use of language is to express our wants and desires; but men who know the world hold, and I think with some show of reason, that he who best knows how to keep his necessities private, is the most likely person to have them redressed, and that the true use of speech is not so much to express our wants as to conceal them."—*On the Use of Language*.—*The Bee*, No. 6, Oct. 20, 1759.

round the altar ; 'it was a thanksgiving for the triumph of Christianity over the most inveterate, the most depraved, and the most powerful of its enemies. It bore none of the marks of worldly exultation ; the deliverance of mankind was ascribed with reverent humility to the arm of Omnipotence. On their knees, around the altar, the monarchs kissed the sacred emblem of the cross ; when it was elevated, all assembled bowed their heads with reverent devotion ; and a hundred guns, from the two banks of the Seine, announced the triumph of the gospel by the devotion which it had inspired into the breasts of its supporters. Such was the impression produced by the august scene, that not an arm was moved, nor a sound to be heard, in the vast concourse of thirty thousand soldiers, who stood in close column in the square. The whole marshals of France, in full uniform, attended the ceremony. The world never beheld such an example of moral retribution, such a convincing proof of the reality of the Divine administration. The rudest Cossack present felt the sacred influence. But no feelings of that sort were experienced, save in a few breasts, by the immense numbers of French who witnessed the ceremony. They were dead to its moral import ; they felt not its awful warning ; and consoled themselves for the presence of so many foreign uniforms in the heart of their capital by the observation, that the "dresses were not so well made as those of their own army."

40. Nothing remained but to give effect to the declared will, alike of the sovereigns and the French people, by recalling the Bourbons. Hitherto, although all believed that the old family would be restored, yet no act clearly expressive of that intention had emanated from the provisional government ; and they had, on the contrary, carefully disclaimed several acts of individuals, tending to the restoration of the royal authority. Doubts, in consequence, began to be entertained as to what was to be done, and the Royalists were in general and undisguised uneasiness. But the resolution of the

Allies was finally taken in the sitting, which continued till seven in the morning, of the night between the 5th and 6th, not to treat with a regency. Talleyrand then threw off the mask, and the conservative senate, by a solemn decree, called Louis XVIII. to the throne, and his heirs, according to the established order of succession previous to the Revolution. Various provisions were at the same time made for the establishment of the senate and legislative body, and the due limitations of the royal authority, which were afterwards engrossed in the charter, and formed the basis of the government of the Restoration. The chief articles of that celebrated instrument will be considered in a subsequent chapter, when the internal state of France after the accession of Louis XVIII. is considered.* Suffice it to say at present, that the French received a constitution which gave them a hundred times more real freedom than they had ever enjoyed since the revolt of the 10th August had overturned the throne, and incomparably more than, as the event proved, they were capable of bearing. And so completely had the people repented of their dreams of self-government, and so woefully had they suffered from its effects, that this important decree, which thus re-established, after a lapse of twenty-one years, the royal family upon the throne, attracted very little attention, and was received by the whole multitude as a matter of course. Even the Abbé Siéyes voted for the King's return : he had now felt what the government of the masses was, and got an answer to his celebrated question, which twenty-five years before had convulsed France, "What is the *Tiers Etat* ?"

41. The royal authority being thus re-established, the different branches of government rapidly fell into the new system. On the 9th the national guard assumed the white cockade ; and on the 12th the Count d'Artois, who during these great events had been drawing near to the capital, made his public entry into Paris. He was on horse-

* See chap. xcii. § 37, 38.

back, surrounded by a brilliant cortège of gentlemen who had gone out to meet him; and near the barrier of Pantin he was met by the marshals of France, in full costume, with Ney at their head. "Mon Seigneur," said Marshal Ney, speaking for himself and his brethren in arms, "we have served with zeal a government which commanded us in the name of France: your Highness and his Majesty will see with what fidelity we shall serve our legitimate king." "Messieurs," replied the Count d'Artois, "you have made the French arms illustrious; you have carried, even into countries the most remote, the glory of the French name: the King claims your exploits: what has ennobled France can never be foreign to him." The procession, which swelled immensely as it advanced, proceeded to Notre Dame, where the prince returned thanks for his restoration to his country. "There is nothing changed," said he, "only a Frenchman the more in Paris. This is the first day of happiness I have experienced for twenty-five years."

42. Louis XVIII. was not long of responding to the call made upon him by the Senate. On the 20th April the fugitive monarch left his peaceable retreat of Hartwell to be again tossed on the stormy sea of public affairs, and made his entry amidst an extraordinary concourse of spectators into London, where he was received in state by the Prince-Regent. No words can convey an adequate idea of the enthusiasm which prevailed on this occasion. It was a great national triumph, unmixed by one circumstance of alloy: it gave demonstration strong of the total overthrow of the revolutionary system. Sympathy with an illustrious race, long weighed down by misfortune, was mingled with exultation at the glorious reward now obtained for a quarter of a century of toils and dangers. White cockades were universal; the general rapture was shared alike by the rich and the poor; the fierce divisions, the rancorous faction, with which the war commenced, had disappeared in one tumultuous swell of universal exultation. "Sire," said the monarch

with emotion to the Prince-Regent, when he first addressed him, "I shall always consider that, under God, I owe my restoration to your Royal Highness." The Prince-Regent received his illustrious guest with that dignified courtesy for which he was so celebrated, accompanied the royal family to Dover, and bade them farewell at the extremity of the pier of that place. In a beautiful day, and with the utmost splendour, the royal squadron, under the command of the Duke of Clarence, accompanied the illustrious exiles to their own country. Hardly had the thunder of artillery from the castle of Dover ceased to ring in their ears, when the cliffs of France exhibited a continued blaze; and the roar of cannon on every projecting point, from Calais to Boulogne, announced the arrival of the monarch in the kingdom of his forefathers.

43. Hitherto the progress of the sovereign had been a continued triumph; but as he advanced through France, although the crowds which were everywhere assembled on the way-side to see him pass received him always with respect, sometimes with enthusiasm, yet it was apparent that there was a mixed feeling on the part of the people. The unanimous transports which had greeted his entry into London, and passage through England, were no longer to be discerned. The feeling of loyalty, one of the noblest passions which can fill the breast, because one of the least selfish, was nearly extinct in the great mass of the people: the return of the royal family was associated with circumstances of deep national humiliation: the principal feeling in the multitude was curiosity to see the strangers. The King arrived at Compiègne on the 29th, and the preparations for his reception at Paris having been completed, he made his public entry by the gate of St Denis on the 3d May, in the midst of a prodigious concourse of spectators. The Duchess d'Angoulême was seated by his side: the Old Guard of Napoleon formed his escort: the national guard of Paris kept the streets for the procession: and innumerable

officers and privates of the allied armies added, by their gay and varied uniforms, to the splendour of the scene. The procession proceeded first to Notre Dame, where the King and the royal family returned thanks for their restoration, and then advanced by the quays and the Pont Neuf to the Tuileries. From a delicate desire to save Louis the pain of seeing the foreign uniforms, it was arranged that the streets should be lined by French soldiers, and the Old Guard were stationed between Notre Dame and the Tuileries. Never was indignation more strongly marked than in their visages. Some, under pretence of saluting the cortège, bent their heads down and drew their bearskins over their eyes so as to see nothing; others ground their teeth in the vehemence of their rage, or showed them like tigers; several shed tears of rage. When commanded to present arms, they did it with a vehemence which made the spectators start; it was like bringing down their bayonets to the charge. When the Duchess d'Angoulême reached the foot of the principal stair of that palace, which she had not seen since the 10th August 1792, when, in company with Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, she left it to take refuge from the insurgents in the National Assembly [*ante*, Chap. VII. § 98], her emotions were so overpowering that she fell down insensible at the King's feet. But these awful recollections produced little or no effect on the Parisians; and the principal observation made was, that the King's and Princess's dresses were cut in the London fashion, and that the Duchess d'Angoulême was a perfect fright with her low English bonnet.*

* At this period the English fashion for bonnets was exceedingly low, and the French proportionally high; so that the contrast between the Duchess d'Angoulême's hay-maker's bonnet and the splendid *coiffures* and feathers with which the ladies were adorned at Paris, was sufficiently striking. When Louis crossed the Pont Neuf, the veil was taken off the statue of Henry IV., which had been placed there a week before, and which bore the inscription—"Ludovico reduce, Henricus redivivus," which was the felicitous thought of M. Lally Tollendal.—*Personal observation.*

44. But a more serious duty awaited the restored monarch: and having now resumed the reins of government, the first care which awaited him was the difficult task of concluding a treaty of peace with the allied powers, which should at once satisfy their just and inevitable demands, and not prove an insuperable stumblingblock in the first days of his restoration to the French people. The generous, perhaps in some degree imprudent, expressions of the Emperor Alexander, at the first taking of Paris, had produced a prodigious impression; his popularity was at the highest point, and his influence in the capital altogether irresistible. It was the idea that they would escape by his magnanimity from the consequences of defeat, and retain, even after the occupation of the capital, no inconsiderable portion of their conquests, which had reconciled its inhabitants to the Restoration, and produced the general burst in favour of the Bourbon dynasty. But when the diplomatists began coolly to sit down to reduce the conditions of the treaty to writing, it was no easy matter to reconcile these expectations with the obvious necessity of curtailing France so much, that it should not again prove dangerous to the liberties of Europe; and it required all the address of Talleyrand, and the other ministers who had been appointed by the King, to overcome the difficulty.

45. By a convention concluded on 23d April, it was provided that the French troops in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries, should cede all the fortresses and countries beyond the frontiers of old France, as they stood on the 1st January 1792, which was at one blow to sweep away the whole conquests of the Revolution. The allied troops were, with as little delay as possible, to evacuate the whole of the territory so defined; and all military exactions on both sides were, by a secret article, to cease forthwith. The principal object of this clause was to put a stop to the unbounded and scourging requisitions of Marshal Davoust, who still retained possession of Hamburg. The number of strong places,

and the quantity of artillery, warlike stores, and muniments of war, which by this convention fell into the hands of the Allies, was prodigious, and altogether unexampled in the annals of military trophies. They of themselves convey a stupendous idea of the vast extent of the military resources which, at one period, were at the disposal of the French Emperor; and of the strange and ruinous policy which prompted him to disperse his troops over so many distant strongholds, when he was contending against greatly superior forces of the enemy, for life or death, on the plains of Champagne.

46. Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Wesel, in Germany; Maestricht, Mayence, Luxembourg, and Kehl, on the Rhine and the Meuse; Flushing, Bergen-op-Zoom, Antwerp, Ostend, Nieuport, and many others in the Low Countries; Mantua, Alessandria, Peschiera, Gavi, and Turin, in Italy; Barcelona, Figueras, Rosas, and Tortosa, in Spain, besides a vast number of others of lesser note, were abandoned.* Fifty-three fortresses of note, twelve thousand pieces of cannon, ammunition and military stores in immense quantities, and garrisons to the amount of nearly a hundred thousand men, all beyond the frontiers of old France, were thus at one blow surrendered! What a picture does this present of the astonishing strength and tenacity of the grasp which Napoleon had laid on Europe; of the greatness of the military giant whose weight had

so long oppressed the world, when even in his last extremity, and after such unheard-of reverses, he yet had such magnificent spoils to yield up to the victor! But what is physical strength where moral virtue is wanting; and what the external resources of an empire, when its heart is paralysed by the selfishness of a revolution!

47. The treaty of the 30th May was signed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of France on the one side, and Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, on the other; but after the convention of 23d April, it contained little which was not foreseen by the French. It provided that France should be reduced to its original limits, as they stood on 1st January 1792, with the exception of various cessions of small territories, some to France by the neighbouring powers, others by France to them, for the sake of defining more clearly, and for mutual advantage, its frontiers, but which, upon a balance of gains and losses, gave it an increase of four hundred and fifty thousand souls. Avignon, however, and the country of Venaissin, the first conquests of the Revolution, were secured to it. France, on the other hand, consented to abandon all pretensions to any territories beyond these limits, and to throw no obstacle in the way of fortifications being erected on any points which the new governments of those countries might deem expedient. Holland was to be an independent state, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, with an accession of territory drawn from union with Flanders; Germany was to be independent, but under the guarantee of a federal union; Switzerland independent, governed by itself; Italy divided into sovereign states. The free navigation of the Rhine was expressly stipulated. Malta, the ostensible cause of the renewal of the war after the treaty of Amiens, was ceded in perpetuity, with its dependencies, to Great Britain; and she, on her part, agreed to restore all the colonies taken from France or her allies during the war, with the exception of the islands of Tobago, St Lucie, and the portion of St Domingo formerly belonging to Spain, which was

* The magnitude of these garrisons, even in the last moments of the empire, and when Napoleon was literally crushed in France for want of men, was such as almost to exceed belief. The following was the amount of a few of the principal, as they finally evacuated the fortresses they held on the conclusion of hostilities:—

	Garrisons.	Surrendered.
Hamburg,	12,200	25th May.
Magdeburg,	16,000	25th May.
Wesel,	10,000	10th May.
Mayence,	15,000	4th May.
Barcelona,	6,000	12th May.
Antwerp,	17,500	6th May.
Mantua,	6,000	28th April.
Alessandria,	5,500	30th April.
Bergen-op-Zoom,	4,000	24th April.

92,200

—See SCHÖPFLIN, *Histoire des Traité de Paix*, x. 432, 433.

to be restored to that power, in the West, and the Isle of France in the East Indies. Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guiana were restored to France. France was to be permitted to form commercial establishments in the East Indies, but under the condition that no more troops were to be sent there than were necessary for the purpose of police; and she regained the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St Lawrence. The fleet at Antwerp, which consisted of thirty-eight ships of the line and fifteen frigates, was to be divided into three parts, of which two were to be restored to France, and one to the King of Holland. The ships, however, of France which had fallen into the hands of the Allies before the armistice of 23d April, and especially the fleet at the Texel, were to remain with the Allies; and they were immediately made over to the King of Holland. All subordinate points and matters of detail were, by common consent, referred to a congress of all the great powers, which it was agreed should assemble at Vienna in the succeeding autumn.

48. Such were the public articles of the treaty; but, in addition to these, there was a secret treaty also signed, which contained articles of considerable importance, and which pointed in no obscure manner to the policy to be pursued for the reconstruction of the balance of power in Europe. They related chiefly to the disposal of the immense territories, containing no less than 15,360,000 souls, which had been severed from Napoleon's empire, besides 16,000,000 more from its external dependencies, which were now in great part at the disposal of the allied powers. The leading principle which regulated these distributions was, to strengthen the second-rate states bordering upon France, from the weakness of which she had hitherto always been able to make successful irruptions from her own territories, before the more distant sovereigns could come to their support. To guard against this danger, it was provided, that Piedmont should receive an accession of territory, by the incorporation of Genoa with her do-

minions, the latter town being declared a free port; that the reconstruction of Switzerland, as agreed on by the allied powers, should be ratified by France; that Flanders, between the Scheldt and the Meuse, should be annexed to Holland; and the German states on the left bank of the Rhine, which had been conquered from France, divided between Holland and Prussia.

49. Such was the treaty of Paris, the most glorious that England had ever concluded—glorious, even more from what she abandoned than what she retained of her conquests. With her enemy absolutely at her feet—with half of France overrun by four hundred thousand victorious troops, her capital taken, and her Emperor virtually a prisoner in exile—she gave to this prostrate foe no inconsiderable accession of territory in Europe, and restored four-fifths of her colonial possessions. Not a village was reft from old France; not a military contribution was levied; not a palace or museum was rifled; not an indignity to the national honour was offered. All that was done was to restore the provinces which, since her career of conquest began in 1794, she had wrested from the adjoining powers. The French museums, loaded with the spoils of Italy, Germany, Spain, Flanders, and Holland, were left untouched: even the sacred relics of Sans-Souci, and of the great king of Prussia, were unreclaimed.* So far were the Allies from following Napoleon's bad example, in seizing every article of value wherever he went, that when they had them in their power they did not even reclaim their own.

50. What did Napoleon do to Prussia, in similar circumstances, in 1807? Why, he imposed on that small state, with only seven millions of inhabitants, a war contribution of £26,000,000, and severed from it the half of its dominions! (*ante*, Chap. II. § 7). What did he do to Austria by the treaty of Vienna in 1809? Why, he imposed on it a

* Napoleon had some of these with him in the room in which he died at St Helena. "You are examining," said he, "that large clock; it served as an alarm to Frederick the Great. I took it at Potsdam."—*ANNALS*, *Last Days of Napoleon*, i. 97.

contribution of £9,500,000, and wrested from it a fourth of the monarchy! [*ante*, Chap. LIX. § 71]. If the Allies had acted in a similar spirit in 1814, how much of the territories of old France would they have left to its inhabitants? What crushing contributions would they have levied, for many a long and weary year, on the vanquished! what havoc would they have made in all the museums and royal palaces of France! Doubtless, their forbearance was not entirely owing to disinterestedness; doubtless, they had jealousies of their own to consider, political objects of their own to gain, in reconciling France to the new dynasty. But their policy was founded on a noble spirit—it rested on the principle of eradicating hostility by generosity, and avenging injury by forgiveness. The result proved that, in doing so, they proceeded on too exalted an estimate of human nature.

51. In the general settlement of Europe, after the revolutionary deluge had subsided, the fate of one of the most persevering, and not the least illustrious, of Napoleon's opponents, must not be overlooked. Pius VII., after having been taken away, by orders of Napoleon, from Fontainebleau on the 28d January [*ante*, Chap. LXXXIV. § 43], in virtue of the convention already mentioned, had been still, under one pretext or another, detained in the French territory, and was still in Provence when Paris was taken. One of the first cares of the provisional government was, by a decree, to direct him to be instantly set at liberty, and conducted to the Italian frontiers with all the honours due to his rank. He entered Italy accordingly, and at Cesina, near Parma, had an interview with Murat, who exhibited to him the original of a memorial, which a number of the nobles and chief inhabitants of Rome had, at his instigation, presented to the allied powers, praying to have the Roman states incorporated with one of the secular powers of Italy. Without looking at the memoir so as to know what signatures were attached to it, the generous pontiff at once threw the document into the fire.* Continu-

ing his route by slow journeys, which the feeble state of his health rendered necessary, he reached the neighbourhood of Rome on the 23d, and entered that city on the 24th May—nearly five years after he had been violently carried off, at dead of night, by the troops of Napoleon. Opinions had been divided previously as to the expedience of his return; and those who had signed the memorial to the Allies justly dreaded the effects of his resentment. But the generous proceeding at Cesina overcame all hearts, and he was received with unanimous and heartfelt expressions of satisfaction. Stricken by conscience, some of the nobles who had signed the memorial came next day to request forgiveness. "Have we not some faults, too, to reproach ourselves with?" replied the generous pontiff; "let us bury our injuries in oblivion."

52. The world had never seen—probably the world will never again see—so marvellous a spectacle as the streets of Paris exhibited from the 31st March, when the entry of the Allies took place, till the 16th June, when, upon their finally retiring, the service of the posts was restored to the national guard of the capital. The dream of Ariosto was realised under circumstances yet more striking—round a greater than Charlemagne all the princes and ambassadors of the world were assembled.* In a state of the most profound tranquillity, with the most absolute protection of life and property, even of the most obnoxious of their former enemies, the capital of Napoleon was occupied by the troops of twenty different nations, whom the oppression of his government had roused to arms from the wall of China to the Pillars of Hercules. As if by the wand of a mighty enchanter, all the angry passions, the fierce contentions, which had

* "For not the walls of Paris could contain,
From various nations, such a countless
train.

There rich and poor—there all degrees on
earth,

Of Grecian, Latian, and barbarian birth,
Throughout the world,—that tongue can
scarcely relate

The lords and envoys sent from every state.

Orlando Furioso, book xlv.

so long deluged the world with blood, seemed to be stilled; victors and vanquished sank down side by side into the enjoyment of repose. Beside the veterans of Napoleon's Old Guard, who still retained, even in the moment of defeat, and when surrounded by the might of foreign powers, their martial and undaunted aspect, were to be seen the superb household troops of Russia and Prussia; the splendid cuirassiers of Austria shone in glittering steel; the iron veterans of Blücher still eyed the troops of France with jealousy, as if their enmity was unappeased even by the conquest of their enemies. The nomad tribes of Asia and the Ukraine strolled in wonder along every street; groups of Cossack bivouacs lay in the Champs-Élysées; the Bashkirs and Tartars gazed with undisguised avidity, but restrained hands, on the gorgeous display of jewellery and dresses which were arrayed in the shop-windows, to attract the notice of the numerous princes and potentates who thronged the metropolis. Every morning the noble columns of the Preobrazhensky and Simonsky Guards marched out of the barracks of the École Militaire, to exercise on the Champ de Mars; at noon, reviews of cavalry succeeded, and the earth shook under the thundering charge of the Russian cuirassiers. Often in the evening the allied monarchs visited the opera, or some of the theatres; and the applause with which they were received resembled what might have been expected if Napoleon had returned in triumph from the capture of their capitals. Early in June, Wellington, who had been appointed ambassador of England at the court of the Tuileries, arrived among them; he was received with enthusiasm; and the opera-house never shook with louder applause than when he first made his appearance there, after the battle of Toulouse.

53. One peculiarity in the Russian and Prussian armies, which most excited the attention of the Parisians, was the universal and simple feeling of piety with which they were animated. To an infidel generation, who had never known Christianity but in its corruption, and judged of its spirit only from

the misrepresentations of its enemies, this circumstance was the subject of general astonishment and partial admiration. "We listened," says a contemporary French journalist, "to young Russian officers, on the very day of their triumphant entrance into Paris, who spoke of their exploits from Moscow to the Seine as of deeds which had been accomplished under the immediate guidance of divine Providence, and ascribed to themselves only the glory of having been chosen as the instruments for the fulfilment of the divine decree. They spoke of their victories without exultation, and in language so simple, that it seemed to us as if they did so by common consent out of politeness. They showed us a silver medal, worn equally by their generals and private soldiers as a badge of distinction.* On the one side is represented the eye of Providence, and on the other these words from Scripture, 'Not unto us, not unto us, but to thy name.' We must allow it is religion which has formed the sacred bond of their union for the benefit of mankind, the emblems of which their troops wear on their garments. No human motive could have induced them to make sacrifices unparalleled in history." The Emperor Alexander uniformly expressed the same sentiments. "This arm," said that noble prince, "did no more than other men's—each did his duty. Could I do less? Not I, more than they, achieved the victory. 'Twas Providence." Such was the spirit which conquered the French Revolution; such, on the testimony of the vanquished, the principles which gave final victory to the arms of the Desert in the centre of civilised infidelity. The opposite characters of the two contending powers were perfectly represented by one circumstance: Napoleon placed on his triumphal column, in the Place Vendôme, a statue of *himself*; Alexander, as has been already mentioned, caused the column which the gratitude of the senate decreed to him at St Petersburg to be surmounted by a statue of *Religion* extending her arms to bless mankind.

54. Before the allied armies broke

* The medal of 1812.

up from Paris, a grand review took place of the whole troops in and around that city, comprising the *élite* of the allied forces then in France. Seventy thousand men, with eighty-two guns, were drawn up three deep on the road, from the barrier of Neuilly to the bridge of St Cloud: they occupied the whole space; and certainly a more magnificent military spectacle never was witnessed. When the Emperor Alexander, with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, and all the marshals and generals of their respective armies, rode along the line, the acclamations of the troops, at first loud and overpowering, then getting fainter and fainter as they died away in the distance, were inexpressibly sublime. Breaking them into open column, the whole defiled past the sovereigns; and such was the splendour of their array, that it seemed scarcely conceivable that they had so recently been engaged in a campaign of unexampled duration and hardship. The Russian Guard in particular, twenty, and the Prussian, eight thousand strong, with hardly a man in their ranks under six feet high, attracted, by the brilliancy of their equipments and the precision of their movements, universal admiration. The eye could scarcely bear the dazzling lines of light which, under a bright sun and a cloudless sky, were reflected from the cuirasses and sabres of the cavalry. Proudly the celebrated regiments of the Russian Guards, Preobazhinsky, Simonsky, and Bonnet d'Or, marched past. In noble array, and with an erect air, the vast host pressed on: they passed round the massy pillars of the arch of Neuilly, begun by Napoleon to the honour of the Grand Army, defiled in silence over the Place of the Revolution, treading on the spot where Louis XVI. had fallen, and scarce cast an eye on the unfinished columns of the Temple of Glory, commenced after the triumph of Jena. Among the countless multitude whom the extraordinary events of the period had drawn together from every part of Europe to the French capital, and the brilliancy of this spectacle had concentrated in one spot, was

one young man who had watched with intense interest the progress of the war from his earliest years, and who having hurried from his paternal roof in Edinburgh on the first cessation of hostilities, then conceived the first idea of narrating its events; and amidst its wonders inhaled that ardent spirit, that deep enthusiasm, which, sustaining him through fifteen subsequent years of travelling and study, and twenty more of composition, has at length realised itself in the present history.

55. Having finally arranged matters at Paris, the allied sovereigns, before retiring to their own dominions, paid a visit to London. It belongs to the historians of England to recount the festivities of that joyous period—that Cloth of Gold of modern times; when the greatest, and wisest, and bravest in Europe came to do voluntary homage to the free people whose energy and perseverance had saved themselves by their firmness, and the world by their example. Suffice it to say, as a topic interesting to general history, that the allied monarchs left Paris on the 5th July, and reached Dover on the 8th: that they were received with extraordinary enthusiasm by all classes in England, from the peasant to the prince: that they were feasted with more than the usual magnificence at Guildhall, and received with more than wonted splendour at the palace: that the Emperor of Russia was invested with the Order of the Garter at Carlton House; and that at Oxford both he and the King of Prussia, as well as Marshal Blücher, were arrayed with all the academic honours which a grateful nation could bestow: that a splendid naval review at Portsmouth, where thirty ships of the line and frigates manœuvred together, conveyed an adequate idea of the naval power of England; and that, satiated with pomp and the cheers of admiration, they embarked for the Continent on their return to their own dominions. But two circumstances connected with this visit, at the close of the longest, most costly, and bloodiest war mentioned in history, deserve to be recorded, as characteristic of the British

empire at this period. When Alexander visited the arsenal at Woolwich, and saw the acres covered with cannon and shot in that stupendous emporium of military strength, he said, "Why, this resembles rather the preparation of a great nation for the commencement of a war, than the stores still remaining to it at its termination." And as the same monarch surveyed the hundreds of thousands who assembled to see him in Hyde Park, he was so impressed with the universal well-being of the spectators, that he exclaimed, "This is indeed imposing; but where are the people?"

56. One other circumstance, of domestic interest in its origin, but of vast importance in its ultimate results, deserves to be recorded of this eventful period. At Paris, during the stay of the allied monarchs, resided Lord —, who had filled with acknowledged ability a high diplomatic situation at their headquarters during the later period of the war. His lady, of high rank, had joined him to partake in the festivities of that brilliant period, and with her a young relative, equally distinguished by her beauty and talents, then appearing in all the freshness of opening youth. A frequent visitor at this period in Lord —'s family was a young officer, then an aide-de-camp to the Grand-duke Constantine, a younger brother of an ancient and illustrious family in Germany, but who, like many other scions of nobility, had more blood in his veins than money in his pocket. The young aide-de-camp was speedily captivated by the graces of the English lady; and when the sovereigns were about to set out for England, whither Lord — was to accompany them, he bitterly lamented the scantiness of his finances, which prevented him from following in the train of such attraction. Lord — good-humouredly told him he should always find a place at his table when he was not otherwise engaged, and that he would put him in the way of seeing all the world in the British metropolis, which he would probably never see to such advantage again. Such an offer, espe-

cially when seconded by such influences, proved irresistible, and the young German gladly followed them to London.

57. He was there speedily introduced to, and ere long distinguished by, the Princess Charlotte, whose projected alliance with the Prince of Orange had recently before been broken off. Though the princess remarked him, however, it was nothing more at that time than a passing regard; for her thoughts were then more seriously occupied by another. Having received, at the same time, what he deemed some encouragement, the young soldier proposed to the princess, and was refused, and subsequently went to Vienna during the sitting of the congress at that place, where his susceptible heart was speedily engrossed in another tender affair. Invincible obstacles, however, presented themselves to the realisation of the Princess Charlotte's views, which had led to her first rejection of the gallant German: he received a friendly hint from London to make his attentions to the fair Austrian less remarkable: he returned to the English capital, again proposed to the English princess, and was accepted. It was PRINCE LEOPOLD OF SAXE-COBURG; and his subsequent destiny and that of his family exceeds all that romance has figured of the marvellous.* He married the heiress of England; after her lamented death, he espoused a daughter of France: he was offered the throne of Greece; he accepted the

* It would be indelicate, during the life of some of the persons mentioned in the preceding curious narration, to give their names to the public. Those acquainted with the elevated circles of English society at that period, will have no difficulty in filling them up; and the statement may be relied on, as the author had it from some of the parties immediately concerned. The reader of Italian history will recollect the corresponding anecdote of the peasant Sforza, when invited to enter the army by a recruiting party which was passing the field where he was pruning vines. He hesitated whether to accept or decline the offer; and at length put his shears on a branch, saying, if they fell he would go, if they were supported by the branch he would remain. They fell: he joined the party, became Duke of Milan, and founded the house of that name.

crown of Belgium. In consequence of his elevation, one of his nephews has married the heiress of Portugal, another the Queen of England; and the accidental fancy of a young German officer for a beautiful English lady has, in its ultimate results, given three kingdoms to his family, placed on one of his relatives the crown of the greatest empire that has existed in the world since the fall of Rome, and restored to England, in hazardous times, the inestimable blessing of a direct line of succession to the throne.

58. The march upon St Dizier was unquestionably expedient as a measure of military policy; and as such it may be regarded as the last of those brilliant movements in that astonishing campaign, which alone would be sufficient to give immortality to the name of Napoleon. When his whole remaining resources had been fairly worn out in that marvellous struggle, he had a fair prospect by this felicitous conception of renewing the contest on fresh ground, hitherto comparatively unexhausted; and of tripling his force in the field by the addition of the garrisons drawn from the frontier fortresses. Yet this movement, beyond all question, proved Napoleon's ruin; for, by giving room for the manly counsels of Blücher and the Russian Emperor, it exposed the capital to the assault of irresistible forces, and led to the overthrow of the French Emperor's power in the very quarter where he had deemed it most securely founded. And that he fully appreciated the danger of an attack there, is decisively proved by the haste with which he at once abandoned all the military advantages of the march on St Dizier to avert it, and the decisive results which followed the start which the Allies had got of him at the capital by only eight-and-forty hours.

59. It was not thus with the other European monarchies, when they were involved in disaster. Vienna was taken by Napoleon in 1805; but the Austrians fought the battle of Austerlitz, and had well-nigh restored affairs after that event; it was again taken in 1809, but the monarchy stood firm, and re-

duced the invader to the verge of ruin at Aspern. Berlin was captured by the Russians in 1769, and by Napoleon in 1806; but that did not prevent the Great Frederick, in the first instance, from bringing to a glorious close the Seven Years' War; nor Frederick-William, in the second, from gallantly struggling with his Russian allies for existence in the furthest corner of his dominions, amidst the snows of Eylau. Madrid fell an easy prey, in 1808, to the mingled fraud and violence of the French Emperor; but Spain, notwithstanding, continued to maintain a mortal struggle for six long years with the forces of Napoleon. Russia was pierced to the heart in 1812, and her ancient capital became the spoil of the invader; but Alexander persevered in the contest with unabated vigour, and from the flames of Moscow arose the fire which delivered the world. How, then, did it happen that the fall of the capital—which in all these other cases, so far from being the termination, was rather the commencement of the most desperate and protracted period of the war—should in France alone have had a totally opposite effect; and that the capture of Paris should not merely have been the conquest of a kingdom, but the overthrow of a system, and the change of a dynasty, which still spread its ramifications over the half of Europe?

60. The cause of this remarkable difference is to be found in the decisive distinction, in the last crisis, between a revolutionary and an established government, and the different motives to human action which the two bring to bear upon mankind. A revolution being founded in general on the triumph of violence, robbery, and treason, over fidelity, order, and loyalty—and almost always accompanied in its progress by a hideous effusion of blood and spoliation of property—its leaders, if successful, have no means of rousing or retaining the attachment of their followers; but by constantly appealing to the passions of the world. Equality, patriotism, liberty, glory, constitute the successive and brilliant meteors which they launch forth to dazzle and inspire

mankind. They have an instinctive dread of the influences of Heaven; all allusion to a Supreme Being appears to them fanaticism; they would willingly bury all thoughts of another world in oblivion. So long as success attends their efforts, the powerful tie of worldly interest, or temporary passion, binds together the unholy alliance, and its force proves for a considerable period irresistible. But the very principle which constitutes its strength in prosperity affords the measure of its weakness in adversity: its idol being worldly success, when that idol is pierced to the heart by the destroyer, "the ocean-vault falls in, and all are crushed." The same motives of action, the same principles of conduct, which make them unanimously rally round the eagles of the conqueror, necessarily lead them as generally to abandon the standards of the unfortunate. The enthusiasm of Austerlitz, however different in its aspect, sprang from the same source as the defections of Fontainebleau. In both cases they were true to one and the same principle—self-interest.

61. The existence of this motive, as the general moving principle, is quite consistent with the utmost generosity and heroism in *individual* cases, though these unhappily daily become less frequent in the late stages of the national malady. Nay, the absorbing passion for individual advancement, which in the more advanced stages of revolution comes to obliterate every other feeling, springs from the ill-regulated impulse given in the outset to the generous affections. For such is the deceitfulness of sin, and the proneness to self-aggrandisement in human nature, that the passions cannot be set violently in motion, even by the disinterested feelings, without the selfish ere long obtaining the mastery of the current; as in a town carried by a storm; how sublime soever may be the heroism, how glorious the self-sacrifice, with which the troops mount the breach, the strife, if successful, is sure to terminate in the worst atrocities of pillage, rape, and conflagration. It is religion alone which, by opening a scene of aspiration beyond the grave, can provide a coun-

terpoise to the overwhelming torrent of worldly ambition, which can render men nobly superior to all the storms of time, and give the same fidelity to a falling, which revolution secures to a rising cause.

62. That this, and not any peculiar fickleness or proneness to change, was the real cause of the universal and disgraceful desertion by France of its revolutionary chief, when he became unfortunate, is decisively proved by the consideration that, in other times, even in France itself, in those parts of the country or among those classes where the old influences still survived, the most glorious examples of constancy and fidelity had been found. In the course of the wars with England, Paris was not only taken, but occupied eighteen years by the English armies; an English king was crowned King of France at Rheims; and so complete was the prostration of the country, that an English corps, not ten thousand strong, marched right through the heart of France, from Calais to Bayonne, without encountering any opposition. But that did not subjugate the French people, or hinder them from gloriously rallying behind the Loire, and twice expelling the English from their territory. The League long held Paris; but that did not prevent Henry IV., at the head of the forces of the provinces, from laying siege to it, and placing himself, a Protestant chief, on the throne of France. Where, in the annals of the world, shall we find more touching examples of heroism in misfortune, and constancy in adversity, than in La Vendée amid the republican massacres, or in Lyons under the *mitrallades* of Fouché and Collot d'Herbois? Even in Paris, stripped as it had been of almost the whole of the nobility by the previous emigration, five hundred devoted gentlemen hastened to the Tuileries, on the 10th August 1792, to meet death with the royal family. But not one of the new noblesse went from thence to Fontainebleau to share exile with Napoleon on the eve of his overthrow.

63. It is in vain, therefore, to attempt to shelter the tergiversation of

Fontainebleau under any peculiarity of national character; or to ascribe to human nature what is evidently owing, in this instance at least, to its baseness under the vices of a revolution. It is equally vain to allege that necessity drove the French leaders to this measure; that they had no alternative; and that desertion of Napoleon, or national ruin, stared them in the face. If that were the case, what condemnation so severe could be passed on the Revolutionary system, as the admission that it had brought matters, under chiefs and leaders of the nation's own appointment, to such a pass that nothing remained but to ruin their country, or betray the hero whom they had placed upon the throne? But in truth, it was misfortune, and the stoppage of the robbery of Europe, which alone rendered Napoleon unpopular, and undermined the colossal power which the Revolution had reared up. Not a whisper was heard against his system of government so long as it was victorious; it was at the zenith of its popularity when, after twelve years' continuance, he crossed the Niemen. It was when he became unfortunate that it was felt to be insupportable. If the French eagles had gone on from conquest to conquest, France would have yielded up the last drop of its blood to his ambition; and he would have lived and died surrounded by the adulation of its whole inhabitants, though he had deprived all its mothers of their sons, and all the civilised world of its possessions.

64. No position is more frequently maintained by the French writers of the liberal school, than that Napoleon perished because he departed from the principles of the Revolution; that the monarch forgot the maxims of the citizen, the emperor the simplicity of the general; that he stifled the national voice, till it had become extinct, and curbed the popular energies till they had been forgotten; that he fell at last, less under the bayonets of banded Europe, than in consequence of his despotic terror at putting arms into the hands of his own people; and that, if he had revived in 1814 the revolution-

ary energy of 1793, he would have proved equally victorious. They might as well say, that if the old worn-out debauchee of sixty would only resume the vigour and the passions of twenty-five, he would extricate himself from all his ailments. Doubtless he would succeed in so doing, by such a miracle, for a time; and he might, if so renovated, run again for twenty years the career of pleasure, licentiousness, suffering, and decay. But is such a restoration in the last stages of excitement, whether individual or national, possible? Is it desirable? Was there ever such a thing heard of as a people, after twenty-five years' suffering and exhaustion from the indulgence of their social passions, again commencing the career of delusion and ruin? Never. Men are hardly ever warned by the sufferings of preceding generations, but they are never insensible to the agonies of their own.

65. Equally extravagant is the idea frequently started by a more amiable and philanthropic class of writers, that it was Napoleon's ambition which ruined the cause of the Revolution; and that if he had only turned his sword into a ploughshare, and cultivated the arts of peace, after he had gained possession of supreme power, as he had done those of war to attain it, he might have successfully established in France the glorious fabric of constitutional freedom. They know little of human nature—of the deceitfulness of sin, and downward progress of the career of passion—who think such a transformation practicable. They know still less of the laws of the moral world, who deem such a result consistent with the administration of a just and beneficent Providence. Are the habits necessary for the building up of constitutional freedom; the industry, self-denial, and frugality, which must constitute its bases in the great body of the people; the moderation, disinterestedness, and general sway of virtue, which must characterise the leaders of the state, to be acquired amidst the total breaking up of society, the closing of all the channels of pacific industry, the excitement and animation of war? Is the

general abandonment of religion, the universal worship of the idol of worldly success, the sacrifice of every principle at the shrine of self-interest, the school in which the domestic and social virtues are to be learned? Are robbery, devastation, and murder, the sweeping away of the property of ages, the pouring out like water the blood of the innocent, the steps by which, under a just Providence, the glorious fabric of durable freedom is to be erected? We might well despair of the fortunes of the human race, if the French Revolution could have given the people engaged in it such a blessing.

66. Napoleon knew well the fallacy of this idea. He constantly affirmed that he was not to be accused for the wars which he undertook; that they were imposed upon him by an invincible necessity: that glory and success—in other words, perpetual contest—were the conditions of his tenure of power: that he was but the head of a military republic, which would admit of no pause in its career: that conquest was with him essential to existence, and that the first pause in the march of victory would prove the commencement of ruin.* This history has indeed been written to little purpose if it is not manifest, even to the most inconsiderate, that he was right in these

* Charlemagne felt the force of a similar necessity; it is common to all men of capacity who find themselves at the head of affairs in a powerful state, long torn by internal dissensions. "Charlemagne, now become sole king of the Franks, was profoundly convinced that it was necessary to occupy incessantly the warlike nation which he governed; if he did not lead it on to conquest, its power would be expended in civil war, as under the Mérovingians; he had brave and impetuous men, he must lead them through rivers and over mountains into new countries; his skill consisted in throwing his companions in arms upon the neighbouring peoples and territories; for he was forced to provide for them booty, lands, and power, if he wished to prevent them from warring against each other."—*CAPEPIERRE, Hist. of Charlemagne*, i. 156. This might pass without changing a word but "Mérovingians" into "Capetians" for a true and graphic description of Napoleon's situation, as often drawn by himself, after the strife of the Revolution. The position of Louis XIV., after the wars of the Fronde, was precisely similar, and forced him into a similar career of foreign aggression and conquest.

ideas, and that it was not himself, but the spirit of his age, which is chargeable with his fall. The ardent and yet disappointed passions of the Revolution, the millions thrown out of pacific employment, the insatiable desires awakened, the boundless anticipations formed during the progress of that great convulsion, could by possibility find vent only in external conquest. The simple pursuits of industry, the unobtrusive path of duty, the heroic self-denial of virtue, the only sure basis of general freedom, were insupportable to men thus violently excited. If we would know where the career of conquest, once successfully commenced by a democratic state, must of necessity lead, we have only to look to the empire of Rome in ancient, or of British India in modern times. Even now the fever still burns in the veins of France: her maniac punishment is not yet terminated. Not all the blood shed by Napoleon, not her millions of citizens slaughtered, have been able to subdue the fierce ebullition;† the senate and legislative body obsequiously voted, the people slavishly acquiesced in, his ceaseless demands for the blood of their children, happy that he asked less than they would have given. The double

† Levies of men in France since the Revolution:—

1793,	300,000
1798,	1,200,000
1798,	200,000
1799,	200,000
1801,	30,000
17th Jan. 1805,	80,000
24th Sept. 1805,	80,000
4th Dec. 1806,	80,000
7th April 1807,	80,000
21st Jan. 1808,	80,000
16th Sept. 1808,	160,000
18th April 1809,	30,000
18th April 1809,	10,000
5th Oct. 1809,	35,000
18th Dec. 1810,	120,000
13th Dec. 1810,	40,000
20th Dec. 1811,	120,000
13th March 1812,	100,000
1st Sept. 1812,	137,000
11th Jan. 1813,	250,000
2d April 1813,	180,000
24th Aug. 1813,	30,000
9th Oct. 1813,	280,000
18th Nov. 1813,	300,000

Total, 4,113,000

—*CAPEPIERRE*, v. 510; and *Moniteurs* of the above dates.

conquest of her capital has been unable to tame her pride; and nothing but the consummate talents and courage of Louis Philippe, joined to the philosophic wisdom of M. Guizot, have been able to prevent her from rushing again into the career of glory, of suffering, and of punishment.*

67. The French Revolution, therefore, is to be regarded as a great whole, of which the enthusiasm and fervour of 1789 were the commencement; the rebellion against government and massacre of the King, the second stage; the Reign of Terror and charnel-house of La Vendée, the third; the conquests and glory of Napoleon, the fourth; the subjugation of France and treachery of Fontainebleau, the consummation. Its external degradation and internal infamy at the latter period, were as necessary a part of its progress, as inevitable a result of its principles, as the harvest reaped in autumn is of the seed sown in spring. The connection—the necessary connection between the two now stands revealed in colours of imperishable light; they are stamped in characters of fire on the adamantine tablets of history. Therefore it is that any narrative of the Revolution which does not follow it out to its fall, must necessarily be imperfect, both in the fidelity of its picture and the truth of its moral. To stop at the accession of the Directory, or the seizure of supreme power by Napoleon, as many have done, is to halt in our account of a fever at the ninth or thirteenth day, when the crisis did not come on till the twenty-first. And he who, after reflecting on the events of this marvellous progress, in which the efforts of ages and the punishment of generations were all concentrated into one quarter of a century, does not believe in the Divine superintendence of human affairs, and the reward of virtuous and punishment of guilty nations in this world, would not be converted though one rose from the dead.

* "Sedere Patres censeere parati,
Et regnum, et templum sibi, jugulumque Senatus,
Auxiliumque petat: melius, quod plura ju-
here
Brutus, quam Roma potest."

—Lucan, *Pharsalia*, li. 110.

68. An author in whom simplicity or beauty of expression often conceals depth and justice of thought, has thus explained the mode of the Divine administration, and the manner in which it works out its decrees by the instrumentality of free agents:—"The beauty and magnificence," says Blair, "of the universe are much heightened by its being an extensive and complicated system, in which a variety of springs are made to play, and a multitude of different movements are with admirable art regulated and kept in order. Interfering interests and jarring passions are in such manner balanced against one another, such proper checks are placed on the violence of human pursuits, and the wrath of man is made so to hold its course, that how opposite soever the several motions at first appear to be, yet they all concur at last in one result. While among the multitudes that dwell on the face of the earth, some are submissive to the Divine authority, some rise up in rebellion against it; others, absorbed in their pleasures and pursuits, are totally inattentive to it; they are all so moved by an imperceptible influence from above, that the zeal of the dutiful, the wrath of the rebellious, and the indifference of the careless, contribute finally to the glory of God. All are governed in such a manner as suits their powers, and is consistent with their moral freedom; yet the various acts of these free agents all conspire to work out the eternal purposes of Heaven. The system upon which the Divine government plainly proceeds, is, that men's own wickedness should be appointed to correct them, that they should be snared in the work of their own hands. When the vices of men require punishment to be inflicted, the Almighty is at no loss for the ministers of justice. No special interpositions of power are requisite. He has no occasion to step from His throne and interrupt the majestic order of nature. With the solemnity which befits Omnipotence, He pronounces, 'Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone.' He leaves transgressors to their own guilt, and punishment follows of course. Their

own sins do the work of justice. They lift the scourge; and with every stroke they inflict on the criminal, they mix the severe admonition that he is reaping only the fruit of his own deeds, and deserves all that he suffers."

69. Without pretending to explain the various modes by which this awful and mysterious system of Divine administration, in which ourselves are at once the free agents, and the objects of reward and punishment, is carried on, it is impossible not to be struck with the powerful operation of two moral laws of our being, with the reality of which every one, from the experience of his own breast, as well as the observation of those around him, must be familiar. The first is, that every irregular passion or illicit desire acquires strength from the gratification which it receives, and becomes the more uncontrollable the more it is indulged. The second, that the power of self-denial, the energy of virtue, the generosity of disposition, increase with every occasion on which they are called forth, until at length they become a formed habit, and require hardly any effort for their exercise. On the counteracting force of these two laws the whole moral administration of the universe hinges; as its physical equilibrium is dependent on the opposite influences of the centripetal and centrifugal forces.

70. It is by gradual and latent steps that the destruction of virtue, whether in the individual or in the community, begins. The first advances of sin are clothed in the garb of liberality and philanthropy; the colours it then assumes are the homage which vice pays to virtue. If the evil unveiled itself at the beginning—if the storm which is to uproot society discovered as it rose all its horrors, there are few who would not shrink from its contact. But its first appearance is so attractive that few are sensible of its real nature: and, strange to say, the most hardened egotism in the end derives its chief strength in the outset from the generous affections. By degrees "habit gives the passions strength, while the absence of glaring guilt seemingly justifies them; and, unawakened by re-

morse, the sinner proceeds in his course till he waxes bold in guilt and becomes ripe for ruin. We are imperceptibly betrayed; from one licentious attachment, one criminal passion, led on to another, till all self-government is lost, and we are hurried to destruction. In this manner, every criminal passion in its progress swells and blackens, till what was at first a small cloud, no bigger than a man's hand rising from the sea, is found to carry the tempest in its womb." What is the career of the drunkard, the gamester, or the sensualist, but an exemplification of the truth of this picture? Reader, if you have any doubt of the reality of this moral law, search your own heart, call to mind your own ways. Exactly the same principle applies to nations. What is the history of the French Revolution, in all its stages, but an exemplification of this truth when applied to social passions? And how did the vast colossus of earthly passion, which had so long bestrode the world, ultimately break up? Despite the bright and glowing colours with which its youth arose, despite the great and glorious deeds by which its manhood was emblazoned, it sank in the end amidst the basest and most degrading selfishness. It perished precisely as a gang of robbers does, in which, when the stroke of adversity is at last felt, each, true to the god of his idolatry, strives to save himself by betraying his leader. The same law which makes an apple fall to the ground regulates the planets in their course.

71. The second moral principle, not less universal, alike in individuals and nations, than the first, is open to the daily observation of every one, equally in his own breast and the conduct of others. Every one has felt in his own experience, however little he may have practised it—every teacher of youth has ascertained by observation—every moralist from the beginning of time has enforced the remark as the last conclusion of wisdom—that the path of virtue is rough and thorny at the outset; that habits of industry and self-denial are to be gained only by exertion; that the ascent is rugged,

the path steep, but that the difficulty diminishes as the effort is continued; and that, when the "summit is reached, the heaven is above your head, and at your feet the kingdom of Cashmere." And such is the effect of effort strenuously made in the cause of virtue, that it purifies itself as it advances, and progressively casts off the intermixture of worldly passion, which often sullied the purity of its motives in the outset. Hence the constant elevation often observed in the character of good men as they advance in life, till at its close they almost seem to have lost every stain of human corruption, and to be translated, rather than raised, by death to immortality. It is in this moral law that the antagonist principle of social as well as individual evil is to be found, and it was by its operation upon successive nations that the dreadful nightmare of the French Revolution was thrown off the world. Many selfish desires, much corrupt ambition, great moral weakness, numerous political sins, stained the first efforts of the coalition, and in them at that period England had her full share. For these sins they suffered and are suffering; and the punishment of Great Britain will continue as long as the national debt endures*—of Russia and Prussia as long as Poland festers, a thorn of weakness, in their sides. But how unworthy soever its champions at first may have been, the cause for which they contended was a noble one. It was that of religion, fidelity, and freedom; and, as the contest raged on, they were purified in the only school of real amelioration—the school of suffering. Gradually the baser elements were washed out of the confederacy; the nations, after long agony, came comparatively pure out of the furnace. At last, instead of the selfishness and rapacity of 1794, were exhibited the constancy of Saragossa, the devotion of Aspern, the heroism of the Tyrol, the resurrection of Prussia; and the war, which had commenced

with the partition of Poland and the attempted partition of France, terminated with the flames of Moscow and the pardon of Paris.

72. Is, then, the cause of freedom utterly hopeless? does agitation necessarily lead to rebellion, rebellion to revolution? and must the prophetic eye of wisdom ever anticipate in the infant struggles of liberty the bloodshed of Robespierre, the carnage of Napoleon, the treachery of Fontainebleau? No. It is not the career of freedom, it is the career of sin which leads, and ever will lead, to such results. It is in the disregard of moral obligation when done with beneficent intentions; in the fatal maxim, that the end will justify the means; in the oblivion of the Divine precept, that "evil is *not* to be done that good may come of it;" and not in any fatality connected with revolutions, that the real cause of this deplorable downward progress is to be found. And if the supporters of freedom would avoid this otherwise inevitable retribution; if they would escape being led on from desire to desire, from acquisition to acquisition, from passion to passion, from crime to crime, till a Moscow retreat drowns their hopes in blood, or a treachery of Fontainebleau for ever disgraces them in the eyes of mankind—they must resolutely in the outset withstand the tempter, and avoid all measures, whatever their apparent expedience may be, which are not evidently based on immutable justice. If this, the only compass in the dark night of revolution, is not steadily observed; if property is ever taken without compensation being given; or blood shed without the commission of crimes to which that penalty is by law attached; or institutions uprooted, sanctioned by the experience of ages, when their modification was practicable; if, in short, the principle is acted on, that the end will justify the means, unbounded national calamities are at hand, and the very objects for which these sins are committed will be for ever lost.

73. What are the difficulties which now beset the philosophic statesman in the attempt to construct the fabric

* If England had acted in the outset of the war as she did at the close, the contest would have been terminated in 1798, and £600,000,000 saved from the national debt.

of constitutional freedom in France! They are, that the national morality has been destroyed in the citizens of towns, in whose hands alone political power is vested: that there is no moral strength or political energy in the country: that no great proprietors exist to steady or direct general opinion, or counterbalance either the encroachments of the executive or the madness of the people: that France has fallen under a subjection to Paris, to which there is nothing comparable in European history: that the Prætorian guards of the capital rule the state: that nearly six millions of separate proprietors, the great majority at the plough, can achieve no more in the cause of freedom than an army of privates without officers: that commercial opulence and habits of sober judgment have been destroyed, never to revive: that a thirst for excitement everywhere prevails, and general selfishness disgraces the nation: that religion has never resumed its sway over the influential classes: that rank has ceased to be hereditary, and, having become the appanage of office only, is a virtual addition to the power of the sovereign; and that the general depravity renders indispensable a powerful centralised and military government. In what respect does this state of things differ from the institutions of China or the Byzantine empire? "The Romans," says Gibbon, "aspired to be equal: they were levelled by the equality of Asiatic servitude."

74. And yet, what are all these fatal

peculiarities in the present political and social condition of France, but the effects of the very revolutionary measures which were the object of such unanimous support and enthusiasm at its commencement? This was the expedience for which the crimes of the Revolution were committed! For this it was that they massacred the king, guillotined the nobles, annihilated the church, confiscated the estates, rendered bankrupt the nation, denied the Almighty!—to exchange European for Asiatic civilisation; to destroy the foundations of freedom by crushing its strongest supports; and, by weakening the restraints of virtue, render unavoidable the fetters of force! Truly their sin has recoiled upon them: they have indeed received the work of their own hands. Mr Burke long ago said, "that without a complete and entire restitution of the confiscated property, liberty could never be re-established in France." And the justice of the observation is now apparent, for by it alone could the elements and bulwarks of freedom be restored. But restitution, it will be said, is now impossible; the interests of the new proprietors are too immense, their political power too great; the Restoration was based on their protection, and they cannot be interfered with. Very possibly it is so, but that will not alter the laws of nature. If reparation has become impossible, RETRIBUTION must be endured; and that retribution, as the necessary result of the crimes of which it is the punishment, is the doom of Oriental slavery.

CHAPTER. XC.

AMERICA — ITS PHYSICAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

1. If the friends of freedom are often led to despair of its fortunes amidst the dense population, aged monarchies, and corrupted passions of the Old World, the aurora appears to rise in a purer sky and with brighter colours in the other hemisphere. In those immense regions which the genius of Columbus first laid open to European enterprise, where vice had not yet spread its snares nor wealth its seductions, the free spirit and persevering industry of England have penetrated a yet untrodden continent, and laid in the wilderness the foundations of a vaster monument of civilisation than has ever yet been raised by the efforts of man. Nor has the hand of nature been wanting to prepare a fitting receptacle for the august structure. Far beyond the Atlantic wave, amidst forests trodden only by the foot of the savage, her creative powers have been, unknown to us, in ceaseless activity: in the solitudes of the Far West, the garden of the human race has been for ages in preparation; and amidst the onward and expanding energies of the Old World, her prophetic hand had silently prepared, in the solitude of the New, unbounded resources for the future increase of man.

2. There is a part of the New World where nature appears clothed with the brilliant colours, and decked out in the gorgeous array of the tropics. In the Gulf of Mexico, the extraordinary clearness of the water reveals to the astonished mariner the magnitude of its abysses, and discloses, even at the depth of thirty fathoms, the gigantic vegetation which, so far beneath the surface, is drawn forth by the attraction of a vertical sun. In the midst

of these glassy waves, rarely disturbed by a ruder breath than the zephyrs of spring, an archipelago of perfumed islands is placed, which repose like baskets of flowers on the tranquil surface of the ocean. Everything in those enchanted abodes appears to have been prepared for the wants and enjoyments of man. Nature has superseded the ordinary necessity for labour. The verdure of the groves, and the colours of the flowers and blossoms, derive additional vividness from the transparent purity of the air and the deep serenity of the heavens. Many of the trees are laden with fruits, which descend by their own weight to invite the indolent hand of the gatherer, and are perpetually renewed under the influence of an ever-balmey air. Others, which yield no nourishment, fascinate the eye by the luxuriant variety of their form or the gorgeous brilliancy of their colours. Amidst a forest of perfumed citron-trees, spreading bananas, graceful palms, wild figs, round-leaved myrtles, fragrant acacias, and gigantic arbutuses, are to be seen every variety of creepers, with scarlet or purple blossoms, which entwine themselves round the stems, and hang in festoons from tree to tree.

3. The trees are of a magnitude unknown in northern climes. The luxuriant vines, as they clamber up the loftiest cedars, form graceful inverted arches of vegetation; grapes are so plenty upon every shrub, that the surge of the ocean, as it lazily rolls in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, dashes its spray upon the clusters; and natural harbours form an impervious shade, which not a ray of the sun of July can penetrate. Cotton, planted

by the hand of nature, grows in wild luxuriance; the potato and banana yield an overflowing supply of food; fruits of too tempting sweetness present themselves to the hand. Innumerable birds, with varied and splendid plumage, nestle in shady retreats, where they are sheltered from the scorching heats of summer. Painted varieties of parrots and woodpeckers glitter amidst the verdure of the groves, and humming-birds rove from flower to flower, resembling "the animated particles of a rainbow." The scarlet flamingoes, seen through an opening of the forest in a distant plain, appear like the mimic array of fairy armies: the fragrance of the woods, the odour of the flowers, load every breeze. These charms broke on Columbus and his followers like Elysium: "One could live here," said he, "for ever." Is this the terrestrial paradise which nature seems at first sight to have designed—which it appeared to its heroic discoverer? It is the land of slavery and of pestilence; where indolence dissolves the manly character, and stripes can alone rouse the languid arm; where "death bestrides the evening gale," and the yielding breath inhales poison with its delight; where the iron race of Japhet itself seems melting away under the prodigality of the gifts of nature.

4. There is a land, in the same hemisphere, of another character. Washed by the waves of a dark and stormy ocean, granite rocks and sandy promontories constitute its sea-front, and a sterile inhospitable tract, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles broad, and eleven hundred long, presents itself to the labours of the colonist. It was there that the British exiles first set their feet, and sought amidst hardship and suffering that freedom of which England had become unworthy. Dark and melancholy woods cover the greater part of this expanse: the fir, the beech, the laurel, and the wild olive, are chiefly to be found on the sea-coast; but in such profusion do they grow, and so strongly do they characterise the country, that even now, after two hundred years of

laborious industry have been employed in felling them, the spaces cleared by man appear but as spots amidst the gloomy immensity of the primitive forest. Farther inland, the shapeless swell of the Alleghany mountains rises to separate the sea-coast from the vast plains in the interior; the forests become loftier, and are composed of noble trees sown by the hand of nature in every variety, from the stunted pine which strikes its roots into the ices of the arctic circle, to the majestic palm, the spreading plane-tree, the graceful poplar, and verdant evergreen oak which overshadow the marshes of the Floridas and Carolinas. Inexpressible is the beauty of the scenes which nature exhibits in the highlands which lie around the upper valley of the Tennessee river. The vales are there encircled by blue hills rising above hills, of which the lofty peaks kindle with the first rays of the sun, while their overshadowing mass intercepts his noontide beams. Lower down, the slopes are covered with magnolias; flowering forest-trees, decorated with roving climbers in snow-white cascades, glitter on the hill-sides; the rivers, clear and shallow, rush through the narrow vales amidst thickets of rhododendron and blooming azalia. The fertile soil teams with luxuriant herbage, on which vast herds of deer brouse; the vivifying breeze is laden with fragrance; daybreak is ever welcomed by the carol of birds. Such are the enchanting features which nature presents in the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; the most picturesque and salubrious region to the east of the Mississippi.

5. The ceaseless activity of nature is seen, without intermission, throughout these pathless solitudes: the great work of creation is everywhere followed by destruction, that of destruction by creation. Generations of trees are perpetually decaying, but fresh generations ever force their way up among the fallen stems; luxuriant creepers cover with their leaves alike the expiring and the reviving race; the frequent rains which almost everywhere stagnate amidst the thickets, attracted by this

prodigious expanse of shaded and humid surface, at once hasten decay and vivify vegetation; prolific animal life teems in the leafy coverts which are found amidst these fallen patriarchs; and the incessant war of the stronger with the weaker, strews the earth alike with animal and vegetable remains. The profound silence of these forests is occasionally interrupted alone by the fall of a tree, the breaking of a branch, the bellowing of the buffalo, the roar of a cataract, or the whistling of the winds. It is the land of health, of industry, and of freedom; of ardent zeal, and dauntless energy, and great aspiration. In those forests a virgin mould is formed; in those wilds the foundations of human increase are laid: no gardener could mingle the elements of rural wealth like the contending life and death of the forest; and out of the decayed remnants of thousands of years are extracted the sustenance, the life, the power of civilised man.

6. The vast forests of this primeval continent have been thus described by the hand of a master, whose pictorial eye and graphic powers almost bring the realities he has witnessed before our eyes:—"The American forest exhibits in the highest degree the grandeur of repose. As nature never does violence to her own laws, the soil throws out the plant it is best qualified to support, and the eye is not often disappointed by a sickly vegetation. There is a generous emulation in the trees, which is not to be found among others of different families, when left to pursue their quiet existence in the solitude of the fields. Each struggles towards the light; and an equality in bulk and similarity in form are thus produced, which scarce belong to their distinctive characters. The effect may easily be imagined. The vaulted arches beneath are filled with thousands of high unbroken columns, which sustain one vast and trembling canopy of leaves. A pleasing gloom and an imposing silence have their interminable reign below, an outer and a different atmosphere seeming to rest on the cloud of foliage. While the light plays on the varying surface of the tree-tops, a sombre hue

colours the earth. Dead and moss-grown logs, mounds covered with decomposed vegetable surfaces, the graves of long-past generations of trees, cavities left by the fall of a long-uprooted trunk, dark fungi that flourish about the decayed roots of those about to loose their hold, with a few slender and delicate plants of minor growth, and which flourish in the shade, form the principal features of the scene beneath. In the midst of this gloomy solitude, the foot of man is rarely heard. An occasional glimpse of the bounding deer or trotting moose, is almost the only interruption on the earth itself; while the heavy bear or the leaping panther is occasionally met, seated on the branches of some venerable tree. There are moments, too, when troops of hungry wolves are encountered on the trail of the deer; but these are rather an exception to the stillness of the place, than accessories that should properly be introduced into the picture. Even the birds are in general mute; or, when they do break the silence, it is in discordant notes that suit their wild abode. The wilderness in the midst of many successive changes is always sustained at the point nearest to perfection: since the alterations are so few and gradual as never to innovate on its general character."

7. The United States of North America extend from 70° to 127° west longitude, and from 25° to 52° north latitude. They embrace in the territories of the separate States 1,535,000 square geographical miles, or about ten times the area of France, which contains 156,000; and seventeen times that of the British Islands, which amount to 91,000; besides about 500,000 more in the unappropriated western wilds not yet allotted to any separate State,—in all, 2,076,400 square miles,* or

* The total territory of the United States, including the Floridas, is, according to Maltre Brun, about 3,000,000 square geographical miles; but that includes the portion covered by water, which is a fifteenth of the whole, and the desert tracts of the Rocky Mountains.—MALTRE BRUN, xi. 185. The British Islands, including Ireland, contain 91,000 square geographical miles, or nearly 122,000 English square miles.

1,328,896,000 acres, upwards of twenty times the area of the British Islands. This immense territory is portioned out by nature into three great divisions, of which not a third has yet heard the hatchet of civilised man, by the two great chains of mountains which, running from north to south, nearly parallel to the adjacent oceans, separate the continent of North America, as it were, into a centre and two wings. These chains are the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains. The former, gradually rising from the shores of the St Lawrence and the frontiers of Canada, and stretching southward to the Gulf of Florida, a distance of above fourteen hundred miles, divides the sea-coast, which first began to be cultivated by the European settlers, from the vast alluvial plains of Central America. The space between it and the sea is comparatively sterile, and does not embrace above 200,000 square miles. It is beyond the Alleghanies, a comparatively low and shapeless range, seldom rising to five thousand feet in height, that the garden of the world is to be found. In the immense basins of the Missouri, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, to which the waters descend from the whole length of the Alleghanies on the east, and the vast piles of the Rocky Mountains on the west, are contained above 1,000,000 square miles, with hardly a hill or a rock to interrupt the expanse. Of this prodigious space, above six times the whole area of France, and fully eleven times that of Great Britain, two-thirds, being that which lies nearest to the Alleghany range, is composed of the richest soil, in great part alluvial, in others covered with the virgin spoils of decayed forest vegetation during several thousand years. The remaining third stretches, by a gentle and almost imperceptible slope, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

8. Nature exhibits a character so different on the opposite banks of the Mississippi, that it is scarcely possible to believe they belong to the same part of the world. On the western bank vast savannahs stretch as far as the eye can reach; their undulations of ver-

ture, like the waves of the ocean, blend in the distance with the blue of heaven. Gradually, as it approaches the stupendous barrier of the Rocky Mountains, the character of nature changes. Charming savannahs, over which innumerable herds of buffaloes range at pleasure, first break the dark uniformity of the forest; wider and more open prairies next succeed, over which the trees are loosely sprinkled, and sometimes attain a prodigious size: naked and dreary plains are then to be traversed, in which a thousand rills meander, with imperceptible flow, towards the great river in the east, almost concealed amidst gigantic reeds and lofty grass which fringe their banks; until at length the vast and snowy ridge of the Rocky Mountains, rising in unapproachable grandeur to the height of fourteen and fifteen thousand, sometimes twenty thousand feet, presents apparently an impassable barrier to the adventurous steps of man. Yet even these, the Andes of Northern America, which traverse its whole extent from Icy Cape to the Isthmus of Darien, do not bound the natural capabilities of its territory. On their western slopes another more broken plain, furrowed by innumerable ravines, is to be seen, descending rapidly towards the Pacific, which embraces 300,000 square miles. Its numerous and rapid streams give it an inexhaustible command of water-power; its rivers, stored with fish and in great part navigable, present vast resources for the use of man: its boundless forests and rich veins of mineral wealth point it out as the future abode of manufacturing greatness.

9. On the opposite, or eastern bank, a very different scene in general presents itself. Every object in nature is there new and wonderful. Loud and frequent thunderstorms attest the electricity with which the atmosphere is charged, and refresh the earth when parched by the droughts of summer. Life everywhere abounds; the woods, the savannahs, the morasses teem with existence. Hanging over the watery current, grouped on the rocks and eminences on its banks, clustering in every

valley, trees of all sorts, colours, and perfumes, grow up together in wild profusion, and reach a height which the aching eye can hardly measure. Wild vines, bignonias, and other creepers, generally adorned by the most splendid blossoms, creep up to their very summits; and, stretching from one to another, form, as in the Campagna of Naples, arches of vegetation at the height of a hundred and fifty feet from the ground. Sometimes spreading their tendrils out from the trees; these adventurous creepers stretch across rivers, over which they throw aerial bridges of flowers. From the midst of this verdant wilderness, the magnolia rears his motionless cone, surmounted by large white roses. He has no rival but the palm-tree, which, at his side, waves to every breeze his graceful fan of verdure.

10. If silence, interrupted only by casual sounds, reigns in the vast savannahs on the western, a very chorus arises from the woods on the eastern bank. A multitude of living animals, of all sorts, there attest the prodigality with which life has been spread in the wilderness by the hand of the Creator. Everything has been prepared for their reception. Forests majestic in their growth, and free from underwood, spread over the plains in boundless magnificence; the purling streams and frequent rivers flowing between alluvial banks, quicken the ever-pregnant soil into unwearied fertility; the strangest and most beautiful flowers grow familiarly in the fields; the woods are replenished with fragrance; the birds with their gay plumage and varied melodies, inspire delight. The humming-bird, so brilliant in its plumage, so quick in its motions, so unfeared of man, rebounds from the blossoms like a bee gathering honey. Myriads of pigeons often darken the air with their flocks. Bears of huge size, often reeling from the intoxication of the wild grapes, of which they are passionately fond, cling to the branches; black squirrels sport in the recesses of the foliage; mocking-birds and Virginian pigeons alight on turf made red by strawberries; parrots, resplendent with

green and red, creep around the tops of the cypresses; and in the midst of the jessamine of the Floridas the deadly sound of the rattlesnake is heard. The noise which these innumerable tribes of animals make is so prodigious, as to exceed anything ever heard in the abodes of civilised man. The roaring of beasts of prey, the bellowing of buffaloes, the cooing of birds, the hissing of serpents, the din of parrots, is all heard at once, without any one apparently being disquieted by the others. And, when wafted by the breeze from a little distance, it produces a dull incessant roar, like the sound of a distant cataract, which harmonises singularly with the deep solitude of these untrodden forests.

11. These are the great geographical divisions of the territory of the United States; but they do not comprehend the whole of the immense continent of North America. MEXICO on the south, and the British provinces on the north, contain within themselves the elements of mighty empires, and are destined to open their capacious arms for ages to come, to receive the overflowing population of the Old World. The former of these has been already described in treating of Spanish America, to which division of the New World it properly belongs [*ante*, Chap. LXVII. § 26]. CANADA, and the other British possessions in North America, though apparently blessed with fewer physical advantages, contain a noble race, and are evidently reserved for a lofty destination. Everything there is in proper keeping for the development of the combined physical and mental energies of man. There are to be found, at once, the hardihood of character which conquers difficulty, the severity of climate which stimulates exertion, the natural advantages which reward enterprise. Nature has marked out this country for exalted destinies; for if she has not given it the virgin mould of the basin of the Missouri, or the giant vegetation and prolific sun of the tropics, she has bestowed upon it a vast chain of inland lakes, which fit it one day to become the great channel of commerce between Europe and the in-

terior of America and eastern parts of Asia.

12. The river St Lawrence, fed by the immense inland seas which separate Canada from the United States, is the great commercial artery of North America. Descending from the distant sources of the Kaministiquia and St Louis, it traverses the solitary Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods, opens into the boundless expanse of Lake Superior, and, after being swelled by the tributary volumes of the Michigan and Huron waves, again contracts into the river and lake of St Clair; a second time expands into the broad surface of Lake Erie, from whence it is precipitated by the sublime cataract of Niagara into "wild Ontario's boundless lake," and, again contracting, finds its way to the sea by the magnificent estuary of the St Lawrence, through the wooded intricacies of the Thousand Islands. Nor are the means of water navigation wanting on the other side of this marvellous series of inland seas. The Rocky Mountains, sunk there to five or six thousand feet in height, contain valleys capable of being opened to artificial navigation by human enterprise; no considerable elevation requires to be surmounted in making the passage from the distant sources of the St Lawrence to the mountain feeders of the Columbia; the rapid declivity of the range on the western side soon renders the latter river navigable, and a deep channel and swelling stream soon conduct the navigator to the shores of the Pacific. As clearly as the Mediterranean Sea was let in by the Straits of Gibraltar to form the main channel of communication and the great artery of life to the Old World, so surely were the vast lakes of Canada spread in the wilderness of the New, to penetrate the mighty continent, and carry into its remotest recesses the light of European knowledge and the blessings of Christian civilisation.

13. The superficial extent of the British possessions in North America is prodigious, and greatly exceeds that which is subject to the sway of the United States; it amounts to above four millions of square geographical

miles, or nearly a ninth part of the whole terrestrial surface of the globe.* Probably seven-eighths of this immense surface are doomed to eternal sterility from the excessive severity of the climate, which yields only a scanty herbage to the reindeer, the elk, and the musk ox; but the two Canadas alone contain three hundred thousand square miles, of which ninety-five thousand are in the upper and richer province; and, altogether, there are probably not less than six hundred thousand square miles, in the British dominions in that part of the world, capable of profitable cultivation, being nearly seven times the superficies of the whole British Islands, if the wastes of Scotland, not less sterile than the Polar snows, are deducted. Of this arable surface, about one hundred and thirty thousand square miles, or somewhat more than a fourth, have been surveyed, or are under cultivation. The climate is various, being much milder in the upper or more southerly province of Canada than in the lower; but in both it is extremely cold in winter, and surprisingly warm in summer. In the lower province, the thermometer has been known to stand, in July and August, at 93° of Fahrenheit in the shade, and it is frequently from 80° to 90°; while in winter it is sometimes as low as 40° below zero, so as to freeze mercury. But, notwithstanding this extraordinary range of temperature, the climate is not only eminently favourable to the health of the European race, but brings to maturity, in many places, the choicest gifts of nature.

14. Vast pine forests, scantily intersected, in the vicinity only of the great rivers, by execrable roads, cover indeed nine-tenths of the northern provinces, as of the corresponding districts of Russia and Sweden in the Old World. But they constitute no inconsiderable portion of the national wealth, for in them is found an inexhaustible store of timber, the exportation of which con-

* The exact amount is 4,109,680 square geographical miles. The terrestrial globe embraces about 52,000,000. — *MARTIN BARR, xi. 172.* Besides this land surface, British North America contains 1,348,000 square miles of water. — *Ibid.*

stitutes the great staple of the country, and employs four-fifths of the twelve hundred thousand tons of shipping which now (1849) carry on the trade between Great Britain and her magnificent Transatlantic possessions. Even in Lower Canada, however, when you approach the basin of the St Lawrence, the earth becomes fruitful, and yields ample supplies for the use of man. Grain, herbage, potatoes, and vegetables grow in abundance: the almost miraculous rapidity of spring compensates the long and dreary cold of winter; and the fervent heat of summer brings all the fruits of northern Europe to maturity. In the upper province the winter is shorter and milder, and the ardent rays of the summer sun so temper the northern blasts, that the vine, the peach, the nectarine, and the apricot, as well as cherries and melons, ripen in the open air. In both, the same change is now taking place which has been observed in Europe since the dark masses of the Hercynian Forest were felled, and its morasses drained by the laborious arms of the Germans. The climate, every season becoming more mild, has undergone a change of 8° or 10° on the average of the year since the efforts of European industry were first applied to the cultivation of the territory.

15. Although the rivers in the United States of America do not offer the same marvellous advantages for foreign commerce which the St Lawrence and its chain of inland seas afford to the activity of British enterprise, they are inferior to none in the world in the immensity of their course and the volume of their waters, and present unbounded facilities both for the export of the produce of the soil, and the marvellous powers of steam navigation. The greatest of these is the Missouri—the main branch of the vast system of rivers which drain the rich alluvial plain between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, and which, after a course of two thousand five hundred miles in length, empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, below New Orleans. Already a noble river when it issues in the solitude of the Far West from the Rocky Moun-

tains, its passage into the plain is worthy of the majestic character of the Father of Waters. Between stupendous walls of rock, twelve hundred feet high, and three leagues in length, whose overhanging cliffs darken the awful passage, it issues forth in a deep and foaming current three hundred yards broad, and, soon swelled by other tributary streams, winds its long and solitary way through the prairies to the falls, sixty miles distant, which rival Niagara itself in sublimity and grandeur.* The Mississippi, the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Illinois, the Arkansas, the Kansas, the White River, the Red River, the St Peter, the Wisconsin, the least of them rivalling the Rhine in magnitude, and some of which have given their names to the mighty states which already are settled on their shores, are but the tributaries of this prodigious artery. But they are tributaries on a gigantic scale. Ere the limpid waters of the Ohio join the turbid waves of the Mississippi, it has already been swollen by sixty tributary streams, any one of which would pass for a great river in Europe. When these two vast arteries join, they are each two miles broad, and they flow for some miles in placid majesty, side by side, without intermingling their waters. These various rivers, all of which are navigable, each with its own affiliated set of tributary streams, several thousand in number, form a vast chain of inland navigation, all connected together, and issuing into the sea by one channel, which, like the arteries and veins of the human body, is destined to maintain an immense interior circulation, and convey life and health to the furthest extremities of the million of square miles which constitute the magnificent garden of North America.

16. If the majestic portals by which the Missouri issues from its icy cradle in the Rocky Mountains are one of the sublimest, the alluvial swamps through

* They are, in all, 364 feet in height; the principal fall alone is 220 feet high, and about 500 broad. They are surmounted by lofty cliffs, and their roar is heard thirteen miles off. In a solitary tree on an island, in the middle of one of the falls, an eagle has built its nest.—LAWES and CLARKE, II. 347. 351.

which it finds its way to the ocean in the Gulf of Mexico present one of the most interesting objects in nature. There, one of the great formations of the earth is actually going forward: we are carried back to what occurred in our own continent before the creation of man. Like all other great rivers, the Missouri, or the Mississippi as it is there called, does not empty itself into the sea in one continuous channel, but by a great variety of arms or mouths, which intersect, in sluggish streams, the vast alluvial delta, formed by the perpetual deposit from the immense volume of waters which it rolls into the ocean. Between these mouths of the river an immense surface, half land half water, from fifty to a hundred miles in width, and three hundred in length, fringes the whole coast: and there the enormous mass of vegetable matter constantly brought down by the Mississippi is periodically deposited. A few feet are sufficient to bring it above the level of the water, except in great floods; and as soon as that is done, vegetation springs up with the utmost rapidity in that prolific slime.

17. No spectacle can be conceived so dreary, and yet so interesting, as the prospect of these boundless alluvial swamps, in the course of formation. As far as the eye can reach, over hundreds of square leagues, nothing is to be seen but marshes bristling with roots, trunks, and branches of trees. In winter and spring, when the floods come down, they bring with them an incalculable quantity of these broken fragments, technically called logs, which not only cover the whole of this immense semi-marine territory, but, floating over it, strew the sea for several miles off, to such an extent that ships have often no small difficulty in making their way through them. Thus the whole ground is formed of a vast network of masses of wood, closely packed and rammed together to the depth of several fathoms, which are gradually cemented by fresh deposits, till the whole acquires by degrees a firm consistency. Aquatic birds, innumerable cranes and storks, water-serpents and huge alligators, people this dreary soil.

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tude. In a short time a sort of rank cane or reed springs up, which, by retarding the flow of the river, collects the mud of the next season, and so lends its share in the formation of the delta. Fresh logs, fresh mud, and new crops of cane, go on for a series of years; in the course of which, the alligators in enormous multitudes fix in their new domain, and extensive animal remains come to mingle with the vegetable deposits. Even here, in the infancy as it were of a world, the efforts of nature to clothe the earth with a robe of beauty are conspicuous. Plants spring up among the debris; flowers and tendrils are seen amidst the desolation; and often beautiful creepers, floated with the stones to which they are attached down the Mississippi, take root and flourish in the watery waste. Gradually, as the soil accumulates and hardens, a dwarfish shrub begins to appear above the surface; larger and larger trees succeed with the decay of their more stunted predecessors; and at length, on the scene of former desolation, the magnificent riches of the Virginian forest are reared.

18. Would we behold what this barren marsh, at first the abode only of serpents and alligators, is destined one day to become under the prolific hand of nature? Enter that perfumed and verdant forest, where, on the shores of the rivers of Florida and Virginia, the marvellous riches of nature are poured forth with a prodigality of which, in more northern climates, scarcely a conception can be formed. So rapidly does vegetation there grow out of the water, that, in navigating the rivers, thickets and woods seem to be floating on its surface. The magnificent scarlet blossoms of the *Lobelia Cardinalis*, and the gigantic perfumed white petals of the *Pancratium* of Carolina, attract the eye, even in the midst of the endless luxuriance of marsh vegetation. High overhead the white cedar towers, and furnishes in its dense foliage a secure asylum for the water-eagle and the stork; while wild vines cluster up every stem, and hang in festoons from tree to tree. Every branch in the lower part of the forest teems with

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luxuriant creepers, often bearing the most splendid flowers. In the natural labyrinths formed in these watery forests, spots of ravishing beauty are often to be found, which might tempt the pilgrim to fix his abode, did not the pestilential air of autumn forbid for a long period the residence of civilised man. But these dangers diminish as the soil becomes higher and more consistent; human perseverance embanks the rivers and excludes the flood; and in no part of the world, when this is done, does such exuberant fertility reward the labour of the husbandman.

19. The immense regions of North America were not wholly uninhabited when Columbus first approached their shores. Sprung originally from the neighbouring tribes of Asiatics who dwelt in the most eastern portion of the Old World, and whom accident or adventure had wafted across Behring's Straits, its inhabitants have gradually spread over the whole extent of the American continent in both hemispheres, from Icy Cape to Cape Horn. Tradition, universal and unvarying, assigns the first origin of the American race to a migration of their fathers from beyond the western ocean: a connected chain of words, which float unchanged through the otherwise forgotten floods of time, may be traced from the Caucasian range to the Cordilleras of Mexico and Peru. But climate and circumstances, those great moulders of human character, have exercised their wonted influence upon the descendants of Shem, and presented in the North American savage a different specimen of the race of man from what the world has elsewhere exhibited. He is neither the child of Japhet, daring, industrious, indefatigable, exploring the world by his enterprise, and subduing it by his exertions; nor the offspring of Ishmael, sober, ardent, enduring, traversing the desert on his steed, and issuing forth at appointed intervals from his solitudes, to punish and regenerate mankind. He is the hunter of the forest; skilled to perfection in the craft necessary for that primitive occupation, but incapable of advancing beyond it. Civilisation in

vain endeavours to throw its silken fetters over his limbs; he avoids the smiling plantation, and flees in horror before the advancing hatchet of the woodman. He does well to shun the approach of the European race; he can neither endure its fatigues, nor withstand its temptations; and, faster than before the sword and the bayonet, his race is melting away under the fire-water, the first gift and last curse of civilisation.

20. Like the Germans in the days of Tacitus, the life of the North American is divided between total inactivity and strenuous exertion. After sleeping away months in his wigwam, he will plunge into the forest, and walk from eighty to ninety miles a-day, on a stretch, for weeks. He will lie for days together in ambush waiting for an opportunity to spring upon his foe; and in following, sometimes for hundreds of miles, the trail of his enemies through the forest, he exhibits a degree of sagacity which appears almost miraculous. Enduring of privation, patient in suffering, heroic in death, he is wavering in temptation, and without honour in the field. His principle is ever to shun danger if possible, and never attack except at an advantage; and the man who can bear, without flinching, the most exquisite tortures, will often perish beside a barrel of spirits, which he wants the resolution to resist. The language of these tribes is poetry; their ideas are elevated; the imagery of nature, amidst which they live, has imprinted a majestic character on their thoughts. But they cannot be converted to the habits of laborious life; they adopt of civilisation only its vices; their remains are fast disappearing under the combined influence of European encroachment and savage indulgence. Already they are as rarely to be seen in New York as in London; and before many ages have elapsed, their race, like that of the mammoth, will be extinct; and their memory, enshrined by the genius of Cooper, will live only in the enduring pages of American romance.

21. Two hundred years have elapsed since the British exiles, flying from the

persecutions of Charles I., first approached the American shores; and their increase since that time has been unparalleled, for so considerable a period, in any other age or part of the world. Carrying with them into the wilderness the powers of art and the industry of civilisation, with English perseverance in their character, English order in their habits, and English fearlessness in their hearts; with the axe in their hand, the Bible in their pocket, and the rifle by their side; they have multiplied during that long period in exactly the same ratio, and the different states of the Union now contain above seventeen millions of souls, of whom fourteen millions are of the Anglo-Saxon race.* The duplication of the inhabitants during this whole time has regularly occurred every twenty-three years and a half. It was the same under the British colonial as under the Republican independent government; evidently demonstrating that it has been owing to general and permanent causes altogether independent of the forms of constitution. The Negro inhabitants, in 1840, were 2,874,378, of whom 2,487,113 are in a state of slav-

* The following shows the increase of the American population since the first regular census was taken in 1790:—

1790,	3,929,326
1800,	5,306,035
1810,	7,239,903
1820,	9,638,226
1830,	12,853,838
1840,	17,068,666
1850,	21,000,000

—MALTE BRUN, xi. 316; *American Atlas*, No. 6; and *Census for 1840; Statistical Abstract*, p. 265.

The increase in America in the last ten years has been 4,202,646 inhabitants—being a growth of 34½ per cent for the last ten years—less than the increase during the same period in some parts of Great Britain. In the following counties, from 1831 to 1841, the augmentation was—

	Per cent.
Monmouth,	36.9
Lanark,	34.3
Dumbarton,	33.3
Durham,	27.7
Stafford,	24.2
Lancashire,	24.7
Forfar,	22.0
Surrey,	19.0
York, (West Riding),	18.2
Chester,	18.5

—*Population Returns, 1841, Great Britain*, pp. 2, 3.

ery; but though the black inhabitants increased, from 1790 to 1830, faster than the white, yet the balance since that time has been rather turned the other way, and, except in the most southern states, the European race is now increasing faster than the African.†

22. If this rate of increase should continue for the next hundred, as it has done without the slightest variation for the last two hundred years, America will, by the year 1940, contain two hundred and seventy millions of inhabitants, or thirty more than all Europe west of the Ural mountains at this time, which is now peopled by two hundred and forty millions. Prodigious as this increase of human beings is, it is by no means beyond the bounds of probability that it will be realised; for if the usual causes which retard the advance of mankind, shall, long ere that time arrives, have come into powerful operation over a great part of the Union, as they already have done in the states on the sea-coast which were first colonised, yet the immense tracts of unappropriated rich land in the basin of the Mississippi will still communicate an unwonted

But the increase over the whole empire, during this period, has been only 14 per cent, not half of what has occurred in America during the same time. Yet when it is recollected that at least from 50,000 to 60,000 persons annually, on an average, during the same time have emigrated from the British Islands and settled in the United States, it is probable that the increase in *births* in the two countries was not materially different; an extraordinary and portentous circumstance, when it is recollected that in the British Islands population is about three hundred to the square mile, whereas in America it is only eleven: the area of the States being about 1,500,000 square miles.

† From 1790 to 1830, in the Slave States, the Whites increased 80 per cent; the Blacks, 112 per cent. But from 1830 to 1840, the Whites increased 30 per cent; the Blacks, 25 per cent.

What is very remarkable, it appears from all the returns that the White race is now gaining rapidly on the Black in all the Northern States, where slavery is abolished, and the Black race is increasing most rapidly in the Southern States; a state of things which leads to the hope that, in process of time, the Black slave population will be entirely confined to the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico.—See CASSY'S *Letters on Colonisation*, 1833; TOQUEVILLE, ii. 239; and *Population Returns*, 1840.

impulse to the principle of population, and perpetuate on the frontier of the desert the prolific augmentation of the human race. Gradually, however, as the sea-coast becomes an old-established and densely-peopled country, the temptation to European emigration will diminish, while its difficulties must increase; the expense of transporting a family from the shores of the ocean to the Far West, will exceed that of conveying it across the Atlantic; the stream of European settlement will take some other direction, and the two hundred thousand emigrants who now (1849) annually land on the American shores, from the states of the Old World, will disappear. But whatever may be the rapidity of their increase, nothing is more certain than that the prolific powers of nature will keep far ahead of them; and that, great as is the surplus produce of the American agriculturist at this time, it will, if their society is undecayed, be far greater in proportion to their population a thousand years hence.

23. Prodigious as has been this increase of population during so long a period, in the whole American states,

it is incomparably less than the growth of mankind in particular parts of this favoured quarter of the globe. In the basin of the Mississippi—by far the richest part, as already mentioned, of the states of the Union—the population has multiplied in the last fifty years no less than fifty-fold, having increased in that time from one hundred and twelve thousand to five million three hundred and eighty-five thousand, the numbers ascertained by the last census. It has now reached the enormous amount of *eight millions!* This is probably the most extraordinary instance of well-authenticated human increase on record in the world. It is far beyond the powers of multiplication which mankind possess from their own unaided resources; and is mainly to be ascribed to the vast influx of emigrants into those fertile regions, both from the states of the Union on the shores of the Atlantic, and the more distant British Islands.* The number of persons who annually settle in the United States of America from Great Britain and Ireland, has been, on an average of the last twenty years, nearly fifty thousand.† During the

* The following table exhibits the growth of population in the provinces in the basin of the Mississippi since 1790; it almost exceeds belief:—

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Ohio,	3,000	40,365	230,760	531,434	935,984	1,519,407
Kentucky,	73,677	220,959	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,898
Indiana,	—	4,875	24,520	147,178	343,081	685,866
Arkansas,	—	—	—	14,273	30,368	212,367
Illinois,	—	215	12,282	55,211	157,455	476,153
Tennessee,	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,813	684,904	829,210
Missouri,	—	—	20,885	60,686	140,455	383,702
Mississippi,	—	8,850	31,502	76,448	186,621	97,574
Louisiana,	—	—	76,556	153,407	215,529	352,411
Total,	112,368	385,866	1,064,703	2,080,607	3,372,184	5,335,578

—MALTE BRUN, xi. 340; *American Atlas*, No. 6; and *Stat. Almanack*, 1841, p. 264.

† Table showing the number of emigrants who have landed in the United States, in the years undermentioned, from the United Kingdom.

1830,	24,887	1840,	40,648
1831,	23,489	1841,	45,017
1832,	32,572	1842,	52,858
1833,	29,109	1843,	28,335
1834,	33,074	1844,	43,660
1835,	20,720	1845,	58,538
1836,	37,774	1846,	82,239
1837,	36,770	1847,	142,154
1838,	14,322	1848,	188,233
1839,	33,636		

—PORTER'S *Part. Tables*, xii. 253; and MARTIN'S *British Colonies*, i. 108.

disastrous years, from 1846 to 1849, it exceeded on an average one hundred and fifty thousand a-year. At New York, it is no unusual thing to see five thousand immigrants landed in a single week; and great numbers of those who proceed first to Quebec or Montreal, attracted by the fertility of the backwoods of America, make their way across the border.

24. Almost the whole of this vast multitude no sooner arrive on the shores of America, than they crowd away to the back settlements, and seek the prodigious flood of civilisation which is overspreading the banks of the Ohio. To these are to be added a still greater stream of immigration from America itself; for, clearly marked as is the tendency of emigration from Europe, and especially from the British Islands, to the American shores, it operates not less forcibly in directing mankind from the margin of the Atlantic, across the Alleghany mountains, into the vast and untrodden solitudes of the west. Such has been the growth of the human species in that fertile territory, that the states in its great alluvial surface, though they only began to be seriously cultivated in 1790, contain now above eight millions of inhabitants; and, from the vast rapidity of their increase, compared with that of the other states in the Union, it is no longer matter of doubt that in less than twenty years their representatives will have a preponderating voice in the national legislature.

25. There is something solemn and almost awful in the incessant advance of the great stream of civilisation, which in America is continually rolling down from the summits of the Alleghany mountains, and overspreading the boundless forests of the Far West. Vast as were the savage multitudes, whom ambition or the lust of plunder attracted to the standards of Timour or Genghis Khan, to oppress and overwhelm the opulent regions of the earth,—immense as were the swarms which, for centuries, issued from the cheerless plains of Scythia to insult or devastate the decaying provinces of the Roman empire,—they

were as nothing compared to the ceaseless flood of human beings which is now in its turn setting forth from the abodes of civilised man, into the desert parts of the world. Nearly two hundred thousand persons, almost all in the prime of life, now yearly cross the Alleghany mountains, and settle on the banks of the Ohio or the Arkansas and their tributary streams. They do not pass through, as the Tartar hordes, like a desolating fire or a raging torrent; they settle where they take up their abode, never to return. Their war is with the forest and the marsh, not with the corrupted cities of long-established civilisation. Spreading themselves over an extent of nearly twelve hundred miles in length, these advanced posts of civilisation commence the incessant war with the hatchet and the plough; and at the sound of their strokes, resounding through the solitude of the forest, the wild animals and the Indians retire to more undisturbed retreats. Along a frontier tract, above twelve hundred miles in length, the average advance of cultivation is about seventeen miles a-year. The ground is imperfectly cleared, indeed, by these pioneers of humanity; but still the forest has disappeared under their strokes; the green field, the wooden cottage, the signs of infant improvement, have arisen: and behind them another wave of more wealthy and skilled settlers succeeds, who complete the work of agricultural improvement. The wild animals of the forest retire before this incessant advance of civilisation; by a mysterious instinct, or the information of other creatures of their race, they become aware of the approach of the great enemy of their tribe; and so far does the alarm penetrate before the approach of real danger, that they are frequently found to commence their retreat two hundred miles in advance of the actual sound of the European hatchet.

26. The first settlers, or squatters, who precede the arrival of regular colonists, constitute a most important class, peculiar to America, of whom no type had previously existed in the world. Consumed by an incessant de-

sire to explore new territories, and skim the surface of the as yet virgin soil, they penetrate with dauntless courage into the wilderness; and, often several hundred miles in advance of the regular clearers of the forest, first make the woods resound with the crack of the rifle and the strokes of the hatchet. The profound solitude with which they are surrounded, the dangers from wild beasts and savage tribes to which they are exposed, the independent roaming life which they lead, possess charms which more than compensate to them for the loss of all the comforts and intercourse of civilised society. The desert attracts them as powerfully as it does the Red man or the elk. Under pretence of choosing a more healthy abode, richer soil, or more abundant game, they push incessantly forward; and, advancing into the very depths of the forest or the prairie, gradually drive the native inhabitants of the wilderness before them. Adventurers of this description have often been known to penetrate a thousand miles alone into the woods: in a small canoe, capable of being borne on the shoulders, they descend immense rivers, with no other equipments but a rifle, a bag of powder and shot, a tomahawk, a couple of beaver-traps, and a large knife. If the first stragglers of the crowd approach in their rear, they move steadily on, ever far in advance of civilised life: and leave to succeeding and more permanent settlers the labour of felling the trees, of erecting the log-houses, of sowing the maize, and reaping the first-fruits of the virgin riches of nature.

27. Few objects are more striking than the first appearances of regular cultivation in the midst of the aged magnificence of nature. They have been thus described by the master hand of an eye-witness: "Beside an ancient cypress tree of the desert," says Chateaubriand, "is to be seen the spring of infant cultivation; the golden ears of the wheat wave over the fallen trunk of an oak, and the harvest of a season replaces the growth of ten centuries. Everywhere are to be beheld forests delivered over to the flames,

sending forth clouds of smoke into the air, and the plough slowly making its way through their roots; land-surveyors with their long chains are measuring the desert, and marking out the first divisions of property on its surface; arbiters settle the disputed limits; the bird abandons its nest; the resting-place of the wild beast is converted into a log-house; and the strokes of the hatchet are the last sounds which are repeated by the echoes, that are themselves perishing with the forests which produced them." Gradually the powers of man assert their destined superiority over those of nature. He not only "replenishes the earth, but subdues it." In a few years the patriarchs of the forest disappear; a few indurated stems, which have withstood alike the fire and the axe of the woodman, alone rise up above the level expanse of cultivation. The city is ere long seen in the wilderness, and the wilderness is often seen near the city, which has sent forth its swarms to more distant scenes of industry. The capital itself, after thirty years of fostering care on the part of government, presents its disjointed and sickly villages in the centre of the deserted old fields of Maryland: while numberless youthful rivals are flourishing on the rivers of the west, in spots where the bear has ranged and the wolf howled, long since the former had been termed a city. The smooth and gravelled road sometimes ends in an impassable swamp; the spires of the town are often hid by the branches of the forest, and the canal leads to a seemingly barren and unprofitable mountain. In the midst of this marvellous progress, the cultivation of the earth goes on with ceaseless activity. The astonishing riches of a virgin soil, impregnated with the ashes of the forest which overshadowed it, reward fifty-fold even the rudest labours of cultivation. The smiling village, the church spire, the infant school, succeed; but with them are mingled the spirit-shop, the hotel, the attorney's office; and civilisation spreads its roots, with its blessings, its passions, and its vices.

28. The violence of the mysterious

impulse which thus urges the European race into the western solitudes, appears in the strongest manner in all the public means of carriage which transport passengers to these distant regions. Thousands and tens of thousands every week in summer descend from the heights of the Alleghany to the margin of the streams, which promise them the means of passing to the distant regions of the west, all eager for an immediate conveyance to the land of promise. Difficulties cannot retard, dangers cannot deter them. With ceaseless activity and persevering courage, they make their way to the first steam-boats, which carry them down the tributaries of the Ohio to that mighty river; and, without regarding the perils of the passage, or the numerous dangers of steam navigation, demand only to be instantly conveyed to the land of their hopes. Such are the multitudes that flock to these means of transport, and the universal anxiety to get forward, that even the sight of a high-pressure steam-boiler blown up before their eyes, has no effect in deterring others from instantly embarking in the perilous navigation. They ask only a cheap passage and quick voyage. For weeks and months together in summer, they stream down every road which descends from the Alleghanies, and crowd to the quays where the steam-boats take their passengers, almost rolling over each other in their anxiety to get forward. No sooner does a boat touch the quay than it is instantly filled with passengers; and with scarcely any money in their pockets, and but little provender in their scrips, the hardy adventurers rush forward into the wilderness before them, and gain from the chase a precarious subsistence, till the first returns of cultivation afford them the means of support.

29. Steam navigation is the vital means of communication by which this extraordinary activity is conveyed into distant regions. The Ohio, the Mississippi, the Arkansas, and all their numerous tributary streams, are constantly navigated by steam-boats. Nearly three hundred ply on the Mississippi alone; upwards of five hundred are

employed on the different rivers which convey this prodigious flood of immigration to the western provinces of the Union. Without the assistance of this mighty agent, which alike aids the descending and conquers the adverse stream, the progress of cultivation and clearing of the forest must have been comparatively slow. Propelled by its marvellous powers, the human race has advanced with the steps of a giant through the vast wilderness prepared for their reception. Steam navigation is to the continent of America what the circulation is to the human frame; and the commercial wealth and paper currency of the great commercial cities on the shores of the Atlantic, are the moving power in the heart which sets the whole circulation in motion.

30. Immense has been the extent to which this powerful, but perilous, engine of advancement—paper currency—has been employed in the American continent. From an inquiry set on foot in 1834, it appears that there were in the United States at that period five hundred and six banking establishments, independent of the National Bank of the United States at Philadelphia, which last issued notes to the amount of £3,300,000. The private banks issued notes to the amount of £16,200,000 more—making in all, a paper circulation of £19,500,000; besides £10,000,000 in specie. This makes the total circulation at that period nearly £30,000,000, or nearly £2 a-head to the whole free population; a proportion considerably greater than obtains in the British Islands,* if the vast extent of the commercial dealings of this empire are taken into consideration. This immense circulation is pushed into the farthest extremities of the states of the Union by means of

* The total paper circulation of the United Kingdom was, prior to the law of 1844, which materially contracted it, £42,300,000, and that in gold and silver £28,000,000; in all, about £65,000,000. At present (1849) the paper circulation of Great Britain and Ireland is under £81,000,000. The gold and silver is said to be of equal or larger amount, but no reliance can be placed on that supply, as it is liable at any time to be contracted at least a half by the exportation of the precious metals, to meet the imports of grain.

the branch banks, which, like so many forcing-pumps, disseminate the bank-notes through every village and hamlet it contains. Such is the competition of these branch banks for employment, that they are everywhere established on the frontiers of civilisation, almost before the surrounding trees are felled. The discounting of bills is carried to an unprecedented extent. The law indeed has, in all the states, fixed eight per cent as the maximum rate of interest, and in most cases it is only six; but the cupidity of lenders, combining with the necessities or speculative tendency of borrowers, very frequently breaks through these restraints, and fixes a higher rate, which is often excessive. One per cent a-month is a usual, three per cent a-month no uncommon occurrence; and these immense profits at once tempt bankers to advance money to needy adventurers, and indemnify them for the numerous losses to which such perilous issues are liable. So powerful an agent is this system of paper credit in forcing and maintaining the industry of the United States, that its influence may be seen in the farthest parts of their possessions; and it is to the greater advantages they enjoy in this respect, more than to any other cause, that the superior population, wealth, and cultivation of the southern side of the St. Lawrence and lakes, to that which appears on the British side of those noble estuaries, is to be attributed.

31. He was a wise man who said that paper currency is too often strength in the outset, but weakness in the end; and unless it is wisely regulated, this is undoubtedly the case: the excess of paper, like that of food, may prove as fatal as its want. America has more than once bitterly felt the truth of this aphorism. The commercial and

which new exceed 12,000,000 quarters a-year.
—M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*.

	Oct. 4, 1849.
Bank of England,	£17,514,601
Private banks,	3,462,306
Joint-stock banks,	2,577,284
Total in England,	23,554,191
Scotland,	3,189,414
Ireland,	4,133,928
United Kingdom,	£31,127,483

monetary crises to which she has long been subject have been such that they would have crushed, perhaps for ever, the industry of any other nation. During the war with Great Britain in 1814, the commercial distress was such, that the northern states, including New York, the commercial capital of America, were on the very point of breaking off from the Union; and it was computed that at least two-thirds of the whole traders in the States became insolvent. In the course of the great crisis of 1837, nearly all the cotton-growers in the southern states became bankrupt together; in the still more disastrous convulsion of 1839, brought on by the sudden and ill-judged measures of government to return to a gold circulation, and discredit the paper one, the whole banks of Philadelphia and the southern states, including the National Bank of the United States, at once stopped payment; those of New York only avoided a similar catastrophe by a contraction of credit, not less disastrous; and such was the effect of these repeated shocks upon the national fortunes, that the exports of Great Britain to the United States, which in 1836 had reached £12,425,604, in 1837 were only £4,695,225, in 1838 £7,585,760, and in 1842 had sunk to £3,562,000.

32. But these dreadful catastrophes, which would overwhelm any state in the Old World with a mass of pauperism from which it could scarcely recover, cast but a passing cloud over the fortunes of the New. The vast flood of British emigration; the constant increase of population, and consequent rise in the value of every species of property, even without any exertion on the part of its owners; the continual forward expansion of cultivation, in a very short time obliterate the effects of all these disasters. So boundless are the resources of the country, that no human catastrophes seem capable of arresting them. In a few months, a new race of traders succeed those in New York or Philadelphia, who have been swept away by the tempest; their bills, discounted often at 12 per cent, soon put them on the perilous road to

affluence or ruin : their predecessors, who had sunk before the storm, are transported by the steam-boats to the back settlements, where they speedily enter, with exemplary vigour, upon the labours of cultivation. The ladies of New York and Pennsylvania, once delicate and languishing amidst the frivolities of affluence, are seen active and happy when engaged in the variety of rural or household employment. They exhibit under these stunning reverses of fortune a courage and energy, the sure parent of contentment and success, which is worthy of the very highest admiration. Aided by such helpmates, the labours of the men in the Far West are rapidly rewarded with plenty ; and the deserts of the Ohio are vivified by a fresh stream of intelligent emigrants, from the effect of those very commercial catastrophes which, to distant spectators, appear to shake to its centre the whole fabric of industry in the New World.

33. The marvellous rapidity of increase in the population has hitherto not only been unattended with any addition to human suffering, but it has taken its rise rather from the prodigious extent to which, owing to the combined bounty of nature and efforts of man, general prosperity has been diffused through all classes of the community. Among the many marvels which strike a European traveller on his first approach to the United States, one of the most extraordinary is the general well-being which pervades all classes of the community. Pauperism, indeed, exists to a most distressing extent in many of the first-peopled states along the sea-coast, and nearly all the great commercial towns of the Union : poor's rates are in consequence generally established, and benevolence is taxed nearly as severely as in the old monarchies and dense population of the European nations. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. They arise in a great degree from the immense multitudes of emigrants who, during the summer months, flood the sea-coast of America ; and are destitute alike of the means of maintaining themselves, and of funds to convey them to

the interior, where their labour is required. In the rural districts, and especially in the states which lie in the basin of the Mississippi, there is scarcely a working man who does not eat butcher-meat twice a-day. So great is the demand for all kinds of labour, that common workmen everywhere receive from sixteen to twenty shillings a-week : skilled labourers, such as masons and carpenters, from thirty to forty shillings for their ordinary wages. Such is the magnitude of these gains as compared with the cost of food, clothing, and other necessities, that a common workman, with ordinary prudence, is able in two years to lay by enough to purchase and stock a little freehold of twenty or thirty acres. At the end of two years more, the return of the few acres which he has cleared and sown is so considerable as to place him and his family, not only beyond the reach of want, but on the fair road to rustic opulence. The old observation of Adam Smith still holds good, that in America a widow with eight children is sought after, and married, as an heiress ; and, as in the days of the patriarchs, the greater the number of arrows in the quiver of the American cultivator, the greater is his strength in the gate.

34. It is the universal diffusion and extraordinary facility of acquiring property over all the states of the Union, which is the great cause of the coincidence of this astonishing increase, with the continued well-being of all the individuals, at least in the rural districts, of whom the population consists. Over the whole of America there is not to be found a single farmer, in the European sense of the word—that is, a cultivator who pays rent to a landlord for the ground which he occupies. Every man is the proprietor of the land which he cultivates. Eight-ninths of the population in the rural districts are engaged in the cultivation of the soil ; and even taking into view the whole inhabitants of the Union, the cultivators are, to all the other classes of society put together, in the proportion of nearly four to one. This fact is very remarkable, and

affords the most decisive refutation of Mr Malthus's celebrated principle of the increasing pressure of population on subsistence in the later stages of society.* For in Great Britain, by the late census, the proportion lies just the other way; *one-fourth* of the whole population engaged in agriculture having been found to raise subsistence for the remaining three-fourths engaged in commerce and manufactures by the census of 1831, while by that of 1841 the supply was raised by *one-seventh* only.†

35. Nay, in America itself, the same

law of nature is distinctly demonstrated;‡ for while over the whole Union the cultivators are to the other classes as four to one, in the agricultural states beyond the Alleghany they are as *eight* to one. And yet, in Great Britain, anterior to the five extraordinarily bad seasons, which lasted without intermission from 1838 to 1842, subsistence, derived almost entirely from domestic cultivation, was not only abundant, but overflowing; and wheat, for the first time for a hundred years, was, in 1835, under thirty-six shillings a quarter; § while the average

* The following is the proportion of the agricultural to the other classes of society in the United States in 1840:—

Agricultural,	3,717,756
Other classes, viz.—Mining,	15,203
Commerce,	117,575
Manufactures,	791,554
Sailors,	56,025
On Lakes,	33,067
Learned Professions,	65,286

All other classes, 1,078,660

† By the census of 1831, out of 3,414,175 families in Great Britain, 901,134, or nearly a fourth only (282 in 1000), are employed in the production of food. By the census of 1841, the agricultural population has in many places declined, and the manufacturing everywhere immensely increased, and hardly a seventh are employed in raising food for the remaining six-sevenths. The total persons employed in raising food in 1841, in Great Britain and Ireland, were 3,343,974, while the consumers were 23,432,115, or above seven times greater. See *ante*, Chap. ix. § 21, note.—PORRER, i. 59; and *Census* 1841.

‡ The following table shows the proportion of the agriculturists to the other classes in the states beyond the Alleghany Mountains:—

States and Territories.	Agriculture.	Mining.	Commerce.	Manufactures and Trades.	Sailors on the Rivers.	Sailors on the Lakes.	Learned Professions.	Total not Agricultural.
N. Carolina, . . .	217,095	599	1734	14,322	327	379	1086	
S. Carolina, . . .	198,463	51	1958	10,325	381	348	1481	
Georgia, . . .	206,383	574	2428	7,984	262	352	1250	
Alabama, . . .	177,439	96	2212	7,195	256	768	1514	
Mississippi, . . .	189,724	14	1303	4,151	33	100	1506	
Louisiana, . . .	79,289	..	8549	7,565	1322	662	1018	
Tennessee, . . .	227,739	103	2217	17,815	56	302	2042	
Kentucky, . . .	197,738	331	3448	23,217	44	968	2487	
Ohio, . . .	272,579	704	2201	68,205	212	3323	5663	
Indiana, . . .	148,806	233	3076	20,590	89	627	2257	
Illinois, . . .	105,337	783	2506	13,185	63	310	2021	
Missouri, . . .	92,408	742	2522	11,100	39	1865	1469	
Arkansas, . . .	26,355	41	215	1,173	3	39	301	
	2,092,255	4200	41,609	204,887	3086	10,053	24,095	287,751

—American Census, 1841.

§ Average of corn imported into Great Britain

From 1800 to 1810	Quarters, 600,468
1810 to 1820	458,578
1820 to 1830	534,692
1830 to 1835	398,509
1835 to 1840	1,992,548

—PORRER's *Progress of Nation*, ii. 145; and *Part. Tables*, ix. 164.

(§) Five bad seasons in succession.

amount of foreign grain imported had been steadily diminishing ever since the commencement of the present century, until at length it had come to be, on an average of five years, under 400,000 quarters. Thus, while on the virgin soil, and amidst the boundless profusion of America, four cultivators only maintain one person engaged in pursuits unconnected with agriculture; amidst the dense and long-established population of Great Britain, one cultivator maintains *seven* manufacturers and artisans: a fact which demonstrates, that so far from population, in the later stages of society, pressing on subsistence, the powers of agriculture daily, in such circumstances, acquire a more decisive superiority over those of population.

" Accuse not nature; she hath done her part,
Do thou but thine; and be not diffident
Of wisdom: she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her."*

36. But in America there is one circumstance connected with the race of cultivators which is very remarkable, and altogether unparalleled in any other age or country of the world. In every nation that has hitherto appeared, the enjoyment of property, and engrossing of mankind in the cares of agriculture, have been found to be attended with the strongest possible attachment by the owners of the soil to the little freeholds which they cultivate; and nothing short of the greatest disasters in life has been able to tear them away from the seats of their childhood, and the spots on which their own industry and that of their fathers has been exerted. Mungo Park has told us how strong this feeling is in the heart of Africa among the poor negroes: "To him no water is sweet but that which is drawn from his own well, and no shade refreshing but the tabba-tree of his native dwelling. When carried into captivity by a neighbouring tribe, he never ceases to languish during his exile, seizes the first moment to escape, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village." In Ceylon, Bishop Heber in-

* *Paradise Lost*, viii. 560.

forms us, the attachment of the cultivators to their little properties is such, that it is not unusual to see a man the proprietor of the hundred and fiftieth part of a single tree. In France, the same principle has always been strongly felt; and Arthur Young long ago remarked, that it continues with undiminished strength though the freehold is reduced to the fraction of a tree. In Canada, local attachment operates among the *habitans* of French descent with such force that, in place of extending into the surrounding wilds, the cultivators divide and subdivide among their children the freeholds they have already acquired; population multiplies *inwards*, not *outwards*; and instead of spreading over and fertilising the desert, it leads, as in old France, to an infinite subdivision among the inhabitants of the land already cultivated.

37. In America, on the other hand, for the first time in the history of mankind, this strong and general feeling seems to be entirely obliterated. Though the labourers of that country have probably derived greater advantages from the cultivation of the soil than any other people that ever existed, yet they have no sort of attachment either to the land which they have acquired, or to that which they have inherited from their fathers. Not only is real property almost always sold and divided at the death of the head of a family, but, even during his lifetime, emigration from one spot to another is so frequent, that it may be considered as the grand social characteristic of the American people. However long and happily a proprietor may have lived upon his little domain; though it may have been the sepulchre of his fathers, the play-ground of his infancy, the arbour of his wedded love, the nursery of his children; though it may be endeared to him by all the ties which can bind man to material nature, and the severance of which, in other countries, constitutes the last drop in the cup of the vanquished—an American is always ready to sell it, if he can do so for a profit; and, putting himself and his family, with all his effects, on board the first steam-boat, make his way to a

distant part of the country, and commence again, perhaps at a distance of some hundred miles, the great and engrossing work of accumulating wealth. To turn money into land, and take root in the soil, and leave his descendants there, is the great object of ambition in the Old World. To turn land into money, and leave his children afloat, but affluent in society, is the universal desire in the New. This peculiarity is so remarkable, and so totally at variance with what had previously been ever observed in nations engaged in the cultivation of the soil, that it may be considered in a social point of view as the grand characteristic of society in the United States of America; and its present condition, at least beyond the Alleghany mountains, cannot be so well characterised, in comparison with that of other countries, as by styling it the *NOMAD AGRICULTURAL STATE*.

38. This extraordinary peculiarity appears to be mainly owing to three causes:—(1.) The universal passion for democratic equality has led in practice to a general division of landed estates among all the children equally, or with sometimes merely a double portion to the eldest. The law allows a certain portion of the land to be otherwise disposed of by will; but primogeniture is so repugnant to general opinion that this power is hardly ever acted upon, and equal division is all but universal. Hence a landed property is never looked to as a permanent family resting-place. It is merely a temporary lodging, to be used till the owner's death breaks it up into lots, or till he can get an opportunity of disposing of it to advantage. Hereditary feeling is unknown in America; even family portraits, pictures of beloved parents, are often not framed, as it is well understood that, at the death of the head of the family, they will all be sold and turned into dollars, to be divided among the children.

39. (2.) Agriculture being the general, and in many places almost the only profession, it is regarded as a *vulgar* occupation. The aristocracy—except in Virginia and the Carolinas, where primogeniture has more strongly taken

root—is never to be found among the landowners any more than among the merchants. The little freeholders on the Ohio and the Mississippi are the grand support of the extreme democratic party; and the conservative cause is upheld only by the merchants of New York, Philadelphia, and the other commercial towns on the coast. The democratic cry there is not “Down with the landed,” but “Down with the *paper* aristocracy.” The whole clamour against paper currency, which has recently convulsed the Union, and in its effects brought insolvency upon nine-tenths of the whole trading classes throughout the country, was in reality a political movement. They wanted to destroy paper credit, and stop bank issues, because they knew perfectly that was the last citadel in which the influence of property was entrenched, and that when it was ruined the whole power of the state would be centred in numbers. The same instinct which roused such a fever in France against the noblesse, made the American democrats run at the banks.*

40. (3.) The prodigious rise in the value of property on the frontiers of civilisation, in consequence of the felling of forests and spread of cultivation around it, offers a prospect of accumulating fortunes and amassing wealth, far beyond what can be obtained from the slow and regular returns of long-established agricultural industry. In the states of the basin of the Mississippi, if a man can only muster up a hundred dollars, and buy as many acres of land, he is certain that in ten years, by the mere lapse of time, and accumulation of population around him, it will be worth, with very little exertion on his part, five hundred or a thousand. Hence the universal fever to get on to the frontier, and, by a cheap purchase of virgin land, at once reap the first fruits from the bounty of nature, and the first profits arising from the rapid

* We have felt the same in Great Britain. “To stop the Duke, go for gold.” Mankind are the same at bottom in all countries; the difference lies in the circumstances, or institutions, which do or do not permit the respectability of a single class to oppress or ruin the others.

multiplication of man. And truly, when we recollect that the population of the states to the westward of the Alleghany has augmented fifty-fold in the last half-century, it may be conceived what prodigious profits must have been realised by all those who were fortunate enough first to get possession of the land; and we shall cease to wonder at the general passion which, obliterating all recollections of home, infancy, and place of nativity, perpetually urges the American race towards the frontiers of civilisation, the real El Dorado of the New World.

41. Nothing is more remarkable in America than the universal activity and industry which prevail among all classes of society. That the Anglo-Saxon race in Europe is laborious, persevering, and energetic, need not be told to any one who witnesses the colossal fabric of British greatness, or the vast impression which England has made in every quarter of the globe. But, enterprising as it is in Great Britain, it is not influenced by such a restless spirit of activity, such a perpetual fervour of exertion, as appears among its descendants in the New World. The vast facilities for the acquisition of fortune which the prodigious increase of population, great extent of bank issues, and boundless extent of fertile land afford; the entire absence of all hereditary rank or property, which opens the career of elevation and distinction alike to every citizen; the engrossing thirst for gold, which springs from its being the only source of influence, and the only durable basis of power, have combined, with the active and persevering habits which they have inherited from their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, to produce in the Americans a universal spirit of industry and enterprise, to which nothing comparable has ever been witnessed among mankind. It is the fervour of Roman conquest, turned only to war with the desert; the fever of French democracy, yet "guiltless of its country's blood." In the British Islands, if energy and perseverance distinguish the middle classes, labour and industry the lower, the higher ranks are often

indolent or luxurious; and, with the graces of patrician manners, they have sometimes imbibed the selfishness and indolence of patrician wealth. But, in America, all are in a state of activity. Every human being, except the pauper and the lunatic, is engaged in some profession. If their efforts are checked in one direction, they are immediately renewed in another. Activity is universal and incessant.

42. The enterprise of the Americans, however, differs from that which, at least in former times, laid the deep and solid foundation of British greatness. It is far more vehement, ardent, and speculative. If it is true, as the Scripture says, that "he who hasteneth to be rich shall not be innocent," there are few blameless characters in the United States. The few idlers from Europe find themselves so useless and contemptible amidst the general din of activity with which they are surrounded, that they are driven to exertion in their own defence. Wealth being universally felt to be the only passport either to influence, enjoyment, or consideration, it is everywhere sought after with an avidity unknown even in the most commercial states of the Old World. Speculations the most rash, enterprises the most dangerous, undertakings often the most absurd, are gone into with avidity, prosecuted with energy, and never given up in mere fickleness. If it turns out, as is not unfrequently the case, that the affair is of such a kind that it can by no possible effort be brought to a successful issue, it is abandoned in a state of bankruptcy: the speculators get on board steamboats, hurry away to the frontier, and commence anew with undiminished energy the great and all-important business of amassing wealth. Everything goes on at the gallop. Neither society nor the individuals who compose it ever pause for an instant; fresh undertakings are incessantly commencing; new paths of life continually attempted by the unfortunate; successful industry ardently prosecuted by the prosperous. Projects of philanthropy, of commerce, of canals, of railways, of banking, of religious and social amelioration,

succeed one another with breathless rapidity, and are gone into with ardent zeal by the different classes of society, according to their inclinations and habits. A European, bred up amidst the stillness of social life on the Continent, is almost stunned, when he lands at New York, by the din with which he is surrounded; and even an Englishman, accustomed to the corresponding turmoil in which the commercial cities of his own country are involved, sees enough to convince him that an additional impulse has been communicated to his already active race, by the democratic institutions and vast capabilities of the New World.

43. At first sight it would be supposed that a country such as this, possessing unbounded natural advantages, with unlimited power of elevation and means of advancement open to all, even the humblest of the community, and with no hereditary rank or arbitrary privileges to keep back or prefer any in the common race, must be not only one of the most rising, but one of the happiest in the world. Nevertheless, it is just the reverse; and this is the people of all others where at once general progress is the greatest, and private discontent the most universal. All classes and ranks are dissatisfied with their condition, and plod on in sullen careflessness, which is so strong as to be apparent in their habits, their manners, even the expression of their countenances. The desire to rise and better their condition in the world is so universal, that, as the excessive competition renders it difficult to do so in any great degree, most are disappointed. The scholars are dissatisfied: they complain of the superficial character of literature, and lament that its tone, instead of rising, is progressively sinking, with the extension of the power of reading to the middle and working orders of society, and the growing demand for works adapted to their tastes and suited to their capacity. The professional men are dissatisfied: they allege that their rank is lower than in Europe; that they are overshadowed by commercial wealth, and find no compensation in the esteem or respect in

which their avocations are held, or the society, often imperfectly educated and ill-mannered, of which it is composed. The merchants are dissatisfied: they declare that they are worn to death by excessive toil; and are surrounded by such a multitude of competitors and slippery undertakings, that it is seldom they can preserve their fortunes during their lives, and still more rarely that they can bequeath them in safety to their children. Even the mechanics and cultivators are dissatisfied. Outwardly blessed beyond any other class that society has ever contained, they are consumed by the incessant thirst for riches and advancement—a thirst which not even the boundless capabilities of the basin of the Mississippi has been able to slake. They can enjoy nothing, because they desire everything.

"They never are, but always to be blessed."

It is to this cause that we are to ascribe the melancholy and weariness of life which is so common in America, under circumstances in which a very great degree of comfort appears to have been attained. They are perpetually straining after a shadow, which as constantly eludes their grasp. In all this there is nothing surprising. Individual dissatisfaction, and the desire to remove it by rising in the world, is at once the mainspring of the general progress, and the certain cause of private discontent, in free communities. In despotic states all are contented, because none can get on; in democratic states none are contented, because all can get on. And thus it is that Nature, in mercy to her offspring, equalises in all respects, save from inequality in virtue, the sum of human happiness.

44. "Our present civilisation," says Channing, "is characterised and tainted by a devouring greediness for wealth; the passion for gain is everywhere sapping pure and generous feeling, and raising up bitter foes against any reform which may threaten to turn aside the stream of wealth. I sometimes feel as if a great reform were necessary to break up our present mercenary civilisation, in order that Christianity, now repelled by the universal worldli-

ness, may come into near contact with the soul, and reconstruct society after its own pure and disinterested principles." This is strictly true, and it is the necessary effect of those democratic institutions, which, by removing all other distinctions, concentrate the whole aspirations of the human mind upon this one object of ambition. But though beyond all precedent desirous of wealth, the American is far from being avaricious or tenacious in its disposal: like Catiline, he is "alieni appetens, sui profusus"—Desirous of other's wealth, lavish of his own. In no country is wealth bestowed with a more lavish hand on all undertakings, public or private, promising a return for money, or gifted in a more generous spirit to every institution of a religious or charitable description. All its great towns can boast of noble establishments for education, public worship, and the relief of suffering, almost entirely supported by private contributions, which can vie with any in the world, both in the magnificence of their undertakings, and the benevolent ardour with which they are superintended and supported. It would seem as if the extraordinary facilities which they enjoy of getting wealth, make them liberal and generous in its disposal. The most common cause of an avaricious disposition is the experience of difficulty in making money; generosity is in general the child of easy circumstances, and of the enjoyment of wealth with little or no exertion.

45. Although the mission of America evidently is to the people what has been well termed "the Reserve of Na-

ture," and her democratic institutions and national character impel her people with such violence towards that noble destiny, yet she is great, also, in her seaport towns and commercial activity. The very transit of such a multitude of emigrants, on their way to the land of promise in the West—the wants of such a vast and rapidly increasing population—necessarily induce a very great foreign trade. New York, the commercial capital of America, already (1849) numbers above four hundred thousand inhabitants, and, at its present rate of increase, will in twenty years have six hundred thousand; Philadelphia has two hundred and seventy thousand; Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, are all rapidly increasing, and will soon rival the greatest commercial cities of the Old World.* The ardent spirit of enterprise, the insatiable passion for gambling adventures, by which the inhabitants of the United States are so peculiarly distinguished, occasion indeed periodical and rapidly returning crises of commercial or monetary distress, and overwhelm the land with a flood of embarrassment exceeding anything ever experienced from pacific causes in the Old World. But those dreadful catastrophes, though the cause of unbounded private suffering, produce apparently no lasting diminution in the general progress of their commercial activity. A new race of energetic adventurers, equally capable, equally daring, immediately succeeds that which has been swept away. The banks, when no measures of government are able to restrain, furnish the means of fresh enter-

† The following table exhibits the past progress and present population of the principal cities in America:—

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
New York,	33,131	60,480	96,373	123,706	203,007	312,710
Philadelphia,	42,520	70,287	96,664	108,116	167,118	228,691
Baltimore,	13,508	26,614	46,555	62,738	80,625	102,313
New Orleans,	—	—	17,342	27,176	46,310	102,198
Boston,	16,036	24,927	32,250	43,298	61,892	98,553
Cincinnati,	—	750	2,540	8,644	24,831	46,598
Brooklyn,	—	3,298	4,402	7,175	12,042	36,233
Albany,	3,496	5,349	9,856	12,630	24,238	33,721
Charleston,	16,869	28,712	24,711	24,480	30,269	29,261
Washington,	—	3,210	8,908	13,247	16,827	23,364
Providence,	—	7,614	10,071	11,967	16,882	23,171

—American Statistical Almanac for 1842, p. 261.

prise and adventure. The great work of private effort and public advancement continues with unabated vigour; the flame, apparently extinguished for ever, burns up again with fresh brilliancy; wave after wave is broken on the shore, but the great flood-tide still streams forward, and rises higher and higher upon the beach.

46. The American seaman possesses all the hardihood and daring which have given to those of Great Britain the empire of the ocean, and is stimulated in addition by a spirit of adventure, a thirst for gain, exceeding that of his hardy progenitors on the wave. The progress of American foreign commerce has been more rapid, for the last half-century, than that of England during the same or any former period. The same indomitable perseverance and inextinguishable passion for advancement, which drive their race with such violence towards the Rocky Mountains, have sent them forth with equal vigour in the opposite direction, and impelled their sails into every creek and bay of the navigable seas. Their pendants are to be seen alongside those of England in every harbour of the world: in London and Liverpool, St Petersburg and Constantinople: in the waters of Canton and the Gulf of New Zealand: amidst the ices of the South Pole and on the frozen shores of Greenland. Individual adventure, private enterprise, have in so short a time achieved all these prodigies: the American commercial navy owes nothing to the encouragement or power of its government. The American shipmaster stretches across the Atlantic with a scanty crew and ill-equipped ship; indefatigable exertion, untiring watchfulness, supply the want of numbers: he takes in his cargo of tea

at Canton, returns to New York, sells it at a halfpenny a pound cheaper than his British rival, and is content.* It is in this minute attention to details, and indefatigable vigour, that the secret of the rapid progress of the American commercial navy is to be found. Yet is its value so considerable, as to have now (1840) reached, in exports, the vast amount of 131,500,000 dollars, or £27,089,000, of which 113,000,000 dollars, or £23,278,000, is for the value of domestic produce. The imports for the same year were 104,000,000 dollars, or £21,424,000 sterling. Both exports and imports have more than doubled in the last twenty years; a progress somewhat greater than the British foreign commerce has made during the same period.

47. The American navy at this time (1841) consists of seven ships of the line, and four on the stocks, seventeen frigates, twenty-one sloops, and twelve schooners and brigs; no very formidable force for a power which boasts its ability to contend with Great Britain for the empire of the waves. The real strength of their marine is to be found in the vast and growing amount of their commercial vessels, and the vigour and courage which long training on the storms of the Atlantic has communicated to the already hardy and intrepid race of their seamen. The marine seamen of their whole states for the year 1840 numbered fifty-six thousand; a considerable commercial navy, from whence powerful supplies of sailors, already trained to the most material parts of their duty, may at all times be obtained. The pay they give to the seamen and inferior officers is very high; to the superior ones proportionally low;—a peculiarity observable uni-

* Table showing the progress of Exports and Imports of the United States.

Years.	Value of exports.	Value of imports.	Years.	Value of exports.	Value of imports.
1821	£13,544,661	£18,038,592	1835	£25,352,822	£31,222,279
1825	20,730,539	20,070,849	1836	26,804,799	39,579,174
1830	15,385,314	14,766,025	1837	24,702,355	29,299,544
1831	16,989,708	21,496,140	1838	22,121,654	22,491,350
1832	18,161,862	21,047,764	1839	25,557,104	32,523,120
1833	18,779,255	22,674,648	1840	27,089,000	31,424,000
1834	21,736,868	26,358,610			

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 190; and *American Statistical Almanac* for 1842, p. 120.

versally in the United States, where democratic parsimony can only relax in favour of that class with which itself sympathises, and from the comforts of which itself may derive benefit. Gunners receive £150 a-year, boatswains £180, captains on duty only £625. The wages of common sailors, being four or five pounds a-month, are so considerable as to attract a large portion of British seamen into their service, whom, from the identity of language and habits between the two states, it is impossible to distinguish; while the diminutive number of their ships, compared with those of Great Britain, renders it impossible for the latter power to attempt to vie with the United States in the amount of the remuneration they can hold out to the naval service.

48. If the navy of America, even in the present maturity of its powers, is small, its military force is still more inconsiderable, and affords a striking proof of the entirely pacific direction which the national strength has hitherto taken. It consists of eight regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and three of artillery, numbering in all twelve thousand five hundred and thirty-seven combatants! This is just the strength of a Roman legion, or of one of Napoleon's divisions. It is not a fifth part of the military force of Bavaria, nor a half of that maintained by Saxony or Würtemberg. Such as it is, this Lilliputian force is scattered over fifty fortified posts on the frontier, and twelve arsenals in the interior, stretching over an extent two thousand miles in length, being not, on an average, two hundred and fifty men to each post. Of all marvels, this amount of military force is the most marvellous, when the magnitude and resources of the Republic are taken into view, the vast extent of frontier they have to defend, and the arrogant tone which they assume in their diplomatic intercourse with foreign states. It is true they have a militia everywhere established, which in periods of danger may, it is said, enrol fifteen hundred thousand combatants around its banners. But although such a force, composed of backwoodsmen, combating behind trees in their forests,

is doubtless very formidable, and may sometimes make a stout resistance behind intrenchments in the neighbourhood of towns; yet the result of the war of 1812 demonstrated what *a priori* might have been readily imagined, that it is incapable of carrying on war in the field, is wholly unfit for offensive operations, and cannot be relied on for the defence even of the strongest positions, if assailed with skill by much inferior forces. The proof of this is decisive: the Americans allowed their capital to be taken and pillaged by a British division, that could not muster three thousand five hundred bayonets. De Tocqueville was never more correct than when he asserted, that if America were placed in the midst of the European powers, it would at the end of a century, if still independent, have made a much more rapid progress than any of them; but that it would run the most imminent hazard of being three or four times conquered, in the interim, by monarchies not possessing a fourth part of its material resources. Her safety hitherto has consisted in her isolation. She is surrounded on all sides, except Canada, by scattered savages or degenerate Europeans—so weak, that she has never known what it was to combat a real enemy.*

49. Incredibly small as the naval and military establishments of the United States appear to one accustomed to contemplate the colossal armaments of the European powers, they are fully as large as the scanty revenue at the disposal of the central government can afford to maintain. Such is the impatience of

* The militia of the whole States amounted, according to the Army List of 1841, to 1,503,952 men in arms.

That of New York was,	169,435
Pennsylvania,	267,178
Virginia,	105,122
Ohio,	146,428

Militia Abstract, 1841; *Stat. Almanac* for 1841, p. 85.

"The isolation of the United States has permitted them to grow and advance; it is doubtful if they would have been able to live and to increase in Europe. Separated from the Old World, the population of the United States still inhabit a solitude. The deserts have proved their safety; but already the conditions of their existence are changing."

—CHATEAUBRIAND'S *Memoire*, ii. 324.

taxation in America, as in all countries where democratic power is really, and not, as in republican France, nominally established, that no consideration will induce them to submit to the burdens necessary to put the independence of the confederacy on a secure foundation. The ordinary national revenue at this time, (1840,) is only 17,197,000 dollars, or £3,546,000; and including all extraordinary aids, no more than 28,234,000 dollars, or £5,853,000. The expenditure is 26,643,636 dollars, or £5,488,000. There is no national debt properly so called, that is, attaching to the central government, excepting a floating balance of three or four millions of dollars in exchequer bills, issued during the dreadful commercial embarrassments and consequent fall of revenue during the last four years. Even this trifling national debt has since been paid off. Of this revenue, four-fifths, or about 15,000,000 of dollars, (£3,090,000,) is derived from customs: there is no excise or direct taxes to the general government, of any kind; and the remainder is almost entirely drawn from the sale of the lands belonging to the state, which in the year 1840 produced 2,620,000 dollars, or £539,000. Hitherto, indeed, with such scanty public revenues, the Americans have held surprisingly together; but that is because they have not as yet experienced in their full force the causes of separation. The interests, however, of the different parts of their immense territory, exceeding all Europe put together in extent, riches, and variety, are so different, that it is more than doubtful if they will continue united when the separate states become sufficiently strong to be able to stand without support.

50. This, however, is but a part of the revenues and debt of the United States. Each of the states in the Union has a separate exchequer, receipts, expenditure, and debt of its own, from which its local expenses, such as judges, courts of justice, militia, &c., are defrayed. The greater part of the debt of each separate state has been contracted by their local legislature for the promotion of great public improvements, such as roads, canals, railways, and bridges,

for the benefit of the community; and these debts are very considerable, amounting in all to 248,841,540 dollars, or £51,000,000. This is a fact of no small moment to Great Britain at this time, considering that at least two-thirds of this sum is due to English capitalists, and that the democratic masters of several of those states have already adopted the convenient device of "repudiating" the debt; in other words, refusing to pay either its principal or interest, after it has been expended for their behoof. The states which have adopted this disgraceful step owe 100,000,000 dollars, or £22,000,000, and include Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and some others beyond the Alleghany mountains. Pennsylvania has failed in the regular payment of the interest of its debt; and even in the great commercial capital of New York, symptoms of no equivocal kind have appeared of a disposition to relieve the people of the disagreeable burden of discharging their obligations.

51. The government of America, as all the world knows, is a pure and un-mixed democracy; established on a scale, and over an extent, to which there never has been a parallel in the annals of mankind. The central government—the local government—the officers of state, the president of the republic, the judges and civil officers of every description, in all the states, are elected by the universal suffrage of the people, either through the medium of the elections for their separate legislatures, or the general election for the national office-bearers. So great is the amount of the constituency which may be called on to vote on the election of a president, that it is not unusual to see nearly two millions and a half of electors record their suffrages on that interesting occasion; and nearly that number actually voted at the election of General Harrison on 4th of March 1841.* This is somewhat less than the proportion capable of bearing arms, in

* On that occasion there voted for
Harrison, 1,274,783
Van Buren, 1,126,702

Total electors, 2,403,485
—Stat. Almanac, 1841, p. 53.

a population of 14,500,000 free whites in round numbers, being about *one to six* in the whole free inhabitants. In Great Britain and Ireland there are 330,000 electors out of 27,000,000 people, or 1 in 32 only; in France, less than 200,000 among 32,000,000, or 1 in 190! So widely different is the extent to which the electoral suffrage has been carried, in the three countries in the world where the greatest efforts in favour of freedom have been made, and popular institutions have been established on the broadest basis. It will not appear surprising, when these figures are considered; that the Americans should be repudiating their debts, while those of England have always been, and of France are now, at least, religiously upheld. The mass of the people are, no doubt, deeply interested in the *final* result of keeping faith with the public creditor; but the *immediate* effect of its violation promises them a most alluring liberation, in the outset, from disagreeable burdens. The majority of men in all ages are governed by the first effect of measures, and such as strike the senses only. Ultimate consequences, overwhelming in their influence on the thinking few, are wholly overlooked by the unthinking many. The majority of men will never discharge their obligations, if they can possibly help it. Public faith is preserved with religious fidelity in England, because it is for the immediate as well as the ultimate interest of the monied classes, in whom property is substantially vested, to uphold it. If Great Britain wants to shake off its national debt, it has only to extend the suffrage in any considerable degree, and the burden will not stand three months.

52. According to the theory of the American constitution, a great variety of checks are established, intended to limit and restrain the inordinate power given to the popular voice in the formation of government. The principle of their union is, that whatever power is not expressly vested in the federal government, belongs of right to the assemblies of the separate states, and the central authority itself is restrained

as much as appeared necessary under such a system for its formation. The general government, which meets at Washington in congress, consists of two chambers—the Senate and House of Representatives. Each state sends two members to the Senate, and a certain number, in proportion to the population, which is fixed every ten years, to that of the Representatives. This proportion was originally made one to every thirty thousand persons; but in 1792 this was changed to one in thirty-three thousand; and in 1832 to one in forty-eight thousand souls. The House of Representatives is named by the direct and immediate vote of the people; the Senate, by the choice of the state legislature: thus the first is the result of a single, the second of a double election. In the first instance, the seat endures for two—in the second, for six years. The Chamber of Representatives is endowed only with legislative powers; the Senate, in addition to these, with certain judicial and executive duties. No bill can become a law until it passes both houses; but, in addition to this, the Senate judges of impeachments preferred by the lower house for state offences, and its consent is requisite to ratify treaties with foreign powers, and validate certain appointments to offices made by the President.

53. The executive power is vested, in a great degree, in the President, whose functions are intended to correspond with those of a sovereign in the European monarchies; but, both in substantial authority and theoretical right, the two are essentially different. His tenure of office is not for life, but for four years; and a vice-president is always elected with the President, who, in the event of his death while in office, succeeds without any further election. The President can propose no laws to Congress, and his ministers are excluded in like manner as himself; so that it is only by indirect means that the views of government can be laid before the legislature. No inviolability is attached to the office of supreme magistrate, as to the constitutional monarchs of France and England. The President carries the laws into execution, but he has no

share in their formation; he can refuse his sanction to them, but, by a singular anomaly, though that prevents their execution, it does not prevent them from being laws, and being enforced when a more pliant chief of the republic is elected. The only real source of influence which the President enjoys, is the nomination to employments under government; and their number is very considerable, for it already amounts to sixty thousand, the greater part of whom are removed with every change of administration.*

54. It is not, however, either in the President or the Senate, in the ministers of state or the House of Representatives, that the true sovereignty of the United States resides. Government is really vested in THE PEOPLE: and that, too, not in the figurative and hyperbolic sense in which that expression is used in the declamations of modern Europe, but really, practically, and effectively. Each separate state is a democracy in itself, and in it the power of the people is exerted without any control. Every one has its governor, its senate, and house of representatives; the whole number of which, in both houses, are elected by the universal suffrage of the people. The senators, in these state legislatures, vary from twelve to ninety-three in number; the representatives from twenty-six to three hundred and fifty-two. These legislative bodies are vested with what practically amounts to absolute powers in their separate states; and the governor carries into effect the declared will of the majority of both houses, in like manner as he does the declared will of Congress. They exclusively manage their debts, finances, improvements, judicial establishment, militia, harbours, roads, railways, canals, and whole local concerns. So extensive and

* Offices in America in the gift of the executive:—

Collection of taxes and general administration,	12,144
Military, and service against the Indians,	9,643
Navy,	6,499
Post-Office,	31,917
	60,203

—CALHOUN'S *Report to the Senate*, 1836; given in CHEVALLER, ii. 461; note 46.

undefined are their powers, that it may be doubted whether they do not amount to those of declaring peace and war, and acting in all respects as independent states. Certain it is, that on more than one occasion,—particularly the dispute with the southern states in 1834, on the question of nullifying the tariff of duties established by Congress; and the open hostilities which the northern states carried on with the British inhabitants on the Canada frontier in 1837 and 1839,—the separate states, the Carolinas in the first instance, and New York and Maine in the second, took upon themselves to set the authority of the central government at defiance; and Congress and the executive were glad to veil their weakness under the guise of moderation, while in reality they succumbed to the whole demands of the insurgent commonwealths. It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell, that a vast confederacy of separate states, each with its own legislature and armed force, and actuated, from difference of climate and situation, by opposite and conflicting interests, held together by so slender a tie, is not destined to hang long together. The very difference in the national character and descent in different parts of the Union, renders it highly improbable that they can remain permanently united. "What similarity," says Chateaubriand, "is there between a Frenchman of Louisiana, a Spaniard of the Floridas, a German of New York, an Englishman of New England, of Virginia, of Carolina, of Georgia? Yet they are all called Americans. The one is volatile, and a duellist; the other a proud and indolent Catholic; this a Lutheran labourer, without slaves; that an English Protestant, with slaves; here is a Puritan merchant; there an Episcopalian slave-driver. Can ages ever render such a population homogeneous?"

55. In one important respect America differs entirely from any state of Christendom, or indeed any that ever before existed in the world. It acknowledges no state religion; and no public funds whatever are provided for the clergy, or religious instructors of any denomination. All are on the foot-

ing of dissenters in England; that is, they are maintained solely by the seat-rents, or the voluntary contributions of their flocks. Churches, especially in the great towns, are numerous, and embrace every possible variety of belief, from the austere Puritan, the genuine descendant of the patriarchs who, two centuries ago, sought a refuge in New England from the persecution of Charles I., to the lax Socinian, whose creed scarcely differs from that of the Deist of former times. Episcopacy is the prevailing religion of the higher classes in the principal cities of the Union, except Baltimore: but the Baptists and Methodists are by far the most considerable sects. The Presbyterians are also very numerous; and in several districts the Roman Catholics are making great progress, inasmuch that they now number above two millions of souls within the pale of their church in the whole states of the Union.

56. Religion in the United States being entirely separated from civil government, its ministers are relieved from that jealousy which in Great Britain is attached by the democratic party to every person in any situation of trust, whether civil or ecclesiastical, whose nomination is not vested in themselves. The clergy of all denominations are elected by their congregations; they are maintained by them during their incumbency; they may, in most cases, like those of the dissenting congregations in the British Islands, be dismissed by them at pleasure.* A strong religious feeling pervades the United States, especially New England and Pennsylvania, which has descended to them from their Puritan or Quaker ancestors; and this is much enhanced by the complete divorce from temporal concerns which has taken place in the church. The clergy have no political influence, and never intermeddle with temporal affairs. But in no country in the world have they a stronger sway in society, or are their opinions more attended to, especially by the female portion of their congregations. It is to this general influence of religion, and

* The Episcopalian clergy have in some states a life tenure, which the law supports.

the unseen chain which it has thrown over the passions and vices of men, more, perhaps, than any other cause, that the existence of society for so considerable a period as sixty years, without any great convulsions, notwithstanding the almost entire absence of external restraint or efficient government, is to be ascribed.

57. But the difficulties of the American church are yet to come; and with the increase of its destitute population, and of the classes which subsist on wages alone, the impossibility of providing by voluntary contribution for the maintenance of religion will become very apparent. No want of religious instruction is felt in the great commercial towns, but in the rural districts the case is often directly the reverse;† and although the proportion of proprietors has hitherto been so great, no less than five millions of persons‡ already exist in the United States, for whom there is no provision in any place of endowed or existing public worship whatever.§ If this is the case in their

† "The Baptist sect alone proclaims a want of above three thousand ministers to supply the existing churches. Churches and funds are sufficient, but men are wanting."—MARTINEAU, *iii.* 272, 273. This is the precise point where the question hinges, and the difficulty *always* occurs: it is comparatively easy, under the influence of temporary excitement or philanthropic feeling, to build churches, at least in great towns; to maintain their ministers in decent competence from voluntary sources is a very different matter.

‡ The American Board of Education makes the following statement, March 8, 1844:—"A vast population exists in these United States, for whom no means of grace whatever are provided. The most accurate examination would fix the number at not less than five millions! Among this mass of perishing immortal beings, at our very doors, error in its countless forms,—Popery, idolatry, and delusions wilder than the fanciful dreams of Mahomet, are making fearful havoc of souls. Indeed, the whole number of nominal professors of religion, in all the evangelical denominations in the land, does not much exceed two millions, while our population numbers eighteen millions."

§ "According to a general summary of religious denominations, made in 1835, the number of churches was 15,477; but there were only 12,130 ministers."—MARTINEAU, *iii.* 272. This is about one church to each thousand inhabitants, and one minister to each thirteen hundred: the population being at that period about 15,000,000. This, on an

infancy, what will it be in their maturity and old age? And how are funds to be raised to provide for the deficiency in a democratic worldly community, which starves down all its public establishments to the lowest point, and where no legislator ever yet has ventured to hint, in Congress, at a general direct tax? * If nothing else existed to subject America to the common lot of humanity, the seeds of its mortal distemper are to be found in the want of any provision for the *gratuitous* religious instruction of the poor over the whole commonwealth: the very circumstance which, with the admirers of their institutions, is most ceaselessly the subject of eulogy.

58. If, by being severed from the state, and relieved from the deteriorating effect of political passions or considerations, the American clergy have been relieved from one set of debasing influences, they have, from that very cause, become subjected to another. Already the ruinous effect of the dependence of the ministers of all denomi-

average, might seem to be a fair proportion; but the evil of the system lies in two points.

1. The churches are unequally distributed; abounding sometimes to profusion in the rich towns, and wholly wanting in the rural districts. 2. No provision exists for the *permanent maintenance* of the clergy, which is the real difficulty; and accordingly, in the Baptist persuasion alone, 2000 churches are already without ministers.—See preceding note, and MARTINEAU, iii, 273.

The following statement of the religious population of the United States is said by the *Rochester Democrat* to be derived from various sources, several of which are authentic:—

Baptists,	4,000,000
Methodists,	8,000,000
Presbyterians,	2,175,000
Congregationalists,	1,400,000
Roman Catholics,	1,300,000
Episcopalians,	1,000,000
Universalists,	600,000
Lutherans,	540,000
Dutch Reformed,	450,000
Friends,	220,000
Unitarians,	180,000
Dunkers,	80,000
Mormonites,	10,000
Shakers,	6,000
Moravians,	5,000
Swedenborgians,	5,000

* There are small direct taxes in some of the separate states, and in New York 600,000 dollars (£180,000) is yearly raised in this way. But there is no general direct tax whatever over the whole Union.

nations on the voluntary support of their flocks, has become painfully conspicuous. Religion has descended from its function of correcting the national vices and boldly denouncing the national sins in the ruling power; it has become little more, with a few noble exceptions, of whom Channing was an illustrious example, than the re-echo of public opinion. Listen to the words of an able and candid eyewitness, herself a most strenuous advocate for the voluntary system. "The American clergy," says Miss Martineau, "are the most backward and timid class in the society in which they live; self-exiled from the great moral questions of the time; the least-informed with true knowledge; the least conscious of that Christian and republican freedom which, as the natural atmosphere of piety and holiness, it is their prime duty to cherish and diffuse. The proximate causes of this are obvious: it is not merely that the living of the clergy depends on the opinion of those whom they serve; to all but the far and clear-sighted it appears that the usefulness of their function does so. The most guilty class of the community on the slavery question at present is not the slave-holding, nor even the mercantile, but the clerical. They shrink from the perils of the contest. It will not be for them to march in the noble army of martyrs. Yet, if the clergy of America follow in the rear of society, they will be the first to glory in the reformations which they have done the utmost to retard. The fearful and disgraceful mistake which occasions this, is the supposition that the clerical office consists in adapting the truth to the minds of their hearers; and this is already producing its effect in thinning the churches, and impelling the people to find an administration of religion better suited to their need. My final impression is, that religion is best administered in America by the personal character of the most virtuous members of society, out of the theological; and next, by the acts and preachings of the members of that profession who are the most secular in their habits of life. The exclusively clerical are

the worst enemies of Christianity, except the vicious." Such is the fruit of the voluntary system, according to the testimony of its most ardent supporters. An English historian need not fear to express this opinion, for he sees ample evidence around him of a similar tendency among the dissenting clergy in his own country. They are sufficiently inclined, indeed, to withstand the influence and denounce the vices of the government, of the established church, or of the richer classes who attend the churches of rival persuasions; but are they equally active in denouncing the sins that most easily beset their own popular supporters?*

59. Here, then, is a country in which, if they ever had such on earth, republican principles have enjoyed the fairest ground for trial, and the best opportunity for establishing their benefits. The land was boundless, and, in the interior at least, of unexampled fertility; the nation began its career with all the advantages and powers, and none of the evils, and scarce any of the burdens of civilisation. They had the inheritance of English laws, customs, and descent; of the Christian

* At a general conference of the clergy of Georgia, held at Athens on December 30, 1837, it was resolved:—

"1. That it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference, that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is *not a moral evil*.

"Resolved, that we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have *nothing to do*, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both in their way to heaven."—*New York Evening Post*, Jan. 5, 1838.

Contrast this with the gradual extinction of slavery in the chief states of Europe by the unceasing efforts and exhortations of the Christian clergy, and say whether religion has not descended from her pedestal when she ceased to rest on independent revenues.

"What is most surprising of all, a large number of the clergy, and especially those of the Episcopal Church, including those who call themselves evangelical, are not merely palliators of this state of slavery, but *advocate for its continuance, and deprecators of all public discussion on the subject*: so that, if the republicans understand civil and political liberty but imperfectly, the Christian professors seem to understand the liberty of religion and justice still less."—*Buckingham's America*, i. 79, 87.

religion, of European arts, and all the stores of ancient knowledge; they had neither a territorial aristocracy, nor a sovereign on the throne, nor a hereditary nobility, nor a national debt, nor an established church, which are usually held out as the impediments to the advancement of freedom in the Old World. How, then, has the republican system worked in this, the garden of the world, and the land of promise? The answer shall be given on no mean authority—in the words of one, himself an ardent, though candid supporter of democratic equality, and whose political writings, alone of any in this age, deserve a place beside the works of Bacon and Machiavel.

60. "The self-government and all-powerful sway of the majority," says M. de Tocqueville, "is the greatest and most formidable evil in the United States. The reproach to which I conceive a democratic government, such as is there established, is open, is not, as many in Europe pretend, its weakness; it is, on the contrary, its irresistible strength. What I feel repugnance to in America is not the extreme liberty which reigns in it, but the slender guarantee which is to be found against tyranny. When a man, or a party, suffers from injustice springing from the majority in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? To public opinion? It is formed by the majority. To the legislative body? It represents the majority, and blindly obeys its mandates. To the executive? It is named by the majority, and is the passive instrument in its hands. To the public force? It is nothing but the majority under arms. To a jury? It is the judicial committee of the majority. To the judges? They are in some states elected by the majority, and hold their offices at their pleasure. How unjust and unreasonable soever may be the measure which strikes you, no redress is practicable, and you must submit."—"Liberty of thought and opinion," says Miss Martineau, "is strenuously maintained in words in America; it has become almost a wearisome declamation; but it is a sad and deplorable fact, that in no

country on earth is the mind more fettered than it is here; what is called public opinion has set up a despotism such as exists nowhere else—public opinion, sitting in the dark, wrapt up in mystification and vague terrors of obscurity, deriving power no one knows from whom, like an Asiatic monarch, unapproachable, unimpeachable, undeathable, perhaps illegitimate; but irresistible in its power to quell thought, repress action, and silence conviction; bringing the timid perpetually under the unworthy fear of man—fear of some superior opinion which rules the popular breath for a day, and controls, through impudent folly, the speech and actions of the wise.”—“This country,” says Jefferson, “which has given the world the example of physical liberty, owes it that of moral emancipation also; for as yet it is but nominal with us. The inquisition of public opinion overwhelms in practice the freedom asserted by the laws in theory.”

61. Original thought, independence of character, intrepid assertion of opinion, against the prepossessions of the majority, are, generally speaking, unknown in America, at least in all who aspire to a share in the administration of public affairs. Where it exists, it is usually found in persons of respectable birth or ancient descent, who seek, in the privacy of their own homes, that independence which is immediately extinguished in public life. They pass, in consequence, for aristocrats, and are regarded with jealousy as such. This is admitted by their own ablest and best-informed writers.* So completely do the ideas of all who appear in public affairs flow in one channel, that you would say they are all cast in one mould,

* “Manliness of character is more likely to be the concomitant of aristocratic than of democratic birth; for the first feel themselves above public opinion, but the last bow to it as the slave to his master. I have learned in America to feel the truth of a maxim which is becoming familiar amongst us; that it takes an aristocrat to play the true democrat. All the real manly democrats I have ever known in America have been accused of aristocracy, simply because they were disposed to carry out their principles, and not let that imperious sovereign, the neighbourhood, play the tyrant over them.”—COOPER, in *Lucy Hardinge*, ii. 52.

and stamped with one image and superscription. Party spirit, indeed, runs extremely high; the public press abounds with furious and often coarse invective, and the most vehement division of opinion often agitates the whole Union. But in neither of these vast arrays is there any originality or stubborn independence of thought in individuals; all follow implicitly, like the well-disciplined forces of a parliamentary leader in England, the opinions of their separate parties. It is a mere struggle of numbers for the superiority, and the moment the contest is decided by a vote, the minority give way, and public opinion ranges itself, to appearance, universally on the side of the greater number. It may well be believed that this unanimity is *seeming* only; and that the beaten party do not really become converted to the opinions of their antagonists. But they are compelled to feign acquiescence; they must crouch to numbers. That noblest of spectacles, which is so often exhibited in England, of a resolute minority, strong in the conviction and intrepid in the assertion of truth, firmly maintaining its opinions in the midst of the insurgent waves of an overwhelming majority, is scarcely ever seen on the other side of the Atlantic. They feel sufficiently often the “*civium ardor prava jubentium*,” but the “*justum et tenacem propositi virum*” is unknown.* The reason is obvious; society in America is governed only by one element. Individual resolution is not wanting, but it has no ground to rest on against the ruling and irresistible majority. It is as impossible to escape being carried away by the tide, as for a daimasted ship in a bottomless ocean to avoid being swept on by the waves. Yet there is a remedy for this, as for all the other evils of society. When the event has proved the majority to be in the wrong, which is very often the case, the former general opinion is not openly assailed, but it is secretly abandoned. One by one the

* “The ardour of the citizens urging on ruinous measures,” but “the just man, tenacious of his purpose,” is unknown.

majority is lessened, until at length it is turned into a minority, and then, without anything being said about it, the opposite measures are quietly adopted.

62. The Americans will exclaim that this statement is overcharged, and that independence of opinion is to be found much in America as in Great Britain, or any European state. The matter may be brought to a very easy test, which will both illustrate the fact and the causes to which the difference, in this respect, between Great Britain and America, is owing. All the world knows that the greatest diversity of opinion upon different subjects exists in Great Britain, and it is a matter of everyday occurrence to see persons belonging to the aristocratic party, and boldly maintaining Conservative opinions, appear on the hustings and solicit the votes of the most democratic constituencies. It is not less usual for members both of the House of Lords and House of Commons to advocate extreme radical and democratic opinions, in presence of a vast majority of persons supporting the aristocratic side. Nay, examples have not been wanting of officers of high rank in the army and navy, who of course are entirely dependent on the Crown for their promotion, or even for remaining in the service, giving free vent to the most violent liberal opinions. A part of the public press of Great Britain avowedly supports republican principles; and not a few of its writers, and that, too, of the highest talent, advocate the same doctrines, both at public meetings and in their literary productions. Is a similar state of things ever seen on the other side of the Atlantic? Is it as usual there to see candidates for popular favour at public meetings maintain monarchial and aristocratic opinions, as in Great Britain it is to see them support republican ones? Does the Hall of Congress resound with declamations in favour of a mixed monarchy, in preference to a republic, in like manner as the English House of Commons does with arguments in favour of democratic institutions? Does a large part of the public press and periodical literature of America con-

stantly advocate the substitution of a mixed monarchy for their institutions, in the same manner as it does in England the conversion of the government into a pure democracy? We have never heard that any of these things take place. On the contrary, it is well known that the advocates for monarchical institutions, and they are both numerous and able in America, are as guarded in expressing their opinions in public as those in Russia who are impressed with republican ideas. The reason is the same in both cases. Power resides in one class only, and therefore the other classes cannot enjoy any practical freedom in discussion, and unfettered opinion cannot exist. Let the Americans, in their public debates, philosophical works, and periodical literature, evince the same variety and independence of opinion on political subjects which are every day put forth in England, and they will obtain credit in Europe for possessing real freedom in public deliberation and as regards independence of thought, but not till then.

63. All the restraints on the excessive power of the majority, devised by the wisdom of Washington and the original framers of the American constitution, have been shattered by two causes; the equal division of landed property by succession, and the growing democratic ambition of the people. Under the law of succession established at the Declaration of Independence, the death of every proprietor brings about a splitting of his inheritance into little portions; and when their owners in their turn are carried to the great charnel-house of mortality, a similar division takes place; so that the partition goes on *ad infinitum*. Such has been the effect of this system, that it is extremely rare for any considerable fortune to survive the second generation; and the grandchildren of those who were first in wealth and station in the days of Washington, are now lost in the obscurity of the general crowd, and are even, in many cases, labouring with their own hands. There are thus few rich persons in America, and no hereditary fortunes, but an immense number of little proprietors;

and in the states beyond the Alleghenies in particular, their number is prodigious, and hourly increasing. These small landholders, as is invariably the case, are strongly attached to the democratic party. They are the great supporters of the violent outcry which has been raised in every part of the Union, with such fatal effects, against the paper credit and the commercial aristocracy: Such is the ascendant they have now gained, both in the separate states and the general legislature of the Union, from the continual multiplication of these small properties, under the law of equal succession, which is everywhere established, that all bulwarks have been swept away, the march of democracy has become irresistible, and, for good or for evil, the whole confederacy must go through with its consequences. But equality must have one of two results: all must have power, or none. Hitherto the first effect has taken place in America: let them beware of the last.

64. As a natural consequence of this state of things, there is, in opposition to the will or passions of the majority, no lasting security either for life or property in America, in cases where the public mind is vehemently excited. Hitherto, indeed, no direct attack on property has been made, at least where it is vested in land; for this simple reason, that the majority are themselves landowners, and therefore any such system would be an attack upon their own interests. But the system of spoliating that species of property in which the majority do not participate, and for which they feel no sympathy, has already been carried to a most frightful extent. The run against paper credit, the fury against the commercial aristocracy, the cry "bank or no bank," which has convulsed all the states of the Union for the last ten years, and at last ruined the national bank, rendered bankrupt nine-tenths of the commercial classes, and reduced the national exports and imports to one half, and in some years to a third of their former amount, are nothing but so many successful attacks of the Revolutionary majority on that species of property

which, being vested solely in the wealthy classes of society of whom they were jealous, it had become the object of the democracy to destroy.* The determination now openly acted on in many of the states, particularly Arkansas, Illinois, and the democratic communities in the valley of the Mississippi, and even in the great and opulent commercial state of Pennsylvania, to repudiate their state debt, and shake off the burden of their public creditors, after they have experienced the full benefit of their capital by expending it on railroads, canals, and other public improvements, is another example of the incipient spoliation of the fundholders. Their property of all kinds has undergone the most violent attacks in America, except that in land, which, from its diffusion, was protected by the interests of the majority. But the period of danger to them is postponed only, not averted. The period when the attack on landed property, if the present system, of government continues, will commence, may be predicted with certainty. It will be as soon as the majority of electors, in any of the states, have come, from the natural growth of other trades, to be persons without any interest in the soil, and when the back settlements have become so distant by the advance of civilisation, that it is less trouble to take their neighbours' fields than to go to the Far West and seek possessions of their own. This is nothing peculiar to America; in every country in the world the majority, under similar circumstances and political institutions, would do the same.

65. Is life secure in the United States, when property is placed in such imminent peril? Experience, terrible experience, proves the reverse; and

* Exports from Great Britain to America during the following years:—

1835,	£10,568,455
1836,	12,425,604
1837,	4,695,225
1838,	7,585,760
1839,	8,689,204
1840,	5,283,026
1841,	7,028,842
1842,	8,523,807

—*Parl. Papers*, 27th May 1840, and 20th July 1843.

demonstrates, that not only is existence endangered, but, *what is far worse*, law is often powerless against the once-excited passions or violence of the people. The atrocities of the French Revolution, cruel and heart-rending as they were, have been exceeded on the other side of the Atlantic; for there the terrible spectacle has been not unfrequently exhibited, of late years, of persons obnoxious to the majority being publicly *burned alive* by the people, and, to render the torment more prolonged and excruciating, over a fire purposely kindled of green wood.* Combined and systematic attacks on property, or

* "Some months before I left the United States, a man of colour was *burned alive* without trial, at St Louis in Missouri; a large assembly of the 'respectable' inhabitants of the city being present. The majority of newspaper editors made themselves parties to the act, by refusing through fear to reprobate it. The gentlemen of the press in that city dare not condemn the deed, for fear of the consequences from the murderers. They merely announced the deed, as a thing to be regretted; and recommended that a veil should be drawn over the affair. The newspapers of the Union generally were afraid to comment on it, because they saw the St Louis editors were afraid."—MISS MARTINEAU, I. 150, 152.

"Just before I reached Mobile, two men were *burned alive* there in a slow fire in the open air, in presence of the gentlemen of the city generally. No word was breathed of the transaction in the newspapers; and this is a special sign of the times. There is far too much subservience to opinion in the northern states; but in the southern it is like the terrors of Tiberius Caesar."—*Ibid.* II. 141, 144.

"Upon a mere vague report or bare suspicion, persons travelling in the south have been arrested, imprisoned, and in some cases *flogged or tortured*, on pretence that they came to cause insurrection among the slaves. More than one *innocent person* has been hanged. It was declared by some liberal-minded gentlemen of South Carolina, after the publication of Dr Channing's work on slavery, that if he were to enter that province with a body-guard of twenty thousand men, he would not come out alive. Handbills are issued by the Committees of Vigilance, offering enormous rewards for the heads or ears of prominent abolitionists. The governor of South Carolina last year recommended the summary execution, without benefit of clergy, of all persons caught within the limits of the state holding prominent anti-slavery opinions; and every sentiment of his is indorsed by a select committee of the state legislature."—*Ibid.* II. 348, 349.

"On the 14th June 1842, a black slave named Joseph was seized, on the suspicion

dreadful acts of terror and revenge, have taken place in several great towns; and such has been the prostration of law and paralysis of authority by the will of the sovereign multitude, that, on many of these occasions, not only the press did not venture to denounce the infamous proceedings, but the law authorities did not make any attempt to apprehend or punish the delinquents.†

66. Murders and assassinations in open day have even occurred among the members of Congress themselves; and the guilty parties, strong in the support of the majority, openly walk

of being concerned in some murders, by a furious mob, without any trial, which bound him to a tree, and kindled a fire of fagots at his feet. He asked for a drink of water, and said, 'Now apply your torches, and let me die in peace.' He beheld with firmness the curling flame approaching his feet; but when it began to fasten on his legs, and feed on his body, the pain was so excessive that he screamed aloud, and entreated the bystanders to blow out his brains. Not a hand, however, was raised in mercy to terminate his sufferings; and at length, surging with almost superhuman strength in the excess of his agony, he tore out the staples, and leapt with his half-burnt limbs out of the flames. The crack of rifles was then heard: he fell pierced by several shots, and his body was thrown back into the pile, where it was totally consumed. No notice whatever was taken of this atrocity; the papers did not venture to condemn it; and no one was punished, nor inquiry ever made."—*American Paper, New Orleans*, June 15, 1845.

"A young man at Natchville, in Tennessee, was lately seized by the committee of vigilance, and an abolition newspaper found in his bundle, among a number of Bibles. He was immediately seized, publicly flogged, the mayor of the town presiding, and sent out of the town in that dreadful condition; his horse, gig, and Bibles; of which he was disposing, worth three hundred dollars, being no more heard of."—MISS MARTINEAU, II. 139, 140.

† "Baltimore was lately, during four days, at the mercy of the genius of destruction. The security of the city was vainly bandied from the mayor to the sheriff, from the sheriff to the commander of the militia; the prisons were forced, the mayor and militia pillaged; but not a person could be found in that city, with 100,000 inhabitants, who would head any force against the rioters, till an old patriarch of eighty-four, who had signed the Declaration of Independence, stepped forth, and, requesting to be put at the head of thirty men, stopped the disorder, and put an end to the pillage. Well may the Americans say with Mr Clay, 'We are in the midst of a revolution.'"—CHEVALIER, II. 347.

about, and set all attempts to prosecute them at defiance. So common have these summary acts of savage violence grown in America, that they have come to be designated by a peculiar and well-known expression; and the phrase "Lynch law" is understood, all over the world, to express the violent assumption by the multitude of the office, on a sudden impulse, at once of accusers, judges, juries, and executioners. The ablest and best informed political writers on the popular side in Europe, confess and lament this prostration of law and justice in the United States.* "Is this the

* "Ever since America could boast of large towns, the inhabitants of these have alone constituted the sovereign people. Their insurrections, their acts of violence, have been frequent during past years, and each of them has been an outrage on true liberty. One day the people rise, in order to punish those who, through humanity or religion, wish to regard negroes as men; on another they destroy a Catholic educational establishment; on a third, they drive from the pulpit, and would fain tear in pieces, a Protestant preacher, because he speaks against the Catholics; on a fourth, they destroy the types of an editor who calls in question some popular opinion; and always and everywhere they pretend only to be doing justice to themselves, in depriving those whom they accuse of the protection, as well as the jurisdiction, of the tribunals."—*Sismondi, Sciences Sociales*, i. 304, 305.

"The longer we remained in Washington, the more we saw and heard of the recklessness and profligacy which characterise the manners both of its resident and fluctuating population. In addition to the fact of all the parties to the late duel going at large, and being unaccountable to any tribunal of law for their conduct in that transaction—of itself a sufficient proof of the laxity of morals, and the weakness of magisterial power—it was matter of notoriety that a resident of the city, who kept a boarding-house, and who entertained a strong feeling of resentment towards Mr Wise, one of the members for Virginia, went constantly armed with loaded pistols and a long bowie knife, watching his opportunity to assassinate him. He had been foiled in the attempt on two or three occasions by finding this gentleman armed also, and generally accompanied by his friends; but though the magistrates of the city were warned of this intended assassination, they were either afraid to apprehend the individual, or, from some other motive, declined or neglected to do so, and he accordingly walked abroad armed as usual.

"Mr Wise, himself, as well as many others of the members from the South and West, go habitually armed into the House of Representatives and Senate—concealed pistols and dirks

freedom we were promised!" said the French Revolutionists; "we can no longer hang whom we please;" but the Americans have improved on this idea, for their principle, in some instances at least, has been shown to be, that they may either hang or burn whom they please.

67. The American writers plead, in extenuation of these atrocities, that they are only of occasional occurrence; that the states of the confederacy are in general peaceable and orderly; that they occur chiefly in rude and semi-barbarous states, on the frontiers of the Far West; that the annals of every country

being the usual instruments worn by them beneath their clothes. On his recent examination before a committee of the House, he was asked by the chairman of the committee whether he had arms on his person or not; and answering that he always carried them, he was requested to give them up while the committee were sitting, which he did; but on their rising, he was presented with his arms, and he continued constantly to wear them as before."—*BUCKINGHAM's* (a liberal writer) *America*, i. 356, 357.

"We published on Monday a short paragraph stating that a Mr Anthony, a member of the Arkansas Legislature, had been killed in a rencontre with Colonel Wilson, the Speaker of the Lower House. It appears from the particulars since received, that this murderous outrage was actually committed on the floor of the House while in session; the Speaker, in consequence of some offensive remark directed against him by the unfortunate member, having come down from his seat armed with a bowie knife! The member, it is stated, was also armed with the same weapon, but the rencontre lasted only for a moment—the latter having been left dead on the floor, and the Speaker having had one hand nearly cut off, and the other severely injured. Wilson was forthwith arrested by the civil authorities, and his name struck from the roll of the House by nearly a unanimous vote. He was liberated on 2000 dollars' bail, and subsequently acquitted."—*New York Sun*, Dec. 29, 1837. *BUCKINGHAM*, i. 136.

"A tragical occurrence took place during my stay in New York, which brought this question very prominently before the public. It was this: A minister of the gospel, the Rev. * Elijah P. Lovejoy, was engaged as the editor of a religious newspaper at the town of St Louis, and in the slave state of Missouri. In this state, the mob had burned a coloured man alive for some offence for which he was never brought to trial. Mr Lovejoy condemned this act, and reproved the judge, whose name was Lawless, for excusing the mob as he had done for their unjustifiable conduct. In consequence of this, the mob themselves retaliated on Mr Lovejoy, by attacking his house,

exhibit too many examples of occasional outbreaks of popular violence; and that it is unjust to hold their institutions responsible for acts common to them with all mankind. There is some justice in these observations, but they are not precisely well-founded; for some of the greatest atrocities have been committed in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and other of the greatest cities of the Union.* It affords, too, a melancholy proof of the depravity of human nature, if the spread of knowledge and march of intellect have no tendency to check these savage dispositions, and the citizens of the great and well-educated model republic are obliged to plead, in extenuation of their cruelties, that the same things were done during the crusade against the Albigensis, or by the *autos-da-fé* of Castile. But the peculiar and damning blot on America, in this particular, is this,—and it is one to which it is im-

possible to make any reply. In other countries, the frightful atrocities of the stake and the torture have characterised government during savage and ruthless periods; and it has been the well-founded boast of civilisation, that they have disappeared before the milder spirit which its blessings have introduced. Ebullitions of popular violence have been frequent; horrors unutterable have been committed, and are committed, during their continuance. But these have always been the passing fury of the multitude merely, and the turn of order has uniformly been signalled by increased vigour of the executive for the repression of such excesses, and increased horror of the public at their continuance. It was thus that the insurrection of the Boors in Germany was in the end repressed by the vigour of the feudal chivalry. The Reign of Terror in France was succeeded by the iron rule of Napoleon—

breaking up his press, and throwing it and the types into the river, for which he could get no redress. He then removed to the town of Alton, on the opposite side of the Mississippi river, and in the free state of Illinois. Even here, however, his advocacy of abolition occasioned the mob to destroy his press a second time; another was procured to replace that, and they broke it in pieces also. A third press was purchased to replace this; but when it arrived at Alton, and before ever it was used, the mob attacked the store in which it was, with a view to destroy it, and whatever else the store contained. They were encouraged in this outrage by the more wealthy inhabitants of the place, who fancied they had an interest in slavery being undisturbed; but on this occasion Mr Lovejoy and his friends determined to defend the store, and went with firearms for this purpose. While the mob were beating in the windows with stones, and firing from the outside into the store, they who were in the inside fired a gun also, by which one of the mob was killed. At this the populace at first dispersed; but whisky being profusely supplied to them by their abettors, and guns placed in their hands, they returned in larger numbers to the store, determined to set it on fire, and burn alive all who were in it. Mr Lovejoy and four of his companions went out to drive away those who were actually setting fire to the roof of the building, and he was then shot through the body by one of the mob, and died in a few minutes afterwards. They subsequently wounded several others, took possession of the press, broke it to pieces, and threw its fragments into the river. On such a transaction as this, it might be supposed that

there would be scarcely a difference of opinion, or that the whole press of the country, in the free states at least, would have condemned such an outrage, and contended for the right of freedom of discussion. But by far the greater majority of the Whig papers, and some even of the democratic in New York and elsewhere, condemned the pertinacity and obstinacy, as they called it, of Mr Lovejoy, excused the conduct of the mob, and thought that any man venturing to publish sentiments which he knew to be obnoxious to the majority deserved to be put down by force."—BUCKINGHAM, i. 80, 81.

* "On occasion of the frightful riot at Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1835, when the celebrated Mr Garrison narrowly escaped being murdered, no prosecutions followed. I asked a lawyer, an abolitionist, why? He said there would be difficulty in getting a verdict; and if it was obtained, the punishment would be merely a fine, which would be paid on the spot, and the triumph would remain with the aggressors. I asked an eminent judge the same question; he said he had given his advice against a prosecution. And why? Public feeling was so strong on the subject; the rioters were so respectable in the city: it was better to let the whole affair pass over without further notice."—MARTINEAU, i. 175, 176.

Many examples of a similar paralysis occurred in Great Britain during the fervour of Reform; and the arm of the law was sometimes, as in the Newport rebellion, paralysed by terror of the people; but generally the majesty of the law was asserted, and severe examples in the case of the greatest outrages were made, especially in the cases of the burning of Bristol and Nottingham in 1831 and 1832.

the violence of the great rebellion in England by the despotism of Cromwell. But in America, not only is there no reaction against such popular atrocities, or attempt to coerce them, but the human mind is so debased by the tyranny of the majority, that they are not even complained of: they are exhibited, not in an age of universal ignorance and savage barbarity, but in one of general instruction and boasted civilisation; the people are not the victims, but the authors, of these atrocities; and the reflecting few pass them over in trembling silence, like the stroke of Providence, or the vengeance of an Eastern Sultann, to which it is the only wisdom to submit without a murmur.

68. It can never be sufficiently enforced that it is not the deeds of violence, cruel and frightful as they have been, of which their country has in recent times been the theatre, which constitute the real and peculiar reproach against the American character and institutions. Deeds of atrocity are common to them with all mankind. It is the irresistible weight of popular opinion which renders their condemnation rare, their punishment still rarer, if committed in the interest or in pursuance of the passions of the majority, which is the real disgrace. The American writers ask, What would the English say if their monarchical institutions were assailed because the Porteous mob, a century ago, took summary vengeance on an unpopular functionary on the streets of Edinburgh, or because the Reform transports terminated in the flames of Bristol and Nottingham, in 1831? The answer is obvious. They at once admit that these deeds were a disgrace to the country; they make no attempt to palliate or defend them; and they are the first to confess, that if such acts were to become frequent, and pass unpunished, they would cast an irremovable stain on the British character, and throw a serious doubt on the wisdom of British institutions. But Edinburgh was severely punished for the Porteous mob, though the immediate authors could not be discovered; and four of the principal Bristol delinquents ex-

piated their guilt on the scaffold. A hideous combination murder, interesting ten thousand combined workmen, occurred at Glasgow in 1840; but the murderers were hanged on the spot where the crime had been committed, in presence of a hundred thousand spectators,* one half of whom had come there to effect a rescue. Let the Americans show in tances in which the perpetrators of their Lynch murders, or the leaders of the mobs who burned their Negroes, were executed where their flames had been lighted, in presence of a majority sympathising with the criminals, and the British historians will be the first to clear the American institutions from the charge of impotence against popular excesses, under which they at present labour.

69. The system of government in the United States has been proved to be wholly unequal to the external security of the nation. America, it is true, is still independent, and is rapidly extending in every direction; but that is only because she has no civilised neighbours in contact with her territory, except Great Britain, which has little interest to engage in the fruitless and enormous cost of Transatlantic warfare. But so inefficient is her force both by sea and land, owing to the invincible repugnance to taxation among her people, and the total want of foresight among the ruling multitude, that she rushed headlong into a war with Great Britain in 1812, with an army of six thousand men, and a navy of four frigates and eight sloops; and she could not prevent her capital being taken by an English division not mustering three thousand five hundred bayonets. Baden or Würtemberg would never have incurred a similar disgrace. If America were placed alongside of the European powers, she would be conquered in three months, if she did not alter her

* It was the Author's melancholy duty to carry into execution, as sheriff of Lanarkshire, this just and necessary sentence, which was done with the utmost solemnity, and produced a prodigious and most salutary impression. He never felt so strongly the immense effect of such solemn demonstrations that a government exists in the country.

system of government. In 1340, she was all but at open war with Great Britain, and yet her army was only twelve thousand men, and her navy seven ships of the line, with a population of seventeen millions; being just the population of the British Isles at the close of the war with Napoleon.

70. True, these four frigates and eight sloops in 1812 did great things, and their crews evinced a valour and skill worthy of combining their ancient parent on the waves. But that only confirms the general argument. In democratic communities, measures of foresight are impossible to government, because the masses of whom it is the organ are incapable of looking before them, and never will submit to present burdens from a regard to future and remote dangers. Hence, while Philip was preparing his armament against Greece, which ultimately proved fatal to its independence, the Athenian democracy diverted the funds set apart for the support of the navy to the maintenance of the theatres; and introduced and carried the punishment of *death* against any one who should propose even their reapplication to their original destination. But energy unbounded is awakened in individual by such institutions, and hence the great achievements which they often have effected with inconsiderable means. In despotic states, greatness is sometimes forced upon the nation by the vigour and foresight of the government, notwithstanding the general lassitude or supineness of the community. In democratic states, greatness is often forced upon the government, despite its own weakness, by the vigour and spirit of the people.

71. Ability of the highest kind has been rarely, if ever, called to the direction of affairs in America, since the democratic regime has been fully established by the general triumph of the popular over the Conservative party. Men either of great talents or elevated character are disgusted with the low arts and mob-flattery which are the indispensable passport to popular favour: they retire from all contest for office, as, in Eastern dynasties, similar

characters do from the sycophancy of courts and the precincts of palaces. It is extremely rare to see persons of large property who will, for any consideration, engage in public life. They retire into the bosom of their families, and leave open to bustling indigence or pliant ambition the path leading to power, distinction, and political honours. In public, these men profess the most unbounded admiration for popular institutions; they shake hands with every man they meet in the street; they are never to be seen on a platform that they do not utter sonorous periods on the virtue and intelligence of the people, the wisdom which is displayed in all their deliberations, and the incalculable blessings of democratic institutions. In private, they reveal, in confidence to those whom they can trust, and especially to strangers on the eve of departure, their decided conviction that the present system cannot much longer continue, and that a frightful revolution will ere long bury the rising splendour of North, as it has already done that of South America, in its ruins.

72. The wealthy classes, unable to overcome the jealousy with which they are surrounded, and obnoxious to the people merely because they are independent, and will not in general condescend to court them, have generally given up public life, and abandoned all contest for political power. They have taken refuge in exclusive society, and guard its avouees with a degree of care unknown even in the aristocratic circles of London or Vienna. Externally, they are plain in their dress; few carriages are to be seen in the streets, considering the fortunes enjoyed; and the exterior of their dwellings exhibits nothing to attract notice or awaken jealousy. It is in the interior of their mansions that they give a full rein to the luxury of wealth; all that riches can purchase of the elegant or costly is there displayed in profusion. Like the Jews in the days of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and from a similar cause, they are homely in external appearance, and gorgeous in interior display. The thirst for material enjoyments is universal, and more ardent than in any

other country; in fact, it is the grand object of all classes. The reason is, that nearly all have at some period of their lives felt their pleasures, and most have known at other times what it is to want them. The disinterestedness sometimes seen in the highest European society is often founded on ignorance of the real evils of poverty. Great ability is the object of general jealousy to the people, especially if it is independent, when it is stigmatised as aristocratic. Democracy and aristocracy have an equal aversion to the highest class of intellect, and neither will in general call in its assistance except in the last extremity, and when no other means of salvation remain. The first is jealous of the power of mind, which it is unable to combat; the second of independence of character, which it cannot control. Pliant ability is what both desire.

73. Judicial independence, though in appearance generally established, is in reality almost unknown in America; but integrity of judicial character is, to their honour be it said, universal. All the state judges, from the highest to the lowest, are virtually elected by the people, and are liable to be displaced by them; for they are appointed

by the state legislatures, who are themselves nominated by the universal suffrage of the inhabitants. Their tenure of office is sometimes for four, sometimes for seven years; not generally for life.* In appearance, therefore, the independence of the bench is, in a majority of the states of the Union, established on a tolerably secure basis; but the difference, and it is a vital one, lies here. Power in England resides in three branches of the legislature; in America, it is invested solely in one—viz, the people. Judges in Great Britain can be displaced only by the crown, on an address of *both* houses of parliament—a union of the representatives of property and numbers, which can never take place except on a flagrant case of judicial iniquity, or the total prostration of our liberties. In America, they are in all the states liable to be removed by a vote of the two branches of the legislature, both of whom are elected by the people—that is, on the simple declared will of *one* interest in society, namely, the majority in numbers.

74. In several states, their tenure of office expires in six or seven years; in two states, in one.† If their decisions are obnoxious to the feelings, however

* In thirteen states the judges hold office during good behaviour, in eight others during periods of not less than seven years: in some instances these periods are from twelve to fifteen years. In two states they hold office but for one year. In but one instance they are appointed directly by the people, and they can never be removed by the direct action of the people. In thirteen states they are appointed by the legislatures; in twelve by the governors, with the advice of a senate or council. They are removable only by impeachment, or in some instances by an address of both branches of the legislature, for which usually the votes of two-thirds or three-fourths of the House must concur.—*North American Review*, No. 119, p. 394. The Author is happy, on this high authority, to correct an error into which he had fallen, in regard to the appointment of the judges in America, in his former editions; and at the same time to express his high sense of the liberal and impartial spirit, as well as distinguished ability, with which his work has been reviewed, and its opinions often combated, in that distinguished periodical.

† The following are the provisions on the subject of judicial tenure in the different states of the United States:—

	Tenure of Office.	How Removable during Tenure.	Authority.
I.—MAINE.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Do.	{ By Governor on address of both Houses of Legislature.	Const. Maine, art. vi. § 4, and ix. 5.
II.—MASSACHUSETTS.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Seven years.	{ Governor on address of both Houses.	Massachusetts Const. c. iii. art. 1 and 2.
III.—NEW HAMPSHIRE.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Five years.	{ Governor and Council on address of both Houses.	Const. New Hampshire, art. Jud. Pow. § 1, 8.

excited, of the multitude, they are sure not to be re-elected. The highest talent at the bar rarely, from this cause, condescends to accept judicial situations; and consequently the ability of the bench is generally unequal to that of the counsel; and their station in life inferior. This appears in the clearest manner from the amount of the salaries paid to these functionaries, which, even in the highest stations, never exceeds £1200, and in the local judicatures

IV.—VERMONT.	Tenure of Office.	How Removable during Tenure.	Authority.
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	Governor on address of both Houses.	Const. Vermont, § 24.
V.—RHODE ISLAND.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	Governor on address of Legislature.	Charter of Charles II. and Const.
VI.—CONNECTICUT.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. One year.	Do. Do.	Const. Connecticut, art. v. § 3.
VII.—NEW YORK.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour, till sixty years. Five years.	Do. Legislative majority.	Const. New York, art. v. § 1, 3, and 6.
VIII.—NEW JERSEY.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Five years.	Impeachment by As- sembly before Council.	Const. New Jersey, § 12.
IX.—PENNSYLVANIA.			
Supreme Court, Justices of Peace,	Fifteen years. Terms of Ten and Five years.	Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Pennsylvania, art. v. § 2.
X.—DELAWARE.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Seven years.	By Governor on ad- dress of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Delaware, art. vi. § 14, 23.
XI.—MARYLAND.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Art. ix. amend- ment of Const.
XII.—VIRGINIA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Virginia, art. iii. § 12, and v. § 1 and 2.
XIII.—NORTH CAROLINA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	Governor on address of two-thirds of Senate.	Const. North Caro- lina, art. iii. § 1, 2, and 3, Orig. Con.
XIV.—SOUTH CAROLINA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	On Impeachment by two-thirds of Senate by address of both Houses.	Const. South Caro- lina, art. 5, § 1.
XV.—GEORGIA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Three years. Good behaviour.	Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Georgia, art. iii. § 1 and 4.
XVI.—KENTUCKY.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Kentucky, art. iv. § 3.
XVII.—TENNESSEE.			
Supreme Judges, Inferior Judges,	Twelve years. Eight years.	By Senate on address of two-thirds of Re- presentatives.	Const. Tennessee, art. vi. § 2, 3, 4.
XVIII.—OHIO.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Three years.	By Senate on address of two-thirds of Re- presentatives.	Const. Ohio, art. iii. § 8, 11.

even of the greatest states, seldom reaches £500 a-year.* But although these important functionaries hold their offices during the pleasure of a legislature elected by a mere majority of numbers, as was the case in France after the first outbreak of the Revolution, yet no suspicion attaches to their judgments; and justice is impartially administered, in questions at least between man and man, except perhaps in a very few political cases, on the bench.

XIX.—INDIANA.	Term of Office.	How removable during Term.	Authority.
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Do.	{ By majority of Senate on an impeachment by majority of Representatives.	Const. Indiana, art. iii. § 23, art. v. § 4.
XX.—LOUISIANA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	{ Governor on address of three-fourths of both Houses.	Const. Louisiana, art. iv. § 5.
XXI.—MISSISSIPPI.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Two years. Two years.	{ Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Mississippi, art. iv. § 2, 3, 24, 27.
XXII.—ILLINOIS.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	{ Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Illinois, art. vi. § 5.
XXIII.—ALABAMA.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	{ Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Alabama, art. v. § 13.
XXIV.—MISSOURI.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Good behaviour. Do.	{ Governor on address of two-thirds of both Houses.	Const. Missouri, art. v. § 13, 16, 17.
XXV.—MICHIGAN.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Seven years. Do.	{ Two-thirds of Senate on impeachment by majority of Representatives.	Const. Michigan, art. ii. § 6, and viii. § 2, 3.
XXVI.—ARKANSAS.			
Supreme Judges, Justices of Peace,	Eight years. Two years.	{ Two-thirds of Senate on address by majority of Representatives.	Const. Arkansas, art. iv. § 26, 27, and art. vi. § 7, 10.

* Salaries paid to judges supreme and inferior in America:—

	Dollars.
Chief Justice of Supreme Court,	5000 or £1050
Ordinary Judges,	4500 — 900
Chief Judge of New York,	3500 — 700
Second Judge of New York,	2000 — 400
Chief Judge of Pennsylvania,	2500 — 500
— North Carolina,	2000 — 400
— South Carolina,	2500 — 500
— Ohio,	1000 — 200
— Missouri,	2000 — 400

And the others in proportion.—*Stat. A'm.* 1841, p. 64.

Connected with this subject there is a very curious fact, indicative of the opposite effect, yet springing from the same motive at bottom in society, of aristocracy in Europe and democracy in America. It is mentioned by Tocqueville, and the same fact is also attested by Chevalier, that while the greater appointments in America are not paid at so high a rate as a tenth, or sometimes a twentieth part of what the same class of officers in Europe receive, the inferior class of functionaries draw often three, sometimes five times as much as their brethren on this side of the Atlantic. The President of the United States has six thousand a-year, and the highest judge in the republic twelve hundred; but a common sailor has five pounds a-month, and a sheriff-officer or mayor from fifty to a hundred pounds a-year. In Great Britain, the sovereign has two hundred thousand pounds a-year for the privy purse, exclusive of the civil list, which constitutes no part of the royal expenses, and the highest judges ten or fifteen thousand. But the common sailor has one pound fifteen a-month, besides his allowances and rations, which may amount to as much more, and the

Democratic jealousy, by the dependence which it exacts, and the scanty remuneration which it offers, may effectually exclude elevated character or shining abilities from public situations; but by fixing the attention of all on public functionaries, it provides the only effectual antidote to official corruption.

75. Literary and intellectual ability of the highest class are comparatively rare in America. The names of Cooper, Channing, and Washington Irving, indeed, amply demonstrate that the American soil is not wanting in genius of the most elevated and fascinating character. Bancroft has given a history of the United States distinguished by profound thought, accurate research, and a manly eloquence; and Prescott, in his fascinating pages, has communicated to the romance of Castilian exploit the riches of classic lore, the colours of painting, and the glow of poetry. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. Such is the concentration of public interest on objects of present, and often passing concern, that neither the future nor the past excite general attention. The classics are in little esteem, except with the very highest class of writers; a certain amount of average education in the dead languages is general, considerable knowledge of them uncommon. Works in the abstruse branches of philosophy or speculation are rare. We have the authority of Tocqueville for the assertion, that so generally are they regardless of historical records or monuments, that half a century hence the national annals, even of these times, could only be written from the archives of other

states. With a few brilliant exceptions, the Americans have no literature; they have only pamphleteers and journalists.* Literary talent is, in a great degree, directed to the wants or amusements of the day; it is vehement and impassioned, often in the highest degree able, among them; but in general regardless of other and more durable concerns. The poetry of America is often beautiful: there is nothing more touching in literature than some of the fugitive pieces in their general collections. But, generally speaking, it is descriptive, not reflective: the wide expanse of natural beauty, not the receding recesses of national event, seem to have chiefly struck their imaginations. This peculiarity, however, is not owing to any deficiency in the national taste for the higher branches of literature, but to the fact that England, as the older state, has hitherto in a great degree kept possession of the American market in the productions of thought. So great is still the influence of this start, that the highest class of American authors, such as Cooper, Prescott, and Washington Irving, publish all their works in London in preference to their own country. But the taste for English classical writing is not only general, but almost universal. The leading popular authors of Great Britain are all published in America, and read with avidity. So numerous are the editions of the more celebrated writers of this country which appear on the other side of the Atlantic, that they exceed those published in England itself. This affords decisive evidence, that if their own writers are

door-keeper or master would think himself well paid with half of what his brother in America enjoys. Human nature is the same on both sides of the water. Aristocracy in Europe liberally provides for the functionaries who are drawn from its own class, or the splendour with which it sympathises; democracy in America rewards in the most niggardly manner the elevated class of public servants, with which it feels no identity of interest, and reserves all its liberality for the inferior one, from which it itself expects to derive benefit.—See TOCQUEVILLE, ii. 73, 75; CERVANTES, ii. 151.

* "In the New World there is no literature either classic, romantic, or Indian—classic, the Americans have no models; romantic, they have no middle ages; Indian,

requ...
society; it is the literature of mechanics, of merchants, of mariners, of labourers."—CHATEAUBRIAND'S *Memoirs*, ii. 316. This description applies to America fifty years ago, since which her great authors have arisen; but that it is generally true at this moment, may be judged of by the fact that it is precisely the condition, so far as regards literature, of the manufacturing districts of Great Britain at this time.

chiefly occupied with objects of local or party contention, the taste for a higher class of literature is diffused to a surprising degree through the community. The Americans say this general taste for foreign literature is inconsistent with a deficiency in native literary talent. They might as well say, that because a vast quantity of French wine is drunk in England, therefore Great Britain has vineyards equal to those of Champagne or Burgundy. "America," says De Tocqueville, "is the country in the world where the people are most fond of literature, and where it is least cultivated by themselves."*

76. Legislation, stamped with the same character, is almost entirely engrossed with objects of material, and often only temporary importance. The struggles of interest between contending provinces or classes in society; the formation of railroads, canals, or harbours, for the advantage of particular districts; the establishment of joint-stock companies as a source of individual profit, engross nine-tenths both of the general and local legislation of the United States. The press, which everywhere abounds, and is diffused to a degree unexampled in any other country, though by no means deficient in ability, is generally distinguished by violence, personalities, and rancour. Its influence is so considerable in guiding

* The Author hopes he will not be accused of vanity, if he refers to the success of his own work for a proof of this assertion. "Notwithstanding the repugnance which is felt among us to Mr Alison's misrepresentations of the United States, and the still stronger antipathy to anti-republican heresies, such as the cravings for historical literature, and the avidity with which it is read, that *fifteen thousand* copies of his own work are already disseminated before the printing of the entire work is finished."—*Note to American edition of this History*, vol. iv. 446. New York, 1845: Harper and Brothers. It is a curious proof, however, of the inability of the American majority to bear a free discussion on their customs and institutions, that a popular edition of this History has been published in the United States *without the chapter on America*; and this is held forth by the advertiser as a great recommendation. They seem to have retraced the old principle of the English law, "the greater the truth, the greater the libel, because it is the more difficult to bear."

the irresistible impulse of public opinion, that it may truly be said to be the ruler of the state, though itself is swayed by the interests and passions of those to whom its productions are addressed. It is well known in the United States, that public services the most important, private character the most immaculate, furnish no protection whatever against its calumnies; and that by a combination among the editors of newspapers, should so unlikely an event occur, the noblest and best citizens of America may at any time be driven into exile.†

77. In one most important branch of knowledge, the Americans have already acquired great and deserved distinction. Their legal writers exhibit a degree of learning, judgment, and penetration, which, honourable to any country, is in the highest degree remarkable in one, the career of which has so recently commenced. The works of Storey, Kent, and Greenleaf are distinguished alike by industry, research, and reflection, arranged in systematic order, and guided by the spirit of extensive and enlightened observation. It is not going too far to assert, that they are superior to any systematic writings of a similar description which England has produced. Nor is it difficult to discern the cause of this remarkable excellence. Every great system of law is the result of experience. The greatest intellect, the most penetrating genius, is unequal to the task, till enlightened by the wisdom learned, the disappointments felt, during many

† "It is certain that, for a series of dangerous years, the American press has become the vehicle of the most atrocious personal calumny, and the most flatterulent national self-adulation. Bodies of men, however ignorant and small, have come to consider themselves as integral portions of a community which never errs, and consequently entitled to esteem themselves infallible. When in debt, they have fancied it political liberty to pay their debts with the strong hand. This disease has already passed out of New York into Pennsylvania: it will spread, like any other epidemic, over the whole country; and there will soon be a severe struggle amongst us, between the knave and the honest man. Let the class of the latter look to it; it is to be hoped it is still sufficiently powerful to conquer."—Cooper, *Preface to Lucy Hastings*, 1844.

successive ages. The Roman law, one of the most extraordinary monuments of uninspired wisdom which the world has ever seen, slowly grew up from the wisdom of the prætors, largely aided by the experience of other states, during thirty generations. It is the hasty and ill-considered enactments of positive legislation, often dictated by selfishness, directed by impulse, and drawn up in ignorance, which form the greatest, because the most irremediable obstacles to the formation of a perfect system of jurisprudence.

78. That England has felt, in its utmost extent, the force of this evil, need be told to none who are acquainted with the gigantic intricacies of its statute-book, or felt the blessing which it would be if nineteen-twentieths of it were by one sweeping enactment consigned to oblivion. The Americans have got quit, by their independence, of the authority of English acts of parliament; while their want of any adequate store of national decisions has compelled them to have recourse to the great masters of English law, for those equitable precedents which the English judges had mainly adopted from the wisdom and experience of Roman jurisprudence. Thus the American law is based upon the best parts of the laws of Rome and England, and is at the same time in a great degree free of the positive enactments which have constituted the principal difficulty in both. By this means their systematic writers are enabled to follow out principle to its consequences, and exhibit a consistent system of jurisprudence to a degree impossible in an older state, in which the shock of long-contending interests has estab-

lished numerous points of statute law, irreconcilable either with principle or expedience. The decisions of the American courts are in general unexceptionable in cases between man and man: between man and the prejudices or passions of the despotic majority, the decisions of their courts, constrained by the absolute power of juries deeply impregnated with their feelings, are often of a very different description.

79. Slavery, as all the world knows, exists to a great extent in a large part of the United States. It is in the southern states that this dreadful evil almost exclusively prevails; for although the Negro race extends into the northern parts of the Union, yet their number is declining in these districts, while it is rapidly increasing in those to the south; and the present comparative rate of increase of the two races justifies the hope, that ere long slavery will be entirely confined to those parts of America which border on the tropics. There, however, it prevails to a prodigious extent, and nearly the whole labour, both field and domestic, is performed by the African race. In the six states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi,* there were in 1840 no less than 1,751,529 slaves—a vast number, considering that the total free white population of the same districts is only 2,406,876. History has not yet solved the questions, either whether the Negro race can ever be induced to labour continuously and effectively without the coercion of a master; or whether the whites are capable of bearing the effect of rural work in hot climates. But the experience, alike of Africa in every

	FREE WHITES.		SLAVES.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Virginia	371,223	360,745	228,661	220,326
North Carolina	240,047	244,828	133,546	132,271
South Carolina	180,496	128,588	168,678	168,360
Georgia	210,684	197,161	139,335	141,609
Alabama	176,602	158,468	137,360	126,172
Mississippi	97,256	81,818	93,003	97,208
	1,226,248	1,180,628	875,563	875,946

age, of St Domingo in the last, and of the British West India colonies in the present, seems to lead to the belief that both questions must be resolved in the negative: that the Negro constitution possesses an aptitude for bearing the effect of tropical heat to which the European is a stranger; and that the utmost which philanthropy can do for the descendants of Canaan in the New World—of whom it was prophesied that they should be the servants of those of Japhet*—is to mitigate their sufferings, and restrain the severity of their oppression.

80. The most energetic efforts have been made for a number of years back, by a humane and philanthropic party in the United States, headed by not a few leaders of genius and ability, to produce a general feeling against the farther continuance of slavery in any part of the Union; but although they have succeeded in procuring its abolition in a few states where the Negroes were inconsiderable in number, they have made no sort of impression in those where they are numerous. All the efforts of philanthropy, all the force of eloquence, have been shattered against the obvious interests of a body of proprietors dependent for their existence on slave labour, and the experienced dangers of precipitate emancipation. It is perfectly understood in every part of the Union, that the first serious attempt to force the freedom of the Negroes upon the country by a general measure, will be the signal for an immediate separation of the southern states from the confederation. Superficial observers are never weary of throwing their tenacious retention of slavery in America in the face of the republicans of that country, and proclaiming it as the greatest of all inconsistencies, for those who are so ambitious of maintaining and extending their own privileges, to deny even common freedom to others who happen to be subject to their power. More profound thinkers have observed, that this democratic principle is it-

self the main cause of the obstinate retention of the servient race in slavery; that in every country and age of the world, those who are loudest in the assertion of their own privileges, are the least inclined to share them with others; that they are extremely willing to level down to a certain point, but extremely unwilling to level up from below to the same point; and that that point is always to be found in that stratum of society where the majority of the electors is placed. There cannot be a doubt that the observations of Mr Burke on this subject are well founded. The English Reformed House of Commons would never have emancipated the West India Negroes, if they had been in the employment of even a part of the electors. Witness the obstinate resistance the democratic members of the legislature make to any restriction on the practical slavery of the factory children.

81. Volumes without number have been written on the manners of the Americans: their exclusive system in society; their national vanity and irritability at censure;—and many of these productions, lively and amusing, are penned in no friendly, and often in no just spirit. The whole subject may be dismissed in a single paragraph. The manners of the Americans are the manners of Great Britain, *minus* the aristocracy, the landowners, the army, and the established church. Their standard of morality is not high, but it is in an eminent degree practical. It is not founded on chivalrous recollections, but on every day's experience. They do not speak of the beauty of virtue; they speak of its utility. The American moralists have abandoned all hope of counteracting the selfish propensities of our nature—they labour only to turn them into the safest channel. In New York and Philadelphia, the society of the great merchants is undistinguishable from that of the same rank in the greatest towns of the British Islands: the habits of the American middle class, if a few revolting customs are excepted, will find a parallel in our steam-boats, railway-trains, and stage-coaches. Exclusive society

* "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem: and Canaan shall be his servant."—*Genesis*, ix. 27.

is practised to an extent, and pervades all ranks to a depth, altogether unknown in most European communities, where the distinctions of rank have been long established, are well understood, and not liable to be infringed upon, except by peculiar merit or good fortune.* But this is the necessary result of the total absence of all hereditary rank, and may be witnessed to nearly the same extent, and from the same causes, in the commercial and manufacturing cities of Great Britain.

82. The admiration for rank which is generally felt in America, especially by the fair sex, is excessive. They are in an especial manner desirous of the lustre of descent from old families in Great Britain. But that is common to them with republicans all the world over. The abolition of titles of honour in democratic communities is the result, not of a contempt, but of an inordinate desire, for such distinctions; they injure, when enjoyed by a few, the self-love of those who do not possess them; and since the majority cannot enjoy that advantage,—for if they could it would cease to be one,—they are resolved that none shall. Hence it is that, in the first fervour of each of their many revolutions, the French abolished titles of honour; and as uniformly recurred to them when the burst of the moment was over. The Americans are vain on all national subjects, and excessively sensitive to censure, however slight, and most of all to ridicule; but

* “ ‘You can’t imagine,’ said an American girl, the daughter of a milliner, to Miss Martineau, ‘what a nice set we have at school; we never let any of the *haberdashery* daughters associate with us.’ My informant went on to mention how anxious she and her set of about sixty young people were to visit ‘*exclusively*’ among themselves: ‘how delightful it would be to have no *grocers’* daughters among them.’ but ‘that was found to be impossible.’ — MARTINEAU, III. 83. “*Calum non asinum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*”

“The Americans, who freely mix with one another in political assemblies, carefully separate themselves into small but very distinct associations, in order to taste apart the enjoyments of private life. Each would willingly receive his fellow-citizens as his equals, but it is a very few indeed that he receives among his friends or his guests.” — TOQUEVILLE, IV. 107.

that obtains invariably with those classes or individuals who have not historic descent or great personal achievements or qualities to rest upon, and who, desirous of general applause, have a secret sense that in some particulars they may be undeserving of it. The Americans have already done great things: when they have continued a century longer in the same career, they will, like the English, be a proud, and cease to be a vain people. Vanity, as Bulwer has well remarked, is a passion which feeds on little gratifications, but requires them constantly; pride rests on great things, and is indifferent to momentary applause. The English not only noway resent, but positively enjoy, the ludicrous exhibitions made of their manners on the French stage. Such burlesques would be to the Americans like flaying alive. The English recollect that the French learned these peculiarities when the British troops occupied Paris.

83. How, then, has it happened that a country possessing none of the securities against external danger or internal convulsion, which have been elsewhere found to be indispensable, has still gone on increasing and flourishing; extending alike in internal strength and external consideration; and still exhibiting, though with several ominous heaves, an unruffled surface in general society? The solution of this peculiarity is to be found in the circumstance, that the United States have no neighbouring powers either capable of endangering their security, or likely to gain by provoking their hostility; that the majority of the electors, as yet, are owners of land, and therefore have an interest in resisting or preventing spoliation of real property; and that the back settlements furnish a perpetual and ready issue for all their restless activity and discontented energy, to exhaust and enrich itself in pacific warfare with the forest. When these peculiarities have ceased to distinguish them, as cease they must in the progress of things; when the growth of population, and completed appropriation of land, have rendered the class of workmen who live by wages more

numerous than those who have property of their own, and the filling up or distance of the frontier settlements has closed that vast outlet to the selfish desires and ill humours of the state,—the political power, now vested in numbers, will inevitably produce a general disruption and chaos of society, attended with consequences as disastrous as those which in our times have desolated the provinces of South America.* This can only be prevented if, as is not improbable, a sense of the approaching danger, or events that cannot now be foreseen, restore to the United States those safeguards against human wickedness which have in all other ages and countries been found to be essential to the existence of society. "There is no limit," says De Tocqueville, "to general misery, if men remain selfish and grasping after they have become equal."

84. In many of the fundamental particulars which distinguish the United States of America from all other countries of the world, the British provinces in CANADA entirely participate. They have the same boundless extent of unappropriated territory, in some places rich and fertile, in others sterile and unproductive; the same active and persevering race to subdue it; the same restless spirit of adventure, perpetually urging men into the recesses of the forest in quest of independence; the same spirit of freedom and enter-

prise; the same advantages arising from the powers of knowledge, the habits of civilisation, the force of credit, the capacities of industry. Their progress in respect of wealth and population, accordingly, has been nearly at the same rate, at least since, in the middle of the last century, they fell under the British dominion, as that of the neighbouring provinces in the United States. Both have regularly gone on, doubling in somewhat less than a quarter of a century,—a rate of advance which may be considered as the maximum of colonial increase in the most favourable circumstances, and when largely aided by emigration from the parent state. The total inhabitants of the British possessions in America are now about two millions: but when it is recollected that the natural increase of this number is aided by an annual immigration of from fifty to sixty thousand persons in the prime of life from the British Islands, which number is rapidly increasing, it may well be imagined that it is destined to become, ere long, one of the most powerful states of the New World. The proprietors in Lower Canada alone are above sixty thousand, or one in nine of the whole population; while the paupers are only four thousand five hundred and fifty-two, or one in one hundred and fifty-one of the population,—numbers the exact converse of what obtains in Great Britain.†

It is not the points of resemblance

* This period, if we may trust the most popular writer in the United States, is not far distant. "Formerly," says Cooper, "the audacious sophism of calling landed property a monopoly, in a country possessing above a hundred acres to each soul, was not broached. Men did not then set themselves up as representatives of the whole community, and interpret the laws in their own favour, as if they were the first principles of the entire republic. A crisis is at hand, and we are about to see the laws triumphant, or acts of aggression that will far outdo all that has hitherto rested on the American name in regard to pecuniary transactions. The signs of the times are ominous as regards real liberty, by substituting in its stead the most fearful of all tyrannies, the spurious, in its place, God alone knows for what we are reserved; but one thing is certain, there must be a movement backward, or the nation is lost."—*Cooper, Lucy Hastings*, iii. 323.

† The population of the British possessions in North America, according to the last censuses, taken in 1834 and 1842, was as follows:—

	1834.	1842.
Lower Canada, . . .	549,005	640,000
Upper Canada, . . .	336,461	436,056
New Brunswick, . .	162,166	156,762
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, . . .	142,548	178,237
Prince Edward's Island, . .	32,292	41,376
Newfoundland, . . .	75,000	101,241
Total, . . .	1,267,462	1,603,671

Upper Canada, in 1848, contained 723,392 inhabitants.—*MARTIN'S British Colonies*, i. 132. In Lower Canada there were in the same year 723,364 persons.—*FORSTER'S Yearly Tables*, xii. 279, 283.

between Canada and the United States. of America, it is the points of their difference, which require to be pointed out; and they are so remarkable as to indicate, not obscurely, a different ultimate destiny for the two nations.

85. The character of the Canadians bears the same relation to that of the Americans that the Tyrolese does to that of the Swiss. Both are sprung from the same race, are subjected to the same necessities, are animated by the same ambition, and enjoy, in a great measure at least, the same advantages. But there is this difference between them, and in its ultimate effects it may prove a vital one. The American has no sovereign; in him the aspirations of loyalty are lost, the glow of patriotic devotion is diffused over so immense a surface as to be well-nigh evaporated;

Increase of Population in Lower Canada.

Years.	Population.
1764,	76,275
1783,	113,012
1825,	425,080
1831,	540,628
1841,	638,000
1848,	768,334

—MALTE BRUN, ix. 179. In the last eighty years the population has multiplied tenfold.

The population of Upper Canada alone is now (1849) above 800,000, and the total inhabitants of the British provinces of North America scarcely, if at all, under 2,000,000.

—See MALTE BRUN, xi. 179; *American Stat. Atm.*, 267; and MARTIN'S *Colonial History*, iii. p. 1, Table. The number of immigrants who have landed at Quebec and Montreal, in the subjoined years, have been as follows. The marked diminution in the year 1836, being the year of the Canadian Revolt, is a striking commentary upon the tendency of the criminal ambition of its unprincipled leaders:—

1831,	49,783
1832,	66,339
1833,	28,808
1834,	40,060
1835,	15,573
1836,	35,226
1837,	29,864
1838, (Rebellion,)	4,577
1839,	12,658
1840,	32,293
1841,	36,164
1842,	54,128
1843,	23,518
1844,	22,924
1845,	31,803
1846,	43,439
1847,	109,600
1848,	81,065

—MALTE BRUN'S *British Colonies*, i. 108; and FORSTER'S *Part. Tables*, vi. 166; vii. 199; viii. 199; xii. 253.

and, from having no visible or tangible object to rest upon, the generous affections are too often obliterated, and individual ambition, private advancement, the thirst for gold, absorb every faculty of the mind. In the Canadian, on the other hand, patriotic ardour is in general mingled with chivalrous devotion; the lustre of British descent, the glories of British renown, animate every bosom, at least in the British race; and with the well-founded pride arising from the contemplation of their own vast natural advantages, and honourable martial exploits, is mingled a strong and personal attachment to the throne. In Upper Canada, in particular, which now (1849) numbers above seven hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, these sentiments are peculiarly strong. The large bodies of Scottish Highlanders who have settled in its secluded wilds have borne with them from their native mountains the loyal ardour by which their race has been distinguished in every period of British history; on all occasions of hazard they have been foremost at the post of honour; and to the patriotic attachment of the inhabitants of that noble province the preservation of those magnificent possessions to the British crown is mainly to be ascribed. It has Radicals in abundance, like every other part of the British dominions; but the majority is firm, like the inhabitants of Great Britain, in their attachment to their sovereign. The effect of this spirit upon national character is incalculable. It produces that first and greatest step in social elevation—a forgetfulness of self, a devotion to others, a surrender of the heart to the generous affections. And from its tendency to concentrate the energies of men upon patriotic objects, it may at some future period, especially if its connection with England is maintained, combined with the incalculable advantages of the water communication by the great chain of lakes, come to counterbalance all the riches of the basin of the Mississippi, and reassert in America the wonted superiority of northern valour over southern opulence.

86. A peculiar and highly interesting

feature of society in Lower Canada is to be found in the *habitans*, or natives of French descent. These simple people, for the most part entirely uneducated, and under the guidance of their Catholic priests, comprise eight-ninths of the whole population of that province, and their number now is not short of five hundred thousand. In every respect they are the antipodes of the Anglo-Saxon race, which elsewhere in the New World has acquired so decided a preponderance. While the colonists of British descent are incessantly penetrating the forests in search of new abodes, and clearing them by their industry, those of French origin have in no instance migrated beyond the seats of their fathers, and remain immovably rooted in their original settlements. They are more neat and clean in their persons than the British, kind-hearted and simple in their dispositions. Local attachment, unknown in America, is felt in the strongest degree among the *habitans* of Canada; and rather than emigrate from their native habitations, or penetrate the woods in search of more extended or richer settlements, they divide and subdivide those which they already enjoy, till they have in many cases become partitioned into as diminutive portions as in the wine provinces of old France.

87. The effects of this disposition have been in the highest degree important. While the British race has been continually spreading around them, with the same vigour as in the American States, and the forests in every direction have been falling beneath their strokes, the French inhabitants have been fixed immovably in the seats of their fathers, and their descendants, though greatly increased in numbers, are to be found tilling their native fields. Hence, even in the infancy of their nation, they are already a prey to the evils of long established civilisation. Population has become extremely dense in districts where the European race has been little more than a century established; and in the midst of a country which possesses three hundred thousand square miles of fertile territory, land is often partitioned into heritages of an acre

and half an acre each. The ultimate results of this most striking peculiarity may already be distinctly foreseen. The British race, impelled into the wilderness by the wandering spirit which belongs to their blood, and the ardent passions which have been nursed by their institutions, will overspread the land, and, like a surging flood, surround and overwhelm those isolated spots where the French family, adhering to the customs, the attachments, and the simplicity of their fathers, are still marrying and giving in marriage in their paternal seats. Democracy is the great moving spring in the social world; it is the steam-power of society, the centrifugal force which impels civilisation into the abodes of savage man. It was the habits which the French settlers brought with them from their native monarchy, which has prevented its operation among their descendants.

88. A rebellion; or possibly a separation from the parent state, was inevitably bequeathed to Canada by the constitution of 1791. That constitution, struck out at a heat during the first fervour of the French Revolution, and founded apparently on an equitable basis, the result of inexperience and an over-estimate of human nature, involved two fatal errors. 1st, The country was divided into different provinces, having separate assemblies, over each of which the representatives of the sovereign presided, without any common or paramount legislature in the colonies. Nothing could be more convenient at first sight, or just in theory, than this arrangement, under which the representatives of each province assembled within their own bounds to discuss their matters of local interest. But what was its effect when the representatives of Lower Canada, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of which were of French descent, were in one house, and those of the Upper Province, seventeen-twentieths of whom are of British origin, in another; and the former were animated by the combined passions of roused democracy and national animosity, and the latter for the most part by British spirit and steady loyalty to the throne? 2d, One uniform rate of

qualification, viz. the possession of a forty-shilling freehold in the country, or a ten-pound subject held in *tenancy*—as by the British Reform Bill—in towns, was established as the test of the elective franchise in all the British provinces;* a principle in appearance the most equitable, but in practice the most perilous and unequal, where the population is composed of different races of men, in different degrees of civilisation, knowledge, and advancement. It is exactly the same thing as cutting clothes according to one measure for a stripling of fifteen, a man of thirty, and a veteran of sixty, merely because they happen to live under the same roof.

89. The English have felt the evils of this system, in its application to the British Islands, since the Reform Bill established one uniform qualification for the sober English, inured to centuries of freedom; the ambitious Scotch, teeming with visions of democratic equality; and the fiery Irish, steeped in hatred of the religion and institutions of the Saxons. But these evils have been still more sorely felt in Canada, where that unhappy constitu-

tion, in its ultimate effects, gave the same powers to the French *habitans*, not one in fifty of whom could read, and who, speaking their native language, were but ill-reconciled to a foreign dominion, as to the hardy English and Scotch emigrants, who had brought with them across the Atlantic the habits and loyalty of their fathers. But the evils consequent on this arrangement as yet lay buried in the womb of time; they were brought to life only by the passions and the weaknesses of a future age; and in 1812, when the war began, one only feeling of loyalty animated the whole inhabitants of the British North American possessions. Above forty thousand militia in arms were ready to defend their territory from invasion; and the King of England had nowhere more loyal subjects than the French inhabitants on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

90. Incalculable is the importance of its North American colonies to the British empire.† Their population, already two millions, doubling every quarter of a century, promises, in fifty years, to amount to between seven and

* By the act of 1791. 31 Geo. III. c. 31, the franchise is vested in forty-shilling freeholders in the country; in property to the amount of £5 sterling, or tenancy of a subject paying £10 rent, in towns.

† Table showing the progress of the export and import trade and tonnage with our North American possessions, from 1827 to 1846.

Years	Exports. Declared value.	Imports. Declared value.	British tonnage.
1827	£950,490	£468,766	£359,703
1828	1,248,238	466,065	400,841
1829	1,117,422	569,452	431,901
1830	1,570,020	682,202	452,397
1831	1,922,089	902,915	480,236
1832	2,078,949	795,652	504,211
1833	2,100,211	756,466	512,820
1834	1,339,629	618,538	524,006
1835	2,127,531	629,051	631,345
1836	2,739,507	633,575	620,722
1837	2,141,035	684,791	631,427
1838†	1,902,459	553,827	665,354
1839	2,467,319	721,679	700,846
1840	2,847,913	834,427	808,232
1841	2,947,061	965,569	841,348
1842	3,522,807	1,124,169	842,451
1843	1,751,211	1,213,462	771,905
1844	3,070,361	1,336,136	789,410
1845	3,515,954	1,479,134	1,080,224
1846	3,308,059	1,312,496	1,076,162

— *Parl. Return*, 27th May 1846; *Porter's Parl. Tables*, x. 118, and xii., xiii., and xiv., p. 62-54.

† Rebellion.

eight millions of souls; while the opulence of the inhabitants, and the taste for British comforts which they have brought with them from their native country, are likely to render them a boundless vent for our manufactures. The peculiarity of their trade, consisting chiefly of those bulky articles, emigrants taken out, and wood brought home, has already rendered the commerce with them the nursery of the British navy. Already the exports of British produce and manufactures to our North American colonies have reached, on an average of years, above three millions sterling; an amount, great as it is, by no means unprecedented, when it is recollected that in 1812, when the war began, the United States of America, with a population somewhat under eight millions, took off annually thirteen millions' worth of British goods. But the marvels of the shipping employed in the North American trade exceed all other marvels. From the parliamentary returns, it appears that the tonnage, wholly British, employed at this time (1849) in the trade with the North American provinces, has reached the enormous amount of eleven hundred thousand tons, being fully a fourth of that required for the intercourse carried on in British bottoms with the whole world put together; and that it has steadily advanced at the rate of doubling every ten years.* At this rate of

increase, in ten years more it will give employment to two million tons of shipping, or fully a half of the whole British tonnage at this time. And observe, while this is the astonishing value of our colonial trade, both upon our manufactures and shipping, the result, as regards our emancipated colonies, is widely different. For the parliamentary papers demonstrate that at this moment, while two millions of our fellow-citizens in Canada and its dependencies annually consume above three millions' worth of our manufactures, twenty millions in the United States take off on an average only six or seven millions' worth, or considerably less than what half their number did thirty years ago, before rivalry of British manufactures had commenced. And while the trade with the Canadas gives employment to eleven hundred thousand tons of British shipping, that with the Independent States of America, with just *ten times* their population, only employs two hundred thousand, or a *fifth part* of the Canadian amount, the remainder having passed into the hands of the Americans themselves. The militia of the Upper and Lower Provinces amount to two hundred and sixty thousand men; a force, with British aid, amply sufficient, if their affections are secured, to bid defiance to all external attempts at subjugation.

91. These facts illustrate the important, and to a commercial state vital,

* Table showing the comparative exports and tonnage to the United States of America and the British possessions therein from 1836 to 1846:—

Years.	Exports to United States. Declared value.	Exports to British American Possessions. Declared value.	Tonnage to United States. Inwards.		Tonnage to British Possessions.
			American.	British.	
1836	£12,425,805	£2,739,507	226,483	86,383	620,722
1837	4,095,225	2,141,035	275,613	81,023	631,427
1838	7,585,760	1,992,459	357,467	83,203	665,354
1839	8,839,204	2,467,619	282,005	92,452	709,486
1840	5,253,020	2,847,913	428,567	138,301	808,222
1841	7,088,642	2,947,061	294,170	121,777	841,348
1842	3,828,807	2,333,525	319,524	133,833	541,451
1843	5,013,514	1,751,211	396,189	200,781	771,905
1844	7,938,079	3,070,361	338,737	206,188	788,424
1845	7,142,339	3,555,584	444,442	223,676	1,090,280
1846	6,830,400	2,308,059	435,344	205,123	1,076,162

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, vi. 48; vii. 43; xvi. 120; and *Ibid.* 1839, 1840, 1841, p. 44, 50, 2, 518.

distinction between the foreign and colonial trade, as they affect the market for manufactures and the means of national security. It may safely be affirmed that, on a due and general appreciation of this distinction, the existence of the British empire, in future times, will in all probability come to depend. Experience has now abundantly proved that, even as a trading and manufacturing state, we are dependent on our colonies, if not for the largest, for the most growing part of our exports; and that it is in these that both the most eventually important and enduring market for our domestic industry is to be found.* It is too late to lament the large proportion of our capital and national industry which has been directed to foreign commerce and manufactures, and the huge masses of our population, embracing the most dangerous classes of the community, who have come to depend on these branches of industry for their support. This direction, forced as it may appear, perilous as its consequences have become, has been induced upon the country by causes beyond the reach of human control, and probably forming part of the means employed by Providence for the dispersion of the European race through the world. It is of more consequence to recollect, as these facts demonstrate, the vital difference, in respect to national safety, between the foreign and the colonial trades, and the utter impossibility of any commercial nation long maintaining its independence, if a considerable part of its population depends on the markets they can find in *foreign states*. All such countries,

from the very fact of their consuming manufactures, are growing rich, and will ere long become, if they are not already, rivals. The magnitude of a commercial nation's trade with such states is the measure, not of its strength, but of its weakness. It may at any moment be curtailed by foreign tariffs, destroyed by foreign hostility, and a helpless multitude of useless mouths left to encumber and paralyse the blockaded nation. But the case is very different with colonies which, forming integral though distant parts of the parent state, are actuated by no feeling of jealousy towards its mercantile establishments; which find their surest interest in following the agricultural pursuits for which they are all, in the first instance, destined by nature; which constitute at once the best market for its industry, and the widest vent for its population. Such distant dependencies, forming a vast empire with the ocean for its interior line of communication, and held together by the strong bond of mutual interest, may, if ruled by wisdom and directed by foresight, long bid defiance to the open or covert hostility of foreign powers. Divided by the neglect, or irritated by the selfish legislation, of the parent state; deprived of the strong bond of mutual interest arising from protected industry; cast adrift upon the world, and exposed to the competition of foreign countries,—the empire of which they form a part will speedily fall to pieces; because the ruling power at home, to gratify separate interests in the dominant island, has neglected the mission appointed for it by Providence, and ceased to benefit the human race.

* Table showing the population of the undermentioned countries in 1836, the British exports to them, and the proportion per head they consume of such exports:—

	Population in 1836.	Exports in 1836.	Proportion per head.
Russia,	60,000,000	£1,722,433	£0 0 3½
Sweden,	3,000,000	113,308	0 0 9
Denmark,	2,000,000	91,302	0 0 10
Prussia,	14,000,000	180,472	0 0 3½
France,	32,000,000	1,591,381	0 0 11
Portugal,	3,000,000	1,085,934	0 0 8
Spain,	14,000,000	437,000	0 0 8
United States of America,	14,000,000	12,425,005	0 17 6
British North American Colonies,	1,500,000	2,739,291	1 16 6
British West India Islands,	900,000	3,786,453	3 12 0
British Australian Colonies,	100,000	1,130,000	11 13 0

—*Porter's Parl. Tables for 1836*, p. 117, 118.

CHAPTER XCI.

AMERICAN WAR.

1. **VARIOUS** have been the causes assigned by statesmen and historians for the disastrous issue of the first American war. Two may be specified, of such paramount importance that they eclipse all the others, and are of themselves perfectly adequate to explain the phenomenon, without recurring to any other. Great Britain was at that period in an especial manner, as she is at all times in a certain degree, the victim at once of democratic parsimony and aristocratic corruption. She undertook the conquest of colonies possessing then three millions of inhabitants, situated three thousand miles from the parent state, with an army which could not bring ten thousand combatants into the field; for the whole military force of the empire, of every description, did not amount to twenty thousand men. The furious patriots and country party were perpetually declaiming against the enormous military and naval forces of an empire which even then embraced both hemispheres, when in fact these were considerably less than what Baden and Würtemberg, or other sixth-rate powers, now maintain, to defend dominions of not a hundredth part of the extent, nor possessing a thousandth part of the resources of the British empire at that period.*

* Supplies for the year 1773:—

Dec. 3, 1772. That 20,000 men be employed for the sea-service for the year 1773, including 4354 marines.

Dec. 10. That a number of land forces, including 1522 invalids, amounting to 17,070 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the year 1773.

Feb. 13, 1775. That 2000 men be now added to the navy, in prospect of the war with the Plantations in America.

2. This Lilliputian army, such as it was, was still farther paralysed by the corruption—that inherent vice of aristocratic as well as democratic governments—which pervaded all its branches. Commissions in the army, bestowed almost entirely as a recompense for, or an inducement to secure parliamentary support, were seldom the reward of the most deserving. Military education was unknown. It was no unusual thing to see boys in the nursery, captains and even majors in the army; and such was the corruption of commissaries and superior officers, sharing in their gains in the field, that the expense of the troops was nearly doubled, while their efficiency was reduced to less than a half. From the combined operation of these causes, the war, which, by a vigorous and efficient army, worthy of the real strength of England, might have been concluded with ease at latest in the second campaign, was protracted till France and Spain, as may always be expected in such a case, joined in the contest; and then England, after a long and costly struggle, was obliged in the end to succumb to a formidable coalition.

3. Even as it was, more than one opportunity of crushing the forces of the insurgents was lost, by the inca-

Feb. 15. That an augmentation of 4383 men be made to the land forces.—*Ann. Reg.* 1773, 226; *App. to Chron.*; and for 1776, p. 93, 94.

These forces, it is true, were in the course of the war considerably augmented, and in 1776 above 30,000 men were voted by parliament; still this was not a third of what Great Britain might with ease have raised; but that only confirms the argument. It is not in the close, but the commencement of a revolution, that vigorous measures are likely to be successful.

pacify on the part of the military commanders, or their selfish desire to protract the war, from the enormous profits with which, to them at least, it was attended.* If Great Britain had put her naval and military forces on a proper footing *during peace*, and been ready, on the first breaking out of hostilities, to act with an energy worthy of her real strength; if she had possessed fifty thousand disposable troops, in 1775, and a hundred thousand in 1792, the American War might have been brought to a victorious termination in 1776, the French contest in 1793: six years of subsequent disastrous warfare in the first case, and twenty of glorious but costly hostilities in the second, would have been avoided; and the national debt, instead of eight hundred, would now have been under two hundred millions sterling. The history of England, for the last hundred and fifty years, has been nothing but a series of disasters in the first years of hostilities, in consequence of the absurd parsimony of the nation having starved down the military and naval establishments to the lowest point during the preceding years of peace—often redeemed, indeed, by glorious successes in the end, when experience had taught the people the necessity of exertion; but never unaccompanied with lasting and burdensome expences.

4. It was not surprising that the American people, after the glorious termination of the war of independence, should have retained a warm feeling of gratitude towards their allies, the French, and a strong degree of animosity towards their enemies, the English. The enlightened and truly patriotic leaders of this revolution, however, had discernment enough to perceive, that though the passions of the people were in favour of France, their interests were indissolubly wound up with those of England; and they had greatness of mind sufficient to risk their popularity

for the good of their country. The whole efforts of Washington and his friends in the government, from the conclusion of the American War in 1783, to the retirement of that great man from public life in 1796, were devoted to tempering the democratic ardour which had broken out with such vehemence in their country after the declaration of their independence, and laying the foundation of a lasting pacific intercourse with Great Britain. Yet, so strongly were the sympathies of the people enlisted on the side of France and revolution, that it required all his immense popularity to counteract, in 1793, the loudly expressed wish of the decided majority of the American citizens to declare war against Great Britain. So vehement was the clamour that, on more than one occasion at that period, it was apparent that the federalist party, to which he belonged, had lost the majority in the Chamber of Representatives; and such was the fury of the journals out of doors, that he was openly accused of aspiring to the monarchy, and of being, "like the traitor Arnold, a spy sold to the English." But Washington, unmoved, pursued steadily his pacific policy. The horrors of the French Revolution cooled the ardour of many of its ardent supporters on the other side of the Atlantic; and one of the last acts of that great man was to carry, by his influence in Congress, which procured its passing there only by the casting vote of the President, a commercial treaty with Great Britain, [*ante*, Chap. xxi. § 83]†

5. But various causes contributed, in the course of the contest between England and France, at once to increase the partiality of the Americans to the latter country, and to bring such important interests of its citizens into jeopardy, as could hardly fail to involve them in the dispute. Under the influence of the equal law of succession, landed property was undergoing a continual division, while the increasing

* Particularly when the main American army, under Washington, was driven by Lord Howe into Long Island, and might have been made prisoners by a vigorous advance of the British troops, on 29th August 1776.—See *Ann. Reg.* vol. xix. 173.

† See the treaty, 19th November 1794, between Great Britain and America, in *MARTIN'S*, v. 441; and *Ann. Reg.* 1795, *State Papers*, 294.

energy of the democratic multitude was gradually destroying the majority of the conservative party in Congress, and augmenting the violence of the popular press in the country. Already it had become painfully evident,—from the conduct of the American government on various occasions after Washington's retirement from public life, but especially in the dispute which occurred with France in 1797,* in consequence of the sanguinary decree of the Directory, and the readiness with which they accommodated all their differences with that power in 1800, and subscribed the treaty of Morfontaine, which recognised Napoleon's new maritime code, and, in particular, stipulated that the flag should cover the merchandise, and that no articles should be deemed contraband of war but arms and warlike stores—that their inclinations now ran violently in favour of the French side of the question, and that, right or wrong, for their interest or against it, they might be expected on the first crisis to take part with that power, [*ante*, Chap. xxxiii. § 14]. And with the usual tendency of mankind to attach themselves to names and not to things, this strong partiality for the French alliance, which originated in the common democratic feelings by which they both were animated, and the Republican institutions which they both had established, continued after France had passed over to the other side. The citizens of the United States clamoured as loudly for a junction of their arms with those of the Great Empire, as they had done for an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the rising Republic.

6. The Berlin and Milan decrees, and British Orders in Council, however, brought the American commerce immediately into collision with both the belligerent states, and rendered it hardly possible that so considerable a maritime power could avoid taking an active part in the strife. It has been already mentioned how that terrible contest, distinguished by a degree of rancour and violence on both sides unparalleled in

modern warfare, commenced with Mr Fox's declaring the coasts of France and Holland, from Brest to the Elbe inclusive, in a state of blockade; which was immediately followed by Napoleon's famous Berlin and Milan decrees, which retaliated upon the English by declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade, and authorising the seizure and condemnation of any vessel on the high seas bound from any British harbour, and the confiscation of all British goods wherever they could be found.† To this the English government replied by the not less famous Orders in Council, which, on the preamble of the blockade of the British dominions established by the Berlin decrees, declared "all the ports and places of France and her allies, from which, though not at war with his Majesty, the British flag is excluded, shall be subject to the same restrictions, in respect of trade and navigation, as if the same were actually blockaded in the most strict and rigorous manner; and that all trade in articles, the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed unlawful, and all such articles declared good prize."

7. It is difficult to say which of these violent decrees bore hardest upon neutral powers, or was most subversive of Napoleon's own favourite position, that the flag should cover the merchandise. For, on the one hand, the French Emperor declared that all vessels coming from England or its colonies, or having English goods on board, should be instantly seized and confiscated; and on the other, the English government at once declared the whole dominions of France and its allies, comprehending, after the treaty of Tilsit, nearly the whole of Europe, in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for any of their harbours, or having any of their produce on board, good and lawful prize. Between these opposite and conflicting denunciations, it was hardly possible for a neutral vessel, engaged in the carrying trade of any part of Europe, to avoid confiscation from one or

* *Ante*, Ch. xxv. §§ 130, 131; 18th January, and 29th October 1793; 30th September 1800.

† *Ante*, Chap. I. §§ 5-12, where the subject is fully discussed, and the orders on both sides given.

other of the belligerent parties. In such circumstances the Americans, whose adventurous spirit had enabled them to engross, during this long war, nearly the whole carrying trade of the globe, had unquestionably the strongest ground of complaint; but against whom was it properly to be directed?—against the British, who, by Mr Fox's order, declared only the coast from the Elbe to Brest in blockade, and supported that declaration by a fleet of a thousand vessels of war, which had long since swept every hostile flag from the ocean? or the French, who, without a single ship of the line, and only a few frigates at sea, had declared the whole British empire, in every part of the world, in blockade, and all its produce and manufactures, wherever found, lawful prize? If Mr Fox's blockade of the Elbe and the Weser, besides the harbours of the French channel, was an unwarranted stretch, even when supported by the whole navy of England, what was Napoleon's blockade of the whole British empire, enforced only by a few frigates and sloops at sea? If, therefore, the Americans suffered, as suffer they did, in this unparalleled strife, the party which was to blame was that which first commenced this extraordinary system of declaring blockades to extend beyond the places actually invested by sea or land; and of that unheard-of extension Napoleon was unquestionably the author. If the Americans had been really animated by a desire in good faith to vindicate the rights of neutrals, and restrain the oppression of belligerents, what they should have done was to have joined their arms to those of Great Britain, in order to compel the return of the French Emperor to a more civilised method of warfare.

8. But these were very far from being the views which animated the ruling party now in possession of power in the United States. Mr Jefferson was now president, and he was the organ of the democratic majority, which, forgetting the wise maxims of Washington and the authors of American independence, without being inclined to sub-

mit, if it could possibly be avoided, to actual injustice or loss of profit from either of the belligerent powers, desired if possible to accommodate their differences with France, and wreak their spite on aristocracy, by uniting with that country against Great Britain. This disposition soon appeared in two decisive proceedings. The British government, in December 1806, had concluded and ratified a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the American plenipotentiary in London; but Mr Jefferson refused to ratify it on the part of the States, and it fell to the ground. Not long after, propositions were submitted by the American government to Napoleon on the subject of the Floridas, which they were desirous of acquiring from the Spaniards, and regarding which they wished a guarantee from the Emperor, that, in the event of their being attacked by the English, he would use his influence with the Spaniards to obtain their cession. This Napoleon, in the first instance, positively refused, as he had an eye to those possessions for Joseph, as an appanage to the crown of Spain; and afterwards an ambiguous answer was returned: but this repulse had no effect in weakening Mr Jefferson's partiality for a French alliance.

9. Meanwhile the American government took the most decisive measures for withdrawing their merchant vessels from aggression on the part of either of the belligerent powers. In the first instance, an angry message was communicated to Congress by Mr Jefferson, inveighing bitterly against the British Orders in Council of January 1807, but not breathing the slightest complaint against Napoleon's Berlin decree of November 1806, to which they were merely a reply. On receipt of intelligence of the more extended British Orders of 11th November 1807, he laid a general embargo on all vessels whatever in the American harbours. And this was followed, on 1st March 1808, by the substitution of a Non-intercourse Act for the embargo, whereby all commercial transactions with either of the belligerent powers

were absolutely prohibited; but the embargo was taken off as to the rest of the world. This act, however, contained a clause (§ 11) authorising the President, by proclamation, to renew the intercourse between America and either of the belligerent powers which should first repeal their obnoxious Orders in Council or Decrees. This Non-intercourse Act had the effect of totally suspending the trade between America and Great Britain, and inflicting upon both these countries a loss tenfold greater than that suffered by France, with which the commercial intercourse of the United States was altogether inconsiderable.

10. In addition to the other causes of difference, unhappily already too numerous, which existed between Great Britain and the United States, an unfortunate collision, attended with fatal consequences, ensued at sea. The *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, was cruising off Virginia, and was known to have some English deserters on board, when she was hailed by the *Leopard*, of fifty-two guns, Captain Humphreys, who made a formal requisition for the men. The American Captain denied he had them, and refused to admit the right of search; upon which Captain Humphreys fired a broadside, which killed and wounded several on board the *Chesapeake*, whereupon she struck, and the deserters were found on board, taken to Halifax, and one executed. The President upon this issued a proclamation, ordering all British ships of war to leave the harbours of the United States; but the English government disavowed the act, recalled Captain Humphreys, and offered to make reparation, as the right of search, when applied to vessels of war, extended only to a *requisition*, but could not be carried into effect by actual force.

11. This state of matters promised little hopes of an amicable adjustment; but as Mr Jefferson soon after retired from power, and was succeeded in the office of President by Mr Madison, who professed an anxious desire to adjust the differences which, to the enormous loss of both, had arisen between Great

Britain and the United States, Mr Erskine, envoy and minister plenipotentiary at Washington, deemed the opportunity favourable for renewing the negotiations, and, if possible, restoring that amicable intercourse between the two countries on which their mutual welfare was so materially dependent. A correspondence accordingly ensued between Mr Erskine and Mr Smith, the American foreign secretary, in which it was expressly stated, that the Non-intercourse Act had produced a state of equality between the United States and the belligerent powers, and that he accordingly offered public reparation for the forcible taking of the men out of the American frigate *Chesapeake*, which had highly inflamed the national passions on both sides of the water. To this Mr Smith made a reply in a similar amicable spirit; and in consequence, Mr Erskine on the 19th April wrote to Mr Smith, that "his Majesty's Orders in Council, of January and November 1807, will have been withdrawn, as respects the United States, on the 10th June next." To which Mr Smith rejoined, that the Non-intercourse Act would be withdrawn, in virtue of the powers conferred on the President by the act establishing it, from and after the 10th June; and a proclamation to that effect from him appeared the same day.

12. This important change of tone and concession had been obtained from the American government by a distinct and serious threat, held out by the five northern states of the Union, to break off from the confederacy if the Non-intercourse Act were any longer continued in force. To all appearance, therefore, the disputes with America were now brought to a close; and on the faith that they were so, American vessels, in great numbers, poured into the British harbour, and the commercial intercourse between the two countries became more active than ever. This auspicious state of matters, however, was not destined to be of long continuance. In concluding this arrangement with the United States, Mr Erskine had not only exceeded, but acted in contradiction to his instruc-

tions;* and although nothing could be more advantageous for Great Britain than the renewal of a commercial intercourse with that power, yet it was not by government deemed worth purchasing by an abandonment, so far as the greatest carrying power in existence was concerned, of the whole retaliatory policy of the Orders in Council. The English ministry, accordingly, refused to ratify this arrangement; a resolution which, although fully justified in point of right by Napoleon's violence, and by Mr Erskine's deviation from his instructions, may now well be characterised as one of the most unfortunate, in point of expediency, ever adopted by the British government; for it at once led to the renewal of the Non-intercourse Act of the United States; put an entire stop, for the next two years, to all commerce with that country; reduced the exports of Great Britain fully a third, during the most critical and important years of the war; and, in its ultimate results, contributed to produce that unhappy irritation between the two countries which has never yet, notwithstanding the strong bonds of mutual interest by which they are connected, been allayed.†

13. It may well be imagined what a storm of indignation arose in the United States, when the intelligence of the refusal of the British government to ratify Mr Erskine's convention was received; and how prodigiously it strengthened the hands of the party already in

* This was at first denied, both in the House of Lords and Commons; but on February 5, 1810, Mr Canning seconded a motion of Mr Whitbread's for production of the instructions, which were accordingly brought forward and printed, and completely proved Mr Canning's assertion, that they had been violated by Mr Erskine. No farther notice, accordingly, was taken of the subject in parliament.—See *Parl. Deb.* xv. 314; and *Ann. Reg.* 1810, p. 255, 256.

† Exports from Great Britain, declared value:—

1806,	£40,374,953
1807,	37,245,677
1808,	37,375,102
1809,	27,371,393
1810,	23,423,680
1811,	32,890,712
1812,	41,718,364
1813,	Records destroyed by fire.

—*FORSTER'S Progress of the Nation*, ii. 33.

power, and supported by a decided majority in the nation, which was resolved at all hazards, and against their most obvious interests, to involve the country in a war with Great Britain. Mr Erskine, as a matter of course, was recalled, and Mr Jackson succeeded him as British envoy at Washington; but his reception was such, from the very outset, as left little hope of an amicable termination of the differences. From the President's table, where the English minister was treated with marked indifference, if not studied insult, to the lowest alehouse in the United States, there was nothing but one storm of indignation against the monstrous arrogance of the British maritime pretensions, and the duplicity and bad faith of their government. Unhappily the elections for Congress took place during this whirlwind of passion, and such was the ascendancy which the democratic party acquired in the legislature from this circumstance, that it was plain all hopes of an accommodation were at an end. Mr Jackson continued, however, at the American capital, striving to allay the prevailing indignation, and renew the negotiation where Mr Erskine had left it off. But it was all in vain; and after a stormy discussion of twenty-five days in the House of Representatives, it was determined, by a great majority, to break off all communication with the British envoy. In consequence, Mr Pinckney, the American envoy in London, was directed to request the recall of Mr Jackson, whose firmness the American government found themselves unable to overcome; and this was at once acceded to by the British administration. And on the 10th August, Mr Madison formally announced by proclamation, that as "England had disavowed the acts of its minister, the commerce which had been renewed with that country, on the supposition that the Orders in Council were repealed, must be again subjected to the whole operation of the Non-intercourse Act which had been suspended."

14. Meanwhile the maritime dispute, so far as the Orders in Council and decrees of Napoleon were concerned,

seemed to be reduced, as between America and both these powers, to a mere point of etiquette who should give in first. England had constantly declared, both in diplomatic notes and speeches by her ministers in parliament, that the Orders in Council were retaliatory measures only; and that as soon as the French Emperor would recall the Berlin and Milan decrees, they should be repealed. On the other hand, Napoleon formally declared, through M. Champagny, that "if England recalls her blockade of France, the Emperor will recall his blockade of England; if England withdraws her Orders in Council of 11th November 1807, the Milan decree will fall of itself." And to complete the whole, America had already solemnly stated in the Non-intercourse Act, and Mr Madison had acted in terms of it by his declaration of 19th April 1809, that if either France or England would repeal their obnoxious decrees, the non-intercourse would immediately cease with respect to the country making such concession. And this assurance was again renewed by the American legislature, in a bill brought forward in January 1810, which passed by a large majority. It seems difficult to account, therefore, for the continued adherence to the rigorous system of maritime warfare on the part of either of the belligerent powers, and especially of Great Britain, which had such vital commercial interests dependent on adjusting matters with America, and so little to gain either in honour or profit from a contest with that power. But notwithstanding all this, the misunderstanding seemed to increase rather than diminish: and on 1st March, Mr Pinckney, in a formal audience, took leave of the Prince-Regent, not without, on his own admission, the most emphatic expressions on the part of his royal highness, of a wish to restore amicable relations with the United States.

15. After this, it was generally thought a rupture with America was inevitable; and so entirely were the Americans of this opinion, that the intercourse with France was openly renewed, and the American harbours

were filled with French vessels, which were, for the most part, fitted out as privateers, and did considerable mischief to British shipping. Matters seemed to be brought to a point, by a collision which soon after took place between a British and American ship of war. On the 16th May, a most gallant officer, Captain Bingham, in the *Little Belt*, of eighteen guns, fell in with the American frigate *President*, of forty-four*. The latter gave chase to the former, without either apparently being well aware to what nation the other belonged; and when they were within hail, each party asked the other to what nation they belonged. But before an answer could be received, or at least heard, the American frigate fired a broadside, which was immediately returned. The action now went on with great vigour on both sides, and was maintained with the most heroic valour by the British against such fearful odds for half an hour, when, during a suspension of a few seconds, the hailing was renewed, and as soon as it was understood what they were, both ships drew off, and the action ceased. Captain Rodgers, of the *President*, next morning sent a polite message to Captain Bingham, regretting what had occurred, and offering all assistance in his power, which was declined, and the ships returned to their respective harbours: the *Little Belt* had thirty-two men killed and wounded. The official accounts of the two commanders, as is usual in such cases, differed as to which began the action, each alleging that the other fired the first shot; but in this matter there is an article of real evidence, which seems decisive. It is hardly credible that a sloop with eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty-two men, would provoke a contest with a frigate of forty-four, manned by four hundred.

16. Notwithstanding this collision, the gallantry displayed in which by Captain Bingham and his crew excited a strong national feeling in Great Britain, and proportionally exasperated the Americans, the English government made one more attempt to adjust the differences between the two countries,

by sending out Mr Foster as envoy plenipotentiary to the United States. The affairs of the Chesapeake and the Little Belt were easily adjusted, and in fact constituted complete sets-off against each other, as both had originated in the larger vessel attacking the smaller to enforce the right of search. Both had been satisfactorily arranged, by each government disclaiming that right when exercised by the armed vessel of one nation against an armed vessel of another. The seizure of Florida by America, which had recently before taken place during the distracted state of Spain, to which it belonged, was justified by the Americans on the ground that it was an appendage of Louisiana, which they had acquired by purchase; and it was proposed to discuss the title with the Spanish government, as soon as that government should be re-established. More serious subjects of difference arose in the right of search, strenuously insisted for by the British government, and as stoutly resisted by the American; and the Orders in Council, which the British government still declined to recall, and the revocation of which the Americans, with reason, maintained was an indispensable preliminary to any accommodation. So little favourable, in the close of the year, was the aspect of the negotiation, that the President's speech, in December, to Congress, contained a recommendation to raise ten thousand regular troops and fifty thousand militia; and the vehement temper of the legislature so far outstripped the more measured march of the executive, that the numbers voted were, by a majority of one hundred and nine to twenty-two, increased to twenty-five thousand regular troops, and it was agreed to raise an immediate loan of ten millions of dollars.

17. The object of the Americans in thus precipitating hostilities was to secure the capture of the homeward-bound West India fleet, which was expected to cross the Atlantic in May or June, before the British government was so far aware of their designs as to have prepared a convoy; and they made no doubt, that on the first ap-

pearance of an American force, the whole of Canada would, as a matter of course, fall into their hands. With this view, in the beginning of April, a general embargo was laid by Congress upon all the vessels in the harbours of the United States for ninety days—a measure which they hoped would at once prevent intelligence of their preparations from reaching Great Britain, and furnish themselves with the means, from their extensive commercial navy, of manning their vessels of war. The better to work the representatives up to the desired point of fermentation, the President soon after laid before them copies of certain documents, tending to stir up a separation of the northern provinces from the federal union, found on Captain Henry, who had been despatched by Sir James Craig, governor of Canada, into Massachusetts, without the knowledge of the government at home. To such a pitch were they transported, that a bill was brought into Congress, and seriously entertained, the object of which was to declare every person a *pirate*, and punishable with death, who, under pretence of a commission from any foreign power, should impress upon the high seas any native of the United States; and to give every such impressed seaman a right to attach, in the hands of *any* British subject, or of *any* debtor to *any* British subject, a sum equal to thirty dollars a-month during the whole period of his detention. This violent bill, worthy of the worst days of the French Revolution, actually passed a third reading of the House of Representatives, and was only lost in the Senate.

18. When such was the temper of the ruling party in the United States, it is unnecessary to follow out ulterior measures, or discuss the objects of complaint ostensibly put forth as the cause of the war. On the 18th of June an act passed both houses, by a majority of seventy-nine to forty-nine, declaring the actual existence of war between Great Britain and America; and hostilities were immediately ordered to be commenced. Nor did the American government make any attempt to recede from these hostile acts, when

intelligence arrived a few weeks after this resolution, and before war had commenced, that, by an Order in Council, the British government had actually *repealed the previous orders*, so that the ostensible ground of complaint against this country was removed [*ante*, Chap. LXIV. § 124.] Great events were about to take place when the Americans thus thrust themselves into the contest. Three days after, Wellington crossed the Agueda to commence the Salamanca campaign: six days after, Napoleon passed the Niemen on his march to Moscow. No cause of complaint or hostility now remained; for although the right of search exercised by the British, in conformity with the common maritime law of nations, may have afforded a fit subject for remonstrance and adjustment, it was no ground for immediate hostilities. But on war they were determined, and to war they went. And thus had America, the greatest republic in existence, and which had ever proclaimed its attachment to the cause of freedom in all nations, the disgrace of going to war with Great Britain, then the last refuge of liberty in the civilised world, when their only ground of complaint against it had been removed: and of allying their arms with those of France, at the very moment of its commencing its unjust crusade against Russia, and straining every nerve to crush in the Old World the last vestige of Continental independence.

19. When the ruling party in America was thus resolved, *per fas aut nefas*, to plunge into a war with England, it may naturally be asked, What preparations had they made for sustaining a contest with that formidable foe? They knew that Great Britain was the greatest maritime power in existence; that she had a hundred ships of the line in commission, and that a thousand ships of war bore the royal flag; they were aware that her armies had vanquished a vast dominion in India, and long measured swords on equal terms in the Peninsula with the conqueror of continental Europe. They had been preparing for the war for four years; since 1807, such had been the

difference between them and the English government, that their intercourse with Great Britain had been almost entirely suspended. Almost all their trading vessels, several thousand in number, were at sea, and lay exposed in every quarter of the globe to the innumerable cruisers and privateers of the enemy whom they were thus anxious to provoke. What preparations, then, had a republic, embracing eight millions of souls within its territory, so vehemently bent on war, and having had so many years to muster its forces, actually made for a contest of the most impassioned character with such a naval and military power? Why, they had in 1811 four frigates and eight sloops in commission,* being the very time when the collision of the President and Little Belt took place: and in 1812, when the war broke out,† their whole naval force afloat in ordinary, and build-

* Viz. in 1811:—

President	44
Constitution	44
United States	44
Essex	32
John Adams	24
Wasp	18
Hornet	18
Argus	16
Siren	16
Nautilus	12
Enterprise	12
Vixen	12

—COOPER'S *Naval History*, ii. 140.

† “As opposed to the unexampled naval power of Great Britain, America had on her list the following vessels, exclusive of gun-boats, in 1812, viz.:—

Constitution	44
President	44
United States	44
Congress	39
Constitution	38
Chesapeake	38
New York	36
Essex	32
Adams	28
Boston	28
John Adams	28
Wasp	18
Hornet	18
Argus	16
Siren	16
Onida	16
Vixen	14
Nautilus	12
Enterprise	12
Viper	12

“Of these vessels, the New York 36, and Boston 28, were unseaworthy; and the Onida, 16, was on Lake Ontario. The re-

ing for the ocean and the Canadian lakes, was eight frigates and twelve sloops; while their military force amounted to the stupendous number of twenty-four thousand soldiers, not one-half of whom were yet disciplined, or in a condition to take the field.

20. It is hard to say whether this extraordinary want of foresight, and sway of passion, in the American people and government, or the great things which, with such inconsiderable means, they actually did, during the war, are the most worthy of meditation. It demonstrates, on the one hand, how marvellous is the *insouciance* and want of consideration in democratic communities; how blindly they rush into war without any preparation either to insure its success or avert its dangers; how obstinately they resist all propositions in time of peace to incur even the most inconsiderable immediate burdens to guard against future calamity; how vehemently, at the same time, they can be actuated by the warlike passions; and with what force, when so excited, they impel their government into the perilous chances of arms without the slightest preparation, and when calamity, widespread and unbounded, is certain to follow the adoption of a measure thus wholly unprovided for. On the other hand, the gallant and ex-

traordinary achievements, both of the American navy and army, during the contest which followed, are no less worthy of consideration, as demonstrating how far individual energy and valour can overcome the most serious difficulties, and the tendency of democratic institutions to compensate, by the vigour they communicate to the people, the consequences of the debility and want of foresight which they imprint upon the government.

21. The first exploits of the American army, though such as might naturally have been expected from the total want of preparation on the part of their government or people for a war, were, nevertheless, very different from what the noisy democrats who had driven the nation into it had anticipated. Early in July, General Hull invaded Upper Canada with a force of two thousand five hundred men, having crossed the Detroit, and marched to Sandwich in that province. He there issued a proclamation, in which he expressed entire confidence of success, and threatened a war of extermination if the savages were employed in resisting the invasion. His next operations were directed against Fort Amherstburg, but he was repulsed in three different attempts to cross the river Canard, near which it stands; and General Brock, having collected a force of seven hundred British regulars and militia, and six hundred auxiliary Indians, not only relieved that Fort, but compelled Hull to retire to Fort Detroit, on the American side of the St Lawrence, where he was soon after invested by General Brock. Batteries having been constructed, and a fire opened, preparations were made for an assault; to prevent which General Hull capitulated, with nearly two thousand five hundred men and thirty pieces of cannon—a proud trophy to have been taken, with the fort of Detroit, by a British force of no more than seven hundred men, including militia, and six hundred auxiliary Indians. At the same time the British captured the distant fort of Michilmackinac, of great consequence as cutting off the communication between the Americans and

mainder were efficient for their rates, though the *Adams* required extensive repairs before she could be sent to sea. It follows that America was about to engage in a war with by much the greatest maritime power that the world ever saw, possessing herself but *seventeen cruising vessels on the ocean, of which nine were of a class less than frigates*. At this time the merchant vessels of the United States were spread over the whole earth. No other instance can be found of so great a stake in shipping, with a protection so utterly inadequate. In addition to her vast superiority in ships, Great Britain possessed her islands in the West Indies, Bermuda, and Halifax, as ports for refitting, and places of refuge for prizes; while on the part of America, though there were numerous ports, all were liable to be blockaded the moment an enemy might choose to send a force of two line-of-battle ships and one frigate to one point; for it is not to be concealed that three, two-decked ships could have driven the whole of the public cruising marine of America before them at the time of which we are writing.—*COOPER'S History of the American Navy*, ii. 167, 168.

their Indian allies in the Michigan territory.

22. This early and glorious success had the most powerful effect in increasing the spirit and energy of the militia of Upper Canada, the inhabitants of which, of British origin, and strongly animated with patriotic and national feelings, had taken up arms universally to repel the hated invasion of their republican neighbours. An armistice had been shortly before agreed to between Sir George Prevost, the British governor of Canada, and General Dearborn, the American commander-in-chief on the northern frontier, in the hope that the repeal of the Orders in Council, of which intelligence had now been received, would, by removing the only real ground of quarrel between the two countries, have led to a termination of hostilities. But in this hope, how reasonable soever, they were disappointed. The American government, impelled by the democratic constituencies, had not yet abandoned their visions of Canadian conquest, and they not only disavowed the armistice, but determined upon a vigorous prosecution of the contest. As this determination, however, unveiled the real motives which had led to the war, and demonstrated that the Orders in Council had been a mere pretext, it gave rise to the most violent dissatisfaction in the northern provinces of the Union, who were likely, from their dependence upon British commerce, to be the greatest sufferers by the contest. So far did this proceed, that many memorials were addressed to the President from these states, in which they set forth, that they contemplated with abhorrence an alliance with the present Em-

peror of France, every action of whose life had been an attempt to effect the extinction of all vestiges of freedom; that the repeal of the Orders in Council had removed the only legitimate object of complaint against the British government; and that, if any attempts were made to introduce French troops into the United States, they would regard them as enemies.* Nor were these declarations confined to mere verbal menaces; for two of the states, Connecticut and Massachusetts, openly refused to send their contingents, or to impose the taxes which had been voted by Congress; and symptoms of a decided intention to break off from the confederacy were already evinced in the four northern states, comprising New York and the most opulent and powerful portions of the Union.

23. The American government, however, were noways intimidated either by the bad success of their arms in Canada, or by the menaces of the northern provinces of the Union. Later in the season they assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Niagara; and, on the 13th October, General Wadsworth crossed over with thirteen hundred men, and made an attack on the British position of Queenstown. General Brock immediately hastened to the spot; and, while gallantly cheering on the grenadiers of the 49th, he fell mortally wounded, and soon after died. Discouraged by this loss, the British fell back, and the position was lost. But this success of the enemy was of short duration. Reinforcements, consisting partly of regular troops, partly of militia, came up to their aid, of whom General Sheaffe had now assumed the command; and a combined attack was

* "On the subject of any French connection we have made up our minds. We will in no event assist in uniting the Republic of America with the military despotism of France. We will have no connection with her principles or her power. If her armed troops, under whatever name or character, should come here, we will regard them as enemies."—*Memorial from Rockingham in New Hampshire*, 15th September 1812.

"We are constrained to consider the determination to persist in the war, after official notice of the revocation of the British Orders in Council had been received, as a proof

that it was undertaken on motives entirely distinct from those hitherto avowed; and we contemplate with abhorrence the possibility even of an alliance with the present Emperor of France, every action of whose life has demonstrated that the attainment, by any means, of universal empire, and the consequent extinction of every vestige of freedom, are the sole objects of his incessant, unbounded, and remorseless ambition."—*Resolutions of Thirty-four Cities and Counties of the State of New York, adopted at a meeting held at Albany, 17th and 18th September 1812. Annual Register, 1812, p. 201.*

made on the American force by the English troops and artillery in front and on one flank, in all about eight hundred men, while Norton, the Indian chief, with a considerable body of savages, menaced their other extremity. This well-laid attack proved entirely successful. After a short conflict the Americans were totally defeated; their commander, General Wadsworth, with nine hundred men, being made prisoners, with one gun and two colours taken, and two hundred killed and wounded; while the total loss of the British and their gallant Canadian comrades did not exceed seventy men. At the same time Brigade-Major Evans, from Fort George on the Canadian side of the river, opened so heavy a fire on Fort Niagara on the opposite side, that the enemy were compelled to evacuate the fort. This victory, important and decisive as it proved, was dearly purchased by the loss of General Brock—an officer of equal suavity and firmness in civil administration, and energy and valour in war; and to whose worth, well known on both sides of the frontier, the honourable testimony was borne of minute-guns being discharged during his funeral, alike by the American and the British batteries.

24. Irritated, rather than discouraged, by those repeated and disgraceful failures, the Americans now strained every nerve to augment their naval forces on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and reinforced General Dearborn, who commanded their troops on the frontier of Lower Canada, so considerably, that by the middle of November he was at the head of ten thousand men. At the same time General Smyth had five thousand, chiefly militia, on the Niagara frontier; and they had augmented their fleet on Lake Ontario to such a degree, that the British flotilla was unable to face it, which gave them the entire command of the lake. Encouraged by this favourable state of affairs, which they were aware might be turned the other way before spring, they resolved, notwithstanding the lateness and inclemency of the season, to make a combined attack on the British possessions both in the upper and lower provinces.

Early on the morning of the 28th November, accordingly, General Smyth commenced the invasion of Upper Canada, by crossing the St Lawrence, between Chippewa and Fort Erie, with about five hundred men; but they were received in so vigorous a manner by a small British detachment under Colonel Bishop, that they were repulsed with severe loss. About the same time, General Dearborn commenced a systematic attack on Lower Canada; but the militia and regular forces of that province, under General Prevost, turned out with such alacrity, and in such formidable numbers, that he withdrew without making any serious progress, and put his army into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg. Thus the invasion of the Canadas, from which the Americans expected so much, and in the hope of which being successful they had mainly engaged in the war, terminated this year in nothing but discomfiture and disgrace.

25. But if the Americans were unsuccessful on one element, they met with extraordinary and unlooked-for triumphs on another; which excited the greater sensation, that they shook the general belief which at that time prevailed of British invincibility at sea, and opened up, to the jealousy of other nations at our commercial greatness, hopes of its overthrow at no distant period. The first action which took place after war was declared, was between the British frigate *Belvidera*, and the American frigate *President*. The British vessel, commanded by Captain Byron, was in charge of a large fleet of West India merchantmen on their way home; and Captain Rodgers came up with her on the 23d June, with a squadron of three frigates and two sloops, which immediately gave chase, and a running fight ensued which lasted for a whole day, each party losing two-and-twenty men. But the result was favourable to the British, whose guns were pointed with great skill, and produced a surprising effect, as the American squadron failed in taking the single English frigate, and the whole merchantmen escaped untouched. After a cruise of seventy days, the American

squadron returned to port, having only captured seven merchantmen in that time, although they fell upon the British commerce when wholly unaware of hostilities having commenced.

26. Shortly after, the *Constitution* was chased by a squadron of British frigates headed by the *Africa* of sixty-four guns, and escaped after a most interesting chase, in which great skill and ability were displayed on both sides. But in the next action the result was very different. The *Constitution* fell in on the 19th August with the *Guerrière*, Captain Dacres, and a most obstinate action took place. The American frigate was decidedly superior, both in the number and weight of its guns, and the number of its crew; * but notwithstanding that disadvantage, Captain Dacres maintained a close fight, yard-arm to yard-arm, for upwards of an hour, with his formidable antagonist. At the end of that time, however, his vessel was a perfect wreck, wholly dismasted, rolling about in the trough of a tempestuous sea, incapable of making any further resistance, with seventy-nine men killed and wounded, including among the latter Captain Dacres himself, and thirty shots in the hull below water-mark; while the *Constitution* had only seven killed and as many wounded. In these circumstances further resistance was evidently hopeless, and the English colours were mournfully lowered to the broad pendant of their emancipated offspring.

27. Hardly had the English recover-

* The relative force on the two sides was as follows:—

	<i>Guerrière.</i>	<i>Constitution.</i>
Broadside guns, . . .	24	28
Weight in lbs., . . .	517	768
Crew, . . .	244	440
Tons, . . .	1092	1533

—JAMES, vi. 104; and COOPER, ii. 199, 200.

"Captain Dacres," says the American annalist, "lost no professional reputation by his defeat; he had handled his ship in a manner to win the applause of his enemies, fought her gallantly, and only submitted when further resistance would have been as culpable as in that it was impossible. That the *Constitution* was a larger and heavier ship than the *Guerrière*, will be disputed by no nautical man, though less, it is believed, than might be inferred from their respective rates; but the great inferiority of the *Guerrière* was in her men." —COOPER, i. 192, 201.

ed from the shock of this unwanted naval disaster, when other blows of the same description succeeded each other with stunning rapidity. On the night of the 16th October, the British sloop *Frolic* of eighteen guns fell in with the American brig *Wasp*, of the same number of guns, but considerably superior both in weight of metal, tonnage, and crew.† The crew of the *Frolic* were labouring to repair their rigging, which had been severely damaged the day before in a gale, when the action commenced, and was kept up with equal skill and spirit on both sides. But the rigging of the British vessel was in so shattered a condition, from the effect of the previous storm, that in ten minutes she lay an unmanageable log in the water, which gave her opponent such an advantage, that in twenty minutes more she was compelled to strike. This disaster, however, except in so far as the moral influence of the triumph to the American arms was concerned, was speedily repaired; for a few hours after the action, the *Poictiers* of seventy-four guns hove in sight, and at once captured the *Wasp*, and recaptured the *Frolic*, the captain of which, in just testimony of his valour, was continued in the command.

28. But a more serious disaster soon occurred. On the 25th October, the American frigate *United States* hove in sight of the British frigate *Macedonian*. As usual on all these occasions, the American vessel was superior by nearly a half, in tonnage, crew, and weight of guns.‡ From the very commencement of the combat, which for some time was at long-shot only, it was evident that the Americans were out-gunning the British to pieces with comparatively little loss on their side; and when at length the English commander succeeded in engaging the enemy in

	<i>Frolic.</i>	<i>Wasp.</i>
† Guns, broadside, . .	9	2
Crew, . . .	92	135
Tons, . . .	384	434

—JAMES, vi. 112.

	<i>Macedonian.</i>	<i>United States.</i>
‡ Broadside guns, . . .	24	28
Weight of broadside—lbs., . . .	528	864
Crew—men only, . . .	254 (55 boys)	474
Tons, . . .	1081	1553

—JAMES, vi. 119; and COOPER, ii. 206.

close fight, which Commodore Decatur of the United States willingly joined in, the superiority of the enemy's fire was such that the Macedonian was soon dismasted—she had received nearly a hundred shots in her hull, and her lower tier of guns, owing to the rolling of the vessel in a tempestuous sea, were under water, while a third of her crew were killed or wounded. On the other hand, the American vessel, having no sail which she could not set except her mizzen-topsail, remained perfectly steady. Even in these desperate circumstances, however, the native spirit of British seamen did not desert them; as a last resource, an attempt was made to carry the enemy by boarding; and the moment this intention was announced, every man who could move was on deck, several of whom had lost an arm but a few minutes before in the cockpit; and the universal cry was, "Let us conquer or die." At this moment, however, the fore-brace was shot away, and the yard, swinging round, threw the vessel upon the wind, so that boarding was impossible. The United States then stood athwart the bows of the Macedonian without firing a gun, and passed on out of shot. It was at first supposed she was making off by the British sailors, who loudly cheered. But this was only to refill her cartridges, which had been expended; and soon tacking, she took up a raking position across the stern of her now defenceless antagonist, and soon compelled her to strike her colours. The superiority of the American force, as well as her weight of metal, was then very apparent; for while the Macedonian had thirty-six killed and sixty-eight wounded, the United States had only five killed and seven badly wounded.

29. Nor was this the last of the discomfitures which at this period befell the British navy. The Java, forty-six guns, had sailed from Spithead on the 12th November, with a motley crew of three hundred and ninety-seven persons, nearly one-half of whom were wholly inexperienced; and on the 23d they discharged six broadsides of blank cartridges, being the first that the majority of the crew had ever assisted

in firing. Captain Lambert, who commanded her, had warmly remonstrated against this wretched ship-complement, declaring that with such people he was not only no match for an American of superior, but hardly for a Frenchman of equal size. But all the answer he got from the Admiralty was, that "a voyage to the East Indies and back would make a good crew." Obligated to submit, the English captain set sail, and, on the 23th December, fell in with the American frigate Constitution; and, notwithstanding the superior bulk and weight of his antagonist,* and the wretched condition of his crew, Captain Lambert immediately made up to the enemy, although nineteen of his men were away with a prize he had shortly before made. The Constitution at first stood away under all sail before the wind, to gain the distance at which the American gunnery was so destructive; but finding the British frigate gained upon her, she shortened sail, and, placing herself under the lee-bow of the Java, a close action immediately commenced. The first broadside of the English frigate told with such effect on the American hull that the latter wore to get away; but the skilful Englishman wore also, and a running fight ensued for a considerable time, during which Captain Lambert's superiority of seamanship was very apparent.

30. After a desultory engagement of this sort for forty minutes, during which the Java, notwithstanding the superior weight of the enemy's metal, had suffered very little, the two vessels came within pistol-shot, and a most determined action ensued. Captain Lambert now resolved on boarding;

* Comparative force of the two vessels:—

	Java.	Constitution.
Broadside guns,	24	28
Weight—lbs.,	517	793
Crew—men only,	344	460
Tons,	1067	1533

—JAMES, vi. 104 and 134; and COOPER, ii. 235.

"The same peculiarity," says Cooper, "attended this combat as had distinguished the two other cases of frigate actions. In all the three, the American vessels were superior to their antagonists; but in all three the difference in execution was greatly disproportionate to the disparity in force."—ii. 235.

but just as he was making preparations for doing so, the foremast of the Java fell with a tremendous crash, breaking in the fore-castle and covering the deck, and soon after the main-topmast came down also; and, to complete their misfortunes, Captain Lambert fell, mortally wounded. The command now devolved on Lieutenant Chads; but he found the vessel perfectly unmanageable, and the wreck of the masts falling over on one side, almost every discharge set the vessel on fire. Still the action continued with the most determined resolution; but at length, after it had lasted three hours and a half, the Java was found to be rapidly sinking, while the Constitution had assumed a raking position, where every shot told, and not a gun could be brought to bear on her. In these desperate circumstances Lieutenant Chads at length struck; and the vessel was so disabled that, as soon as the crew were taken out, the American captain blew her up. In this desperate and unequal engagement, the Java had twenty-two killed, and one hundred and two wounded;* the Constitution ten killed, and forty wounded. Captain Bainbridge treated the officers most generously, though his conduct to the crew was unnecessarily severe; a conduct which contrasted with that of Captain Hull, the former captain of the Constitution, and Captain Decatur of the United States, who had treated their prisoners of all ranks with the courtesy which is ever the accompaniment of heroic minds.

31. Another action between smaller vessels, but terminating in the same result, took place on the 14th February 1813, between the British sloop Peacock, and the American brig Hornet.

The heroism displayed on both sides in this action never was surpassed. A midshipman, Mr Keels, a boy thirteen years of age, had his leg shot away, and suffered amputation. He anxiously inquired, after the action was over, whether the vessel had struck; and seeing a ship's colour spread over him, the little hero grew uneasy till he saw it was an English flag. He died next day. The boatswain, Mr Humble, had his hand shot away, and he was wounded above the elbow; but no sooner was the tourniquet put on than he hastened on deck, to cheer his comrades with his pipe in boarding.

In this, as in all the previous instances where the Americans had proved successful, the superiority on their side was very decided;† but the action which ensued was, nevertheless, of the most bloody and destructive kind. It lasted an hour and a half; at the end of which time, the effect of the American's fire was such that the Peacock was found to be in a sinking state. A signal of distress was immediately hoisted, which was answered with praiseworthy humanity by the brave Americans, and every effort was made by the crews of both vessels to save the disabled ship. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, she went down in a few minutes, with thirteen of her own crew and three of the Hornet's, who were engaged in the noble act of striving to save their enemies.

32. No words can convey an adequate idea of the impression which the successive capture of these three frigates and two sloops made, not only in Great Britain and America, but over the whole civilised world. The triumphs of the British navy, for above a century, had been so uninterrupted, and the moral influence the nation had in consequence acquired had become so prodigious, that it was generally believed, both at home and abroad, that they were invincible, and that no other nation had any chance of success in combating them on the ocean, except with the most decided superiority of force. When, therefore, it was seen that, in repeated instances of combat of single vessels of the same class against each other, the ships of the United States had proved victorious, the English were stunned as by the shock of an earthquake; the Americans were immeasurably, and with good reason, elated; and the other nations in Europe, thought they discerned at last the small black cloud arising over the ocean, which was to involve the British maritime power in destruction. The

† Comparative force of the combatants:—

	Peacock.	Hornet.
Broadside guns, . . .	9	10
Weight—lbs., . . .	192	227
Crew—men only, . . .	110	162
Tons, . . .	386	460

—JAMES, vi. 193.

majority of men in the Continental states, ever governed by the event, and incapable of just discrimination, took no trouble to inquire whether or not the vessels opposed to each other had been equally matched, but joined in one universal chorus of exultation at the defeat of a nation which had so long been the object of their avowed dread and secret jealousy. And it was generally said, apparently not without reason, that a naval power which, with the command only of four frigates and eight sloops, had in so short a time achieved such successes, might look forward at no distant period, when its navy was enlarged, to wresting from Great Britain the sceptre of the ocean.

33. In truth, the succession of disasters, like all calamities which occur in such numbers together as to be obviously beyond the effect of chance, gave much subject for serious reflection, not merely to the heedless multitude, but to reflecting statesmen. It was now painfully evident that the English were not invincible on their favourite element; that foresight in preparation, as well as energy in action, were necessary to sustain their fortunes; and that, if these were neglected, they had no exemption from the common lot of humanity. The few who looked beyond the mere surface of things, saw, indeed, to what cause the disasters had been owing. The British government, maintaining a hundred ships of the line, and five hundred smaller vessels actually in commission, and carrying on war at once in every quarter of the globe, could not by possibility man their vessels with the same picked and skilled crews as the Americans, who had merely a few frigates and sloops to fit out from the resources of a great commercial navy. The frigates and brigs of the United States, built with extraordinary skill and in a peculiar manner, to which there was no parallel in the British navy, were at once too swift sailers to be overtaken by ships of the line, and of too heavy metal to be a fair match for frigates nominally of the same class. This peculiarity in the constitution of their vessels had been wholly overlooked by

the Admiralty, who anticipated no danger from so diminutive a marine as that of the United States, though it was well known, and had been the subject of anxious solicitude to better-informed individuals in the community.*

34. But, admitting the full weight of these circumstances, it was plain that a new era in naval warfare had arisen, since the English came to contend with their Anglo-Saxon brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. The very fact of the comparison which they so anxiously instituted with their American antagonists, and the superiority on the part of the latter, in weight of metal and strength of crews, in the encounters which had taken place, which they justly pointed out, afforded decisive proof of this. With the French and Spaniards, they had been accustomed to look only to the class of vessels, and never to count guns. In seamanship, the British sailors, inured to the storms of every quarter of the globe, might justly claim an equality with the Americans, similarly instructed, and a superiority to the mariners of any other country in the globe. But in the practice of gunnery, especially at a distance, it was very evident that they were, at that moment, their inferiors; experience had now proved, that long-continued and unexampled success had produced its wonted effect in relaxing the bands of British naval preparation; and that they had much need to recollect that, in the language of the ancient conquerors of the world, the word for an *army* was derived from the verb to *exercise*.†

* In 1808, four years before the American war broke out, the author well recollects hearing his uncle, the late Dr Gregory of Edinburgh, who paid uncommon attention to naval affairs, say, "The Americans are building long forty-six gun frigates, which really carry fifty-six or sixty guns; when our forty-fours come to meet them, you will hear something new some of these days." In England, as in every other constitutional monarchy, the intelligence and information of enlightened individuals generally precede those of government or public functionaries. If the direction of affairs could be confined to such men, or those whom they can influence, no wise man would object to the widest extension of the elective franchise.

† *Exercitus*, from *exerceo*, "to exercise."

35. In this, as in other cases, however, it soon appeared, that as much as unbroken prosperity is pernicious, so occasional disaster is beneficial to nations, provided only that the patriotic spirit is not extinct in their members, or the generous feelings hurried under the weight of selfish indulgence. The surviving officers who had commanded in the vessels which had been taken were all tried by court-martial, honourably acquitted, and immediately after employed anew. This was going to work in the right spirit; there was no attempt to select a second Byng to be the expiatory victim for popular clamour or ministerial neglect. The most vigorous efforts were made by the Admiralty, at once to strengthen the squadrons on the coast of America, and to fit out single ships, which might, from their size, crews, and weight of metal, really be a match for the gigantic frigates which the United States had sent forth to prow through the deep. Several vessels were commenced on the model of the American frigates and sloops, which had been found by experience so swift in sailing and formidable in action; and secret instructions were given to the commanders of vessels on the North American station, not to hazard an encounter with an opponent nominally of the same class, unless there was something like a *real* as well as an apparent equality between them. Greater care was, at the same time, taken in the selection of crews: a larger proportion of men was given to the cannon on board; and orders were issued for the frequent exercise of the men in ball practice, both with small arms and great guns,—a point of vital importance in naval warfare, but one which had hitherto been in an unaccountable manner neglected, with a very few

exceptions, in all the departments in the British navy.

36. The good effects of these improvements speedily appeared in the next naval actions which ensued. Sir John Borlase Warren, who commanded on the North American station, established a vigilant blockade of the harbours of the United States; their commerce was soon entirely ruined; the immense carrying trade they had so long conducted slipped from their hands,* and such was the consequence of this upon their national finances, which depended almost entirely on custom-house duties, that the public revenue had sunk, since the contest had commenced, from twenty four millions of dollars annually to eight millions. Paralysed in this manner, in the sinews of war, by the first results of the struggle, the American government were in no condition to augment their expenditure; and notwithstanding the enthusiasm which their glorious successes had excited in the country, no attempt was made by Congress, during the year 1812, to increase their naval force. In the beginning of the next year, however, they passed two acts, the one authorising the building of four seventy-four gun-ships, and four of forty-four; and in March, six additional sloops were ordered to be built for the ocean; and for the lakes, as many as the public service might require. But a very considerable period might be expected to elapse before these vessels could be ready for sea, and meantime their trade was destroyed and the danger imminent. A close blockade of all their harbours was maintained by the British: the bays of the Chesapeake and the Delaware were scoured by Admiral Cockburn at the head of a light squadron fitted out for that purpose; and

* Home produce, and of foreign countries, exported from America:—

Years.	Foreign.	Home.	Total.
1805,	£11,078,964	£8,830,625	£19,909,589
1806,	12,559,008	8,594,526	21,153,534
1807,	12,425,741	10,145,747	22,571,488
1812,	1,769,817	6,256,689	8,026,506
1813,	593,301	5,220,081	5813,382
1814,	30,843	1,412,973	1,443,816

FORSTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 191.

various landings, by bodies of marines, were effected along their shores; which, besides doing considerable damage to their naval stores and arsenals, kept the towns on the coast in a constant state of alarm.

37. Among the many officers in the British navy who ardently desired to meet, even on inferior terms, but with an adequate crew, with the American forty-four gun frigates, was CAPTAIN BROKE of the *Shannon*. This able officer commanded a frigate pierced for thirty-eight guns, but really mounting fifty-two; and, contrary to the general practice in the British navy, he had for many years trained the crew, whom, by admirable management, he had brought to the highest state of discipline and subordination, to the practice of ball-firing with their great guns. Being stationed off Boston, where the *Chesapeake* of forty-nine guns, under Captain Lawrence, had passed the winter, Captain Broke, to render the combat equal, sent away his consort, the *Tenedos*, of equal strength with his own vessel, with instructions not to return for three weeks; and when she was fairly out of sight, he stood in to the mouth of the harbour, and sent a challenge, couched in the most courteous terms, to the Captain of the *Chesapeake*, stating the exact amount of his force, and inviting him to single combat for the honour of their respective flags.* Having despatched this letter, Captain Broke, with colours flying, lay close in to Boston lighthouse; and soon the *Chesapeake* was under weigh, sur-

rounded by numerous barges and pleasure-boats, which, amidst loud cheers, accompanied her some way out to what they deemed a certain victory. Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake* had not received Captain Broke's challenge when he stood out; but he was too brave a man to shun an offered combat on equal terms; and such was the confidence which the inhabitants of Boston entertained of his success, that they had prepared a public supper to greet the victors on their return, with their prisoners, to the harbour.

38. Meanwhile, Captain Broke at the mast-head was anxiously watching the movements of the American frigate, and beheld with a thrill of delight, such as the brave only can know, first her fore-topsail, then her other topsails loosed and sheeted home, and soon after a signal-gun fired, the topgallant sails loosed and set, and at length the vessel under weigh, and standing out with a light air for the bay. The order to clear for action was immediately given on board the *Shannon*, and as promptly obeyed; and soon the two vessels neared, the *Shannon* clewing up her foresail, and with her maintopsail braced flat, under a light breeze from the shore, that the *Chesapeake* might overtake her. The American came gallantly down with three flags flying, on one of which was inscribed, "Sailors' rights and free trade." The *Shannon* had a union-jack at the fore-mast, and an old rusty blue ensign at the mizzen peak, and two other ensigns rolled up and ready to be hoisted, if either of these should be shot away. Her heavy guns were loaded alternately with two round-shot and a hundred and fifty musket-balls, and with one round and one double-headed shot in each gun. At a quarter to six the enemy hauled up within two hundred yards of the *Shannon's* weather beam, and her crew gave three cheers. Captain Broke thereupon harangued his men, telling them that that day would decide the superiority of British seamen, when properly trained, over those of all other nations; and that the *Shannon* would show how soon the boasting of the Americans would be put an end to when

* "As the *Chesapeake* appears to be now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the *Shannon* with her ship to ship; to try the fortunes of our respective flags. All interruption shall be provided against. I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*; we have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment, if I say, that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I was tender to my country; and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in *even combat*, that you can console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favour me with a speedy reply; we are short of provisions and water, and cannot remain long here."—JAMES, vi. 198.

they were opposed to an equal force. Loud cheers followed this gallant appeal; and the two ships being now not more than a stone-throw asunder, the order was given to the crew of the Shannon to commence firing.

39. Slowly, and with deliberate aim, the British guns were pointed and discharged successively at the American frigate as she passed, receiving, at the same time, her broadside, which was delivered at once, and with great effect. But the Shannon's guns, admirably directed, soon injured the Chesapeake's rigging, as well as made dreadful havoc among her men; and after two or three broadsides had in this manner been exchanged, the Chesapeake, attempting to haul her foresail up, fell on board the Shannon, whose starboard bower-anchorlocked with her mizzen channels. In this situation the great guns ceased firing, except the Shannon's two aftermost guns, thirty-two pounder carronades, loaded with grape and round-shot, which soon beat in the sternports of the Chesapeake, and, sweeping the deck, drove the men from their quarters. For a few minutes a sharp fire of musketry was kept up by the marines on both sides; but ere long Captain Broke, observing that the Americans were not standing to their guns, ordered the two ships to be lashed together, and the boarders to be called up from below. Mr Stevens, the Shannon's boatswain, a veteran who had fought in Rodney's action, immediately set about making the ships fast, outside the Shannon's bulwark; and while so employed, he had his left arm, which held on to the enemy's rigging, hacked off by repeated sabre-cuts from their marines, and his body mortally wounded with musketry from the tops; but, in spite of all, he had fastened the ships together, with the right arm, ere his hold relaxed in death—a deed of heroism worthy of ancient Rome.*

40. Meanwhile, however, the brave Captain Lawrence and several other

officers in the Chesapeake were wounded, and Captain Broke, at the head of the boarders, leapt upon the Chesapeake's quarterdeck, on which scarcely an American was to be seen. The men quickly following, the seamen on the gangways, twenty-five in number, were, after a desperate struggle, overpowered or driven below, and the second party of boarders having now come forward amidst loud cheers, the hatchways were closed down, and a sharp fire opened upon the marines in the tops, who kept up a destructive discharge of musketry. The sailors from the Shannon's fore-yard, headed by Mr Smith, at the same time forced their way up to the Chesapeake's main-yard, and thence to her tops, which in a few minutes were cleared. Captain Broke at this moment was furiously assailed by three American sailors, who had previously submitted; he succeeded in parrying a thrust at his breast, but was immediately after knocked down by the butt-end of a musket. As he rose, he had the satisfaction of seeing, in his own words, "the American flag hauled down, and the proud old British Union floating triumphantly over it." So rapid was the action, that fifteen minutes only elapsed from the time the first gun was fired, till the Chesapeake was entirely in the hands of the British. Unhappily Lieutenant Watt, who hauled down the enemy's colours, not having immediately succeeded in hoisting the British above it, was killed, with two of his men, by a discharge of musketry from the Shannon's marines, in the belief that the conflict still continued. Yet, in this short period, the Chesapeake had sustained a loss of forty-seven killed and ninety-eight wounded—a dreadful proof of the admirable training in the use of their arms, both small and great, which the Shannon's people had received. The loss of the victor had also been severe: it amounted to twenty-four killed and fifty-nine wounded.

* A well-known parallel incident occurred in the history of ancient Greece. "Cynegiri, milites Atheniensis, gloria insigni scriptorum laudibus celebrati est; qui, post proeli Marathonis innumeris cedens, quum fugientes hostes ad naves agisset, onustum navem dex-

tra manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit quam manum amitteret: tam quoque amputata dextra, navem sinistra comprehendit, quam et ipsam quum amississet, ad portum illum morem navem detulit."—*Comesars Maros*. How identical is the heroic spirit in all ages!

41. Perhaps no single combat between vessels of war ever produced so great a moral impression as this did, both in the United States and the British islands. The Americans had fallen into the fault of the British, and begun to think themselves, from their extraordinary success, invincible in naval warfare; the English, unaccustomed to disasters at sea, had almost begun to fear that their long career of glory on the ocean was drawing to a close when they sustained such repeated defeats from a maritime force so diminutive as that of the United States. Proportionally great was the despondency on one side and joy on the other, when the result of this action, where an approach to an equality for the first time obtained between the combatants, and due attention had been paid in both cases to their training, explained at once to what causes the former disasters had been owing.* The effect in restoring public confidence in Great Britain in the efficiency of the navy was immense; and the feelings of every right-thinking man in the country went along with government when they made Captain Broke a baronet. The brave victor brought his prize, amidst the loud cheers of the inhabitants and sailors in the harbour, who manned every spar of their vessels, into Halifax, where Captain Lawrence soon after breathed his last, and was buried with military honours in presence of all the British officers on the station, who uncovered as their noble antagonist was lowered into the grave.

42. No long period elapsed before it appeared from other detached combats, of which alone this naval warfare admitted, that the old superiority of the British navy remained unimpaired. The British brig Boxer, of fourteen guns and sixty-six men, was indeed taken by the American brig Enterprise, of sixteen guns and one hundred and

twenty men; the former defect of inadequate manning having paralysed all the efforts of devoted valour, which proved fatal to the commanders of both vessels, who were killed during its continuance. But on the next occasion, when anything like equality of force existed, the result was in favour of the British. On the 14th August the Pelican, British brig of eighteen guns, met the American brig Argus of twenty; and as the crew of the latter was somewhat superior, and the broadside weight of metal a little in favour of the former, the combatants were very nearly matched.† The action soon became extremely warm; and before it had lasted many minutes, Captain Allen of the Argus was severely wounded, and the rigging of his vessel so much cut up that the command of it was lost. At length, after a gallant resistance, the Pelican succeeded in raking the Argus, and shortly after carried her by boarding. The Argus had six killed and eighteen wounded; the Pelican two killed and five wounded. This action was the more remarkable that it took place off St David's, in the mouth of the Irish Channel.

43. Various operations were undertaken this summer in Chesapeake Bay by the British squadron, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, but they were not attended with any remarkable success. An attack on Craney Island, which the Americans had fortified, failed from the water being found too shallow, when the boats approached the shore, to admit of the troops being landed; but some gallant boat enterprises against schooners of the enemy had previously been successful. The British were consoled for this check by the victorious issue of an attack made by Sir Sidney Beckwith, with a strong body of marines, on an American post and battery at Hampton, which was quickly stormed to

* Comparative force of the combatants.

	Shannon.	Chesapeake.
Broadside guns.	25	25
Weight in lb.	538	590
Crew (men only).	296	376

JAMES, vi. 209.

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	Pelican.	Argus.
Broadside guns.	9	10
Weight in lb.	262	238
Crew (men only).	161	123
Tons.	336	316

JAMES, vi. 325; and Cooper, ii. 308.

H

days after, and all its guns taken. Some acts of violence were committed on the inhabitants during the heat of the assault, which gave rise to much animonious feeling in the United States. Shortly after, two fine brigs, the *Anaconda* and *Atlas*, the former of ten, the latter of eighteen guns, were taken in Ocracoke harbour by the boats and marines of the squadron under Lieutenant Westphal. Captain Senhouse in the *Martin*, which had grounded in the Delaware, most gallantly beat off an attack by a cloud of American gunboats; and at length, when the tide rose, made off with one as his prize, to the great mortification of the crowd on shore, who had hastened to witness what they deemed a certain victory. The American squadron of frigates put to sea from New York, but was speedily pursued by the British fleet, of superior strength, and blockaded in New London. Upon the whole, although the operations in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays were not attended with any great results, yet they had the effect of completely destroying the trade of the most flourishing harbours in the United States; and sensibly demonstrated to the people the folly of the war in which they had engaged, in which, without the slightest hope of territorial aggrandisement, they were undergoing the realities of naval blockade, national insult, and commercial ruin.

44. The operations by land during the year 1813 were conducted on a greater scale than in the preceding campaign; and though they terminated, upon the whole, gloriously for the British arms, yet the contest was more bloody, and success more various. The absorbing interest of the contest, yet doubtful and undecided, in the Peninsula, and the urgent necessity of sending off every sabre and bayonet that could be spared to the army of Wellington, rendered it a matter of impossibility to dispatch an adequate force to the Canadian frontier, and compelled government, now reluctantly soever, to intrust the defence of those provinces mainly to the bravery and patriotism of their own inhabitants. Nor was the

confidence reposed in vain; although, as the Americans had now accumulated a considerable force on the frontier, the struggle was more violent, and victory alternated with disaster. The government at Washington had rushed into the contest wholly unprepared, alike by land and sea, to maintain it, and they had, in consequence, sustained nothing but disaster on the former element; and if, on the latter, they met with extraordinary success, it was entirely owing to the hardihood and skill of their seamen, coupled with the dispersion of the British force, and the accidental ignorance of the English government of the structure and size of the American frigates. But the national passions were now roused in the United States, and great efforts were made to prosecute the war with vigour. It has been already noticed, that four additional ships of the line and four sloops were ordered to be built, and a loan of sixteen million dollars was contracted for, at seven and a half per cent. And in order to excite the ardour of their own, and, if possible, shake the fidelity of British seamen, the war was justified, in an elaborate report presented by the committee of foreign relations to Congress, and approved of by them, entirely on the ground of the right claimed by the English government to search for and reclaim British subjects on board of American vessels. This they declared they were determined at all hazards to resist, should they stand alone in the contest; "for to appeal to arms in defence of a right, and to lay them down without securing it, would be considered in no other light than as a relinquishment of it."

45. The first operations of the campaign in Canada proved singularly unfortunate to the Americans. In the end of January, General Winchester, with a thousand men, crossed over to attack Fort Detroit in the upper province, and, before any force could be assembled to resist him, made himself master of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles from that place. General Proctor, however, who commanded the British forces in that quarter, no sooner heard of

this irruption, than he hastily assembled a body of five hundred regulars of the 41st regiment and militia, being the Glengarry Fencibles, and six hundred Indians, and commenced an attack upon the invaders two days afterwards with such vigour, that after a sharp action, in which Winchester lost three hundred men, he was obliged to capitulate, with thirty-two officers and five hundred men. Shortly after, Colonel M'Donnell, with two companies of the Glengarry Fencibles, and two of the 8th, converted a feigned attack, which he was ordered to make on Fort Ogdenburg, into a real one. The assault was made under circumstances of the utmost difficulty: deep snow impeded the assailants at every step, and the American marksmen, from behind their defences, kept up a very heavy fire; but the gallantry of the British overcame every obstacle, and the fort was carried with eleven guns, all its stores, and two armed schooners in the harbour.

46. But a far more material success soon consoled the Americans for their reverses. By indefatigable exertions during the winter, they had augmented their naval force in Sackett's Harbour so considerably, that the British squadron on Lake Ontario was no longer a match for them. Nor is this surprising; for the Americans built their ships at their own doors, with all their materials at hand; while the British, from the long export of timber to England, had not even wood in some places near the shores in abundance, and were obliged to bring all their naval stores from Great Britain. From this cause, it was computed that each gun, before it was launched on the lakes, had cost a thousand pounds. Encouraged by this circumstance, the Americans fitted out an expedition of seventeen hundred men, who sailed from Sackett's Harbour on board fourteen armed vessels, and two days afterwards effected a landing after a sharp conflict, at the old fort of Toronto, three miles from York, the capital of Upper Canada. General Sheaffe commanded the British forces in that quarter; but he could only collect seven hundred regulars and militia, and a hundred Indians.

With these, however, he made a stout resistance in the woods and thickets, in the course of which the grenadiers of the 8th regiment lost more than half their number. He was at last overpowered, and compelled to fall back to the town, which was not fortified; and at a short distance from it was a large magazine of powder, which exploded as the assailants were advancing to the attack. Two hundred of them, with General Pike their commander, were blown into the air by this catastrophe, and a few of the British; but the walls were thrown down by the shock, and the defences were no longer maintainable, while at the same time Chauncey, with his flotilla, had worked his way into the harbour. Sheaffe, therefore, wisely availed himself of the consternation produced among the Americans by the explosion, to effect his retreat in the direction of Kingston, with the whole regulars who remained unhurt, about four hundred in number. And though the enemy seized all the public stores that were left in the place, they re-embarked in such haste that they were all abandoned; and, by their own admission, the only trophies they brought away were "a stand of colours and a human scalp." The Americans, however, made three hundred of the militia prisoners, who were liberated on their parole; an equal number were killed and wounded on either side in the action; and the British sustained a severe loss in a large ship on the stocks, and extensive naval stores, which they were obliged to burn to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands.

47. The American squadron, after this success, sailed away to Sackett's Harbour for reinforcements, in order to prosecute their ulterior operations; and meanwhile Colonel Proctor, crossing Lake Erie, made a dash with nine hundred regulars and militia, and twelve hundred Indians, at General Harrison, who lay with his division near the rapids of the Miami, on the American side, in a position strengthened by blockhouses and batteries, which defied every attack made upon them. At this time two American regiments, eight

hundred strong, under General Clay, approached to aid Harrison, and at first, by a sudden attack, carried part of the British batteries. Having incautiously followed up their success too far, however, these regiments were surrounded by the British and Indians, and after a desperate struggle totally defeated, with the loss of two hundred killed and wounded, and five hundred prisoners, while the English lost only fifteen killed and forty-five wounded.

48. Meanwhile, a considerable reinforcement of sailors having reached the British side of Lake Ontario, the squadron on that lake, under their able and gallant officer Sir James Yeo, with seven hundred troops on board under Sir George Prevost, was enabled to put to sea from Kingston; and a combined attack by land and water was attempted on Sackett's Harbour, the principal naval establishment of the enemy on that inland sea. The expedition excited great interest on both sides of the water, and the most sanguine hopes were entertained by the British, that it would lead to the destruction of this growing and formidable naval establishment of the enemy. These hopes, however, were disappointed. The troops landed, indeed; and, after some sharp skirmishing, advanced over a narrow isthmus, connecting the island on which they had landed with the mainland. Though the British were only seven hundred strong, and the Americans, in the absence of their main force, about twelve hundred; yet the whole American militia took to flight on the first discharge, and sought refuge in the loopholed blockhouses, leaving the regulars, not more than four hundred strong, to sustain the combat. The militia rallied, however, in the strong blockhouses which commanded, by a cross-fire, the isthmus along which the troops were advancing, and the discharge they kept up was so tremendous, that the bravest of the British recoiled.

49. Prevost, then, with the utmost gallantry, advanced with his staff, to encourage the men; one of his officers fell dead by his side; but notwithstanding all his efforts, the strait could not

be passed.* Meanwhile, the utmost terror prevailed among the Americans in the rear: in the first moment of alarm, their officers actually set fire to their naval storehouses, arsenal, and barracks, which were speedily consumed. While the flames were yet burning, however, Colonel Tootle, with a reinforcement of six hundred militia, was approaching the American works. The British were reduced to three hundred and fifty men, by the terrible discharges of grape and musketry which issued from them: they had not a single gun to beat down the palisades, or silence the enemy's cannon; and the fleet could not approach the shore to co-operate in the attack, owing to adverse winds. In these circumstances, ultimate success was hopeless, and, in fact, the capture of the place must have been immediately followed by the surrender of the handful of British who remained for the assault. Prevost, therefore, wisely drew off his forces and returned to the British shore, where he was immediately assailed with that vehement acrimony which, in that country, never fails to attend want of success, even when, from deficiency of force, it had been from the first unattainable.†

50. The principal American force on Lake Ontario, about six thousand strong, was at this juncture engaged in an attack on Fort George, at the western extremity of the lake. Early in the morning of the 27th May, a combined attack was made, by the naval and military forces, on that stronghold;

* The Author has great pleasure in thus recording this decisive instance of personal gallantry on the part of Sir George Prevost, which he gives on the testimony of his brave and valued friends, Major-General Robert M'Dowall, celebrated for his gallant defence of Michilimackinac in the same war, who marshalled and led the troops to the last assault, and Sir Allan M'Nab, so well known for his heroic actions in Upper Canada, who were present on the occasion.

† This account of the attack on Sackett's Harbour, which varies considerably from what is contained in the former editions of this work, is much indebted to the valuable information afforded by General M'Dowall, who was personally engaged with his wonted gallantry in the assault, to whom the Author is happy to make this public acknowledgment.

the former under the command of Commodore Chauncey, the latter led by General Dearborn. General Vincent, who commanded the British in that quarter, could not muster above nine hundred soldiers; but with this handful of men he made a most gallant resistance, until at length the works, especially on the lake front, being torn in pieces by the heavy cannonade, the British commander blew up the fort, and withdrew, with the loss of three hundred and fifty men, to a strong position on Burlington heights, near the head of the lake, where he collected detachments from Chippewa, Fort Erie, and other points, and assembled about sixteen hundred troops, of which one-half were regular soldiers. After this success the Americans advanced to Queenstown, and, being strongly reinforced, established themselves in a solid manner on the Niagara frontier with nearly six thousand men.

51. This was by far the most formidable lodgment which the Americans had effected in the Canadian territory, and it excited, in consequence, equal attention and alarm through the whole British possessions. General Dearborn now confidently anticipated their entire conquest at no distant period; and to dislodge Vincent from his position, which he held with only eleven hundred men, he pushed forward a body of three thousand infantry, two hundred and fifty horse, and nine guns. No sooner was the English general apprised of their approach, than he called a council of war, and, at the suggestion of Captain M'Dowall of the 8th, Sir George Prevost's aide-de-camp,* despatched seven hundred and fifty men under Colonel Harvey, to retard their advance. This gallant officer finding, when he arrived near the enemy, that they kept a bad look-out, resolved on a nocturnal surprise. It was accordingly executed in the most brilliant style, as soon as it was dark; and with such success, that two generals and a hundred and fifty men were made prisoners and four guns captured. After this check the enemy retreated to Fort George in great confusion.

* New General Robert M'Dowall.

Having recovered from this disaster, Dearborn, a fortnight after, sent out an expedition of six hundred men to dislodge a British picket, which was posted at a place called Beavers Dams, a few miles from Queenstown. They were soon beset on their road through the woods by Captain Kerr, with a small body of Indians, and Lieutenant Fitzgibbons, at the head of forty-six of the 49th regiment, not two hundred in all. But this little force was so skilfully disposed as to make the Americans believe they were the light troops of a very superior army, which in fact was approaching, though it had not come up. They surrendered in consequence, five hundred in number, with two guns and two standards. Shortly after, a successful expedition was undertaken against the American fortified harbour of Black Rock on Lake Ontario, which was burned, with all its naval stores and vessels, by a British detachment under Colonel Bishop, who unfortunately fell in the moment of victory; while the British flotilla on Lake Champlain captured two armed schooners, of eleven guns each—a success of no small importance, in a warfare where so much depended on the command of those inland waters.

52. These repeated disasters so disconcerted the Americans, that, though their force at Fort George was still more than double that of the British who advanced against it, yet they kept cautiously within their lines, and submitted to be insulted by the English troops, who not only cooped them up within their walls, but actually advanced to within a few hundred yards of their guns. Prevost, however, wisely judged that it would be the height of imprudence to assault the Americans, driven to desperation, with half their number, in works bristling with cannon, and supported by the fire of Fort Niagara, on the other side of the river. As, therefore, no provocation could induce them to quit their lines, he left a force to maintain the blockade, and returned to Kingston. Meanwhile the war was vigorously prosecuted on Lake Erie by General Proctor, who invested the fort of Lower Sandusky on the

Sandusky River, with five hundred regulars and militia, and above three thousand Indians. The works having been battered, Proctor led his troops to the assault. They crossed the glacia with great gallantry, though entirely deserted by their Indian allies, whom no consideration could induce to face the great guns, and were actually in the ditch, when the head of the column was smitten by such a fire of grape and musketry, that they were driven back, and obliged to re-embark with the loss of a hundred killed and wounded; and soon after the siege was raised.

53. These mutual injuries, though upon the whole highly favourable to the British arms, yet in truth decided nothing: it was on the lakes that the real blows were to be struck, and a decisive superiority acquired by the one party over the other. Events in the outset of this inland naval warfare were highly favourable to the British arms. Strengthened by the two armed schooners, which had been taken on Lake Champlain, and which had been named the *Broke* and the *Shannon*, the English flotilla, with nine hundred men on board, stretched across the lake, took Plattsburg, which was evacuated by twelve hundred Americans without firing a shot, burned part of the naval stores, brought away the rest, and also destroyed the naval establishments at Burlington and Champlain. By these successes, a decisive superiority was acquired on Lake Champlain for the remainder of the campaign. Sir James Yeo also gained considerable successes on Lake Ontario, particularly on the 10th August, when he captured two schooners, and destroyed two others. But no decisive engagement took place on that inland sea, as neither party was sufficiently confident in his strength to risk the fate of the campaign by a general battle on its surface.

54. But while the campaign, both by land and water, was thus prosperous in the upper provinces, a dreadful disaster occurred on Lake Erie, which more than compensated all these advantages, and immediately exposed the British provinces in North America to imminent danger. This was the more

alarming, that the force at the command of Sir George Prevost was so small as to be wholly inadequate to the defence of a frontier everywhere vulnerable, and above twelve hundred miles in length. Both parties had made the greatest efforts to augment their naval force on Lake Erie; but, owing to the superior facilities of the Americans for ship-building at their own doors, while the whole British naval stores had to come from England, the weight, as well as the number of their vessels became soon superior to that of the British, while the total stoppage of their commerce gave them ample means for manning them with numerous crews of picked seamen. Captain Barclay, an officer inferior to none in the service of Great Britain for skill and gallantry, was appointed in May to the command of the squadron on the lake, and immediately entered on his unenviable duty, when the whole force was not equal to a British twenty-gun brig. The *Detroit*, however, was soon after launched, and fifty English seamen having been received and distributed through his ships, Barclay set out, early in September, with his little fleet, consisting of two ships, two schooners, a brig, and a sloop, carrying in all sixty-three guns. But there was not one British sailor to each gun; the rest of his crews being made up of two hundred and forty soldiers and eighty Canadians. On the other hand, the American squadron, of two more vessels and an equal number of guns, bore nearly double the weight of metal and number of hands; and possessed a still higher superiority, in their crews being all experienced seamen, to meet the wretched mixture of five landmen to one sailor, who manned the British fleet.*

55. Barclay, in the first instance, with this feeble force, blockaded the American flotilla in the harbour of

* Force of American and British squadrons.

	American	British
Ships, brigs, and schooners	8	8
Broadside guns	34	31
Weight of metal in lb.	250	225
Crews	545	580
Tons	1250	942

—JAMES, vi. 342, 343.

Presqu' Isle, now Erie; which he could do with safety, notwithstanding his inferiority, as the Americans could not get their squadron over the bar in its front, except with the guns out, which of course prevented their attempting it in the face of an armed force. At length, however, their commodore, Captain Parry, adroitly seized the moment when Barclay was absent, and got outside the bar. The British commander upon this returned to Amherstburg, where he was soon blockaded by the American squadron; the former being busily engaged, meantime, in exercising the soldiers at the guns, and accustoming the Canadians to handle the ropes. Soon, however, provisions on that desolate shore fell short; and Barclay, deeming his crews a little more efficient, put to sea. An action ensued between the opposite squadrons, which for valour and resolution displayed on both sides never was surpassed. In the first instance, the *Lawrence*, which bore Commodore Parry's flag, was cut to pieces by the British guns: she became unmanageable. Parry shifted his flag on board the *Niagara*, and soon after the colour of the *Lawrence* were hauled down amidst loud cheers from the British squadron. After this, the firing ceased on both sides for a few minutes, and a breeze at the same time having sprung up behind the Americans, Parry skilfully gained the weatherage, while the British vessels, in endeavouring to wear round to present a fresh broadside to their antagonists, fell, from the inexperience of the crews, into confusion, and for the most part got jammed together, with their bows facing the enemy's broadsides. No defective, too, was Barclay's equipment, that he had only one boat on board of his own vessel, the *Detroit*, and it was pierced with shot; he could not, in consequence, take possession of his prize; the *Lawrence* drifted out of fire, and her crew immediately rehoisted their colours. At the same time Parry took advantage of the weatherage which he had gained, to take a position with his remaining vessels which raked the principal British ships; while they, from the unskil-

fulness of their men, were unable to handle their ropes so as to extricate themselves from the danger. The result was, that after a furious engagement of three hours, the whole British vessels were taken; but not until they had become wholly unmanageable, nearly all the superior officers, including Barclay, being killed or desperately wounded, and they had lost forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded, or above a third of the whole men on board the flotilla.

56. The effects of this defeat were soon felt in the military operations. The Americans being now entirely masters of Lake Erie, had it in their power at once to intercept the whole coasting trade, by which Proctor's troops and Indians were supplied with provisions, and to land any force they chose in his rear, and entirely cut him off from Kingston and York. He was constrained, therefore, immediately to commence a retreat, abandoning and destroying all his fortified posts beyond the Grand River. Amherstburg and Detroit, accordingly, were immediately dismantled; and with the Indians under Tecumseh, who preserved an honourable fidelity in misfortune, the British commenced a retreat towards the river Thames. In this retrograde movement, however, they were immediately followed by Harrison, who was attended by Parry's squadron on the lake, while the British, almost starving, toiled through wretched roads and interminable forests. On the 4th October, Harrison came up with the British rear, and succeeded in capturing nearly all their stores. Unable to retreat further in anything like military array, Proctor had now no alternative but to endeavour to check the enemy by a general battle; and for this purpose he took up a position at the Moravian village on the Thames. Here he was attacked next day by the Americans, with greatly superior forces. The Indians, though little inured to regular warfare, continued the contest with heroic courage, even after it had been given over by the whites; and only abandoned it when the day was irretrievably lost—their gallant chief,

Tecumseh, and many of their bravest warriors, having fallen. The first line of the British was overthrown by a sudden charge of the Kentucky horse; and after a short combat they were totally defeated, with the loss of six hundred men—almost all made prisoners. The remainder dispersed in the woods, and, after undergoing incredible hardships, reassembled at Ancaster at the head of Lake Ontario, to the number of only two hundred and forty.

57. On the same day on which this defeat was sustained upon the shores of Lake Erie, six schooners, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers, proceeding from York to Kingston without convoy, were captured on Lake Ontario. These repeated losses, coupled with the alarming intelligence received at the same time of great preparations for a general invasion of Lower Canada, made Sir George Prevost wisely determine it to be impossible to continue any longer the investment of Fort George; and the siege was accordingly raised a few days after. Though the British force at this point was so much weakened by sickness that not a thousand firelocks, out of three thousand, could be brought into action, yet the retreat was conducted with perfect order; and the troops were concentrated in a strong position on Burlington heights, where they were soon after joined by the fugitives from Proctor's detachment, and succeeded in mustering fifteen hundred bayonets. They showed so strong a front that the Americans did not venture to attack them, and this stemmed the torrent of disaster in that quarter. But by driving the British from the territory to the westward of the river Thames, the Americans had in a great degree cut them off from their Indian allies, with whom they now could maintain no communication but by the distant and now isolated fort of Michilmackinac, on Lake Huron; an advantage of no small moment for the future progress of the war.

58. The Americans were so elated with these successes, that they openly announced their intention of forthwith

conquering Lower Canada, and taking up their winter quarters at Montreal. Nor were their preparations and forces, if the numerical amount of their troops is alone considered, at all inadequate to such an undertaking. Their generals, abandoning for the time their operations in Upper Canada, transported all their forces by Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, so as to take part in the grand combined attack on the lower province. With this view they concentrated the great bulk of their army at Sackett's Harbour; and their troops were much more formidable than on any former occasion, for they amounted in all to eighteen thousand regular soldiers and ten thousand militia, organised into three divisions. That on Lake Erie amounted to eight thousand under Harrison; Wilkinson had ten thousand at Sackett's Harbour, and Hampton four thousand, and two thousand militia, on the Chateaugay river, near Lake Champlain. Threatened by so many enemies, Sir George Prevost issued an animated proclamation to the Canadians, and put the militia of the lower province on permanent duty. It will immediately appear how nobly they answered the appeal.

59. Hampton, with the right wing of the army of invasion, was the first to take the field. Early on the 21st October he crossed the frontier, at the junction of the Chateaugay and Ontario rivers; but though he had four thousand effective infantry, two thousand militia, and ten guns, he was so vigorously and gallantly resisted by the valiant and frontier light infantry of the Canadians, not six hundred in number, under Colonel de Salavary, who fought with the steadiness of veteran soldiers in their woods, that after three days desultory fighting, he was driven with disgrace back into the American territory, pursued and harassed by the Canadian militia. His troops were so discouraged by these reverses, that they became incapable of taking any further part in the campaign. Meanwhile Wilkinson, with the centre of the invading force, about ten thousand strong, left Sackett's Harbour, and, crossing Lake Ontario, mustered

his troops in the end of October in Grenadier Island, opposite Kingston, where General de Rottenburg lay awaiting his attack. Having delayed till the principal forces of the upper province were concentrated around that great depot, the American general skilfully shifted his line of attack, and embarking his troops on board three hundred boats, escorted by Chauncey, reached the lower end of the lake, and dropping down the St Lawrence, landed on the 3d November near point Inouquois. No sooner was the British general apprised of this circumstance than he detached Colonel Morrison, with eight hundred regulars and militia, to follow the motions of the fleet, and oppose them wherever they attempted a landing. Morrison came up with the enemy near Chrysler's Point, twenty miles above Cornwall, in number about three thousand, who had landed from their boats, and a violent encounter ensued. The Americans were unable, however, to bear the attack of the British bayonet: they broke and fled in disorder before the detachments of the 48th, 49th, and 89th, supported by the militia, and lost one gun, and two hundred and fifty killed and wounded. Disconcerted by this defeat, Wilkinson re-embarked his troops; and having received at the same time accounts of Hampton's failure, he deemed this attack on Lower Canada hopeless, landed the men on the American shore, and put them into winter-quarters.

60. A most gallant, and in its consequences very important, military event took place next year in the defence of the Fort Michilmackinac by a small British detachment under the command of Colonel Robert McDowall. This officer had been left in command of this important fort, situated on Lake Huron, which commands, as already mentioned, the communication between the British provinces and the Indians to the west of the Lake Michigan. To insure its reduction, three different expeditions were set on foot by the Americans at the same time, in spring 1814, one from Fort Louis on the Mississippi, one from Detroit, and one from Chicago. McDowall had un-

der his command only two hundred and thirty-two men, of whom sixty were Canadian militia, and a hundred Indians. Out of this diminutive force he fitted out a small body, about a hundred strong, under the command of Major Mackay of the Canadian militia, who succeeded, by extraordinary gallantry, in wresting from the enemy about five hundred miles of territory to the westward, and advancing the British standards to the Mississippi, where they captured, and maintained themselves in, a fort erected by the Americans. But, during their absence, the American cruising squadron, consisting of two ships of twenty-six guns each, and several large schooners and small boats, hove in sight, under Commodore Sinclair, having upwards of nine hundred land troops on board. To oppose this force McDowall had now only one hundred and fifty men: but such was the ability of the dispositions which he made, that the enemy were worsted in several encounters, and driven back to their ships. And although reduced to great extremities by a long-continued blockade from the hostile squadron, he held out until Lieutenant Worsley succeeded, at the head of four of the garrison boats, in boarding and capturing, during the night, the two schooners which maintained the blockade; and the British having thus got the command of the lake, the Americans were obliged to raise the siege and abandon their enterprise.

61. This glorious defeat of an invasion so confidently announced and strongly supported, diffused the most heartfelt joy in Lower Canada, and terminated the campaign there in the most triumphant manner; and it was immediately followed by successes equally decisive in the upper province. All causes of apprehension for Montreal and the lower province being now removed, a strong body of troops was despatched under Colonel Murray from Kingston to repel the invasion of Upper Canada, and, if possible, clear that province of the enemy. They set out from Kingston, accordingly, and advanced towards Fort George, with a

view to resume the investment, even amidst all the severities of a Canadian winter. The American general, however, did not await their approach, but precipitately evacuated that fort, and retreated across the Niagara, but not without having, by express orders, reduced the flourishing village of Newark to ashes.* Such was the indignation excited in the breasts, equally of the British soldiers and the Canadian militia, by this inhuman act, which at once reduced above four hundred human beings to total destitution, amidst the horrors of a Canadian winter, that Colonel Murray resolved to take advantage of it to carry Fort Niagara, on the frontier of the United States. A detachment of five hundred men, accordingly, under the command of Murray, crossed the river Niagara in boats, and succeeded in surprising the fort with the loss of only five killed and three wounded. The garrison, nearly four hundred strong, with three thousand stand of arms and vast military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. Immediately after this success, the troops attacked a body of Americans, who had erected a battery opposite Queenstown, from which they were discharging red-hot shot at that town, defeated them, and carried the fort.

62. Still following up these successes, General Drummond, with eight hundred men, crossed the Niagara to Black Rock, which was stormed, and the fugitives pursued to Buffalo, a few miles distant, where they rallied on a body of two thousand men who had assembled, under Hull, to defend that rising town. Such, however, was the

* The post of Fort George, not being tenable against the enemy, must be abandoned, the garrison removed to Fort Niagara, and the exposed part of the frontier protected, by destroying such of the Canadian villages in its front as would best shelter the enemy during winter. Such were the orders of government. This new and degrading system of defence, which, by substituting the torch for the bayonet, furnished the enemy with both motive and justification for a war of retaliation, was carried into full execution on the 16th December. Newark was reduced to ashes, and orders were given to fire hot shot on Queenstown. — *Annals*, (the American Secretary at War's, &c.)

vigour of the British attack, that the Americans were speedily routed with the loss of four hundred, while the victors were not weakened by more than a fourth of the number. Buffalo was immediately taken and burned: all the naval establishments there and at Black Rock were destroyed; while the Indians, let loose on the surrounding country, took ample vengeance for the conflagration of Newark, which had commenced this savage species of warfare. Though it had the desired effect, however, by making the Americans feel the consequences of their actions, of putting a stop to this barbarous system of hostilities, yet it was so much at variance with the British method of carrying on war, and so shocking to the feelings both of the officers and men engaged in it, that Sir George Prevost shortly after issued a noble proclamation, lamenting the stern necessity under which he had acted in permitting these reprisals, and earnestly deprecating any further continuance of so inhuman a species of warfare.

63. This terminated the campaign of 1813 in Canada; and though not unchecked by disaster, yet was it upon the whole eminently glorious, both to the arms of Britain and to the inhabitants of her noble American colonies. The superiority of the enemy, both in troops and all the muniments of war, was very great: twenty thousand regular soldiers, besides as many militia, were at their disposal; the vessels built on the lakes were at their own door, armed from their own arsenals, and manned by the picked men of their commercial marine, now thrown almost utterly idle. On the other hand, the whole British force did not exceed three thousand regular soldiers,† who were charged with the defence of a frontier nearly a thousand miles in length; and although they were supported by thirty thousand gallant militia, yet these troops could not be moved far from home, or kept embodied for any

† Throughout the campaign, Prevost's regular force, consisting a number of nine hundred taken from the Siege to Fort St Joseph, did not exceed three thousand men. — *Annals*, (the American Secretary at War's, &c.)

considerable length of time; and they could not be relied on, except in small bodies, for offensive operations. The British naval force on the lakes required to bring every gun, and great part of its naval stores, from Great Britain, a distance of three thousand five hundred miles; and the government could with difficulty spare, from the wants of a navy which was spread over the globe, even a handful of sailors for this remote inland service. And by a strange infatuation, the result evidently of ignorance or undue estimate of their enemies on the part of the British government, scarcely any effort was made to enrol, among the numerous and skilful seamen of the coast of North America, such a force as would with ease and certainty have secured for them the command of the lakes.

64. To have repelled all the efforts of the Americans in such circumstances, and with such forces, is of itself distinction; but it becomes doubly glorious when it is recollected, that this distant warfare took place during the crisis of the contest in Europe, toward the close of a twenty years' war, when every sabre and bayonet which could be spared was required for the devouring Peninsular campaigns, and when eleven millions sterling were sent in subsidies, in that one year, from Great Britain to the German and other Continental powers. The wisdom of the measures adopted by Sir George Prevost, the vigour with which attack at all points was repelled, and the imposing valour with which a cautious defensive was converted, at its close, into a vigorous offensive warfare, can never be sufficiently praised, and justly place this campaign on a level with any in the long annals of British glory. If these considerations be duly weighed, it must appear evident, especially when the vast subsequent increase in the British population of Upper Canada is taken into consideration, that if the affections of our North American possessions are secured by a just system of colonial administration, and a continuance of the protective policy to which their greatness has been owing, Great Britain has

now no reason to apprehend danger from the utmost efforts of the United States.

65. The naval operations of the year 1814 commenced with a successful attack on the American frigate *Essex* by the British frigate *Phoebe*; supported by the *Cherub* brig. The *Essex*, under Captain Porter, had set out, in the autumn preceding, on a cruise to the South Seas; and after having made some valuable captures, was at length overtaken with two of her prizes, one of which she had armed with twenty guns, and manned with ninety-five men, in the roads of Valparaiso on the 9th February. After a close blockade of three weeks, during which various attempts to escape were made, the British commander, Captain Hillyar, succeeded in bringing the *Essex* to action in the roads of Valparaiso before she could get back to the harbour, and without the aid of her lesser consort. This unequal combat, however, was maintained for forty minutes, by Captain Porter, with the utmost gallantry. The crews on both sides were strongly excited, the Americans having the motto flying, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights;" the British, "God and our Country—Traitors offend both." Early in the action the *Phoebe* received a shot in her rigging, which for a short time deprived her crew of the management of the vessel, so that she dropped almost out of shot; but the mischief being shortly repaired, the action was renewed; and as the *Cherub* raked the *Essex* while the *Phoebe* exchanged broadsides with her, both firing with great precision, the carnage on board the American vessel was soon frightful. Twice she took fire; and at length Captain Porter, having exhausted every means of defence, and sustained a loss of sixty-nine men, of whom twenty-four were killed, was compelled to lower his colours. The loss on the side of the British was very trifling, being five killed and two wounded—a fact which sufficiently proves the inequality of the combat, though it had been managed with the greatest skill by the British commander. Nearly a hundred British sailors were on board the American ves-

sel when the engagement commenced, who jumped overboard when it appeared likely she would be taken; forty of these reached the shore, thirty-one were drowned, and sixteen were picked up when at the point of perishing.

66. Early in February the American sloop *Frolic*, pierced nominally for eighteen guns, but really carrying twenty-two, was captured, after two shots only had been fired, by the British frigate *Orpheus* of thirty-six guns. The British sloop *Epervier* of eighteen guns, however, was soon after taken by the American sloop *Peacock* of twenty-two; and on the 28th June, a most desperate combat took place between the British sloop *Reindeer*, of eighteen guns, and the American sloop *Wasp*. The preponderance of force was here in a most extraordinary degree in favour of the Americans; * but notwithstanding this advantage, Captain Manners of the *Reindeer*, one of the bravest officers who ever trode a quarter-deck, the moment he got sight of the American vessel, gave chase; and as soon as it was evident to the American captain that he was pursued by the *Reindeer* alone, he hove to, and the action commenced. Never were vessels more gallantly commanded and fought on both sides. The engagement lasted, yard-arm to yard-arm, for half an hour, at the end of which time the *Reindeer* was so disabled that she fell with her bow against the larboard quarter of the *Wasp*. The latter instantly raked her with dreadful effect; and the American riflemen, from the tops, picked off almost all the officers and men on the British deck. But Captain Manners then showed himself indeed a hero. Early in the action the calves of his legs had been shot away, but he still kept the deck: at this time a grape-shot passed through both his thighs; but, though brought for a moment to his knees, he instantly sprang up, and, though bleeding profusely, not only refused to quit the deck, but ex-

claiming, "Follow me, my boys; we must board!" sprang into the rigging of the *Reindeer*, intending to leap into that of the *Wasp*. At this moment, two balls from the American tops pierced his skull, and came out below his chin. With dying hand he waved his sword above his head, and exclaiming, "O God!" fell lifeless on the deck. The Americans immediately after carried the British vessel by boarding, where hardly an unwounded man remained; and so shattered was she in her hull, that she was immediately after burned by the victors. Never will the British empire be endangered while the spirit of Captain Manners survives in its defenders.*

67. An action more prosperous, but not more glorious for the British arms than that between the *Reindeer* and *Wasp*, took place next spring, which terminated in the capture of the noble American frigate *President*, one of the largest vessels of that class in the world, by the *Endymion*, Captain Hope, slightly aided by the *Pomona*. On the 14th January 1815, the *President* and Macedonian brig set sail from New York on a cruise, and were shortly after chased by the British blockading squadron, consisting of the *Majestic*, fifty-six guns, the *Endymion*, forty, and *Pomona*, thirty-eight. Being evidently no match for so great a superiority of force, Commodore Detatur, who commanded the American vessels, endeavoured to get back; but he was intercepted, and chased for fifty miles along the coast of Long Island, in the course of which the *Tenedos*, British frigate, also joined in the pursuit. Towards evening the *Endymion* gained rapidly on the American frigate, and opened a fire with her bow-chasers, which was vigorously returned by the

* The *Wasp* itself, with its gallant captain (Blakely) and crew, were in the same year lost during a cruise, and no trace of them was ever obtained. They had previously compelled the *Avon*, of 18 guns, to surrender, but not till the latter vessel was so cut to pieces that she sank immediately after. The Americans must allow the British captain to share with them the honour of the brave and skilful Captain Blakely, for he was born in Dublin.—*Cookes*, ii. 322, and *Jones*, vi. 297, 298.

		<i>Wasp</i> .
* Broadside guns,		41.
Weight of metal—lb.,	150	325
Crew—men only,	93.	173
Tonnage,		
<i>JAMES</i> , vi. 298		

President from her stern guns. Meanwhile the *Majestic* and *Pomona* fell behind out of gunshot. At length the *Endymion* gained so much on the American as to permit her first broadside guns to begin to bear, and a close running fight ensued; the two vessels sailing under easy way, within half-musket-shot distance. Commodore Decatur suffered so severely, especially in his rigging, under their fire, that he took the gallant resolution of laying himself alongside the *Endymion*, with the view of carrying her by boarding, and going off with his prize, leaving his own crippled vessel to the enemy, before the other British ships could get up.

68. But the *Endymion* skilfully avoided this risk, which, with the enemy's great superiority of men,* might have been serious, by keeping at a short distance, and preserving the advantage she had gained by a fire at half-gunshot range. Thus the fight continued for two hours longer, both vessels being most gallantly fought and skilfully handled. At the end of that time the *Endymion's* sails were so much cut away by the American bar-shot, that she fell astern; and the *Pomona* coming up, gave the President two broadsides with little or no effect, owing to the darkness of the night. But this circumstance saved the American's honour, as two vessels had now opened their fire upon him; and he accordingly hauled down his colours, and was taken possession of by the boats of the *Pomona*. In this long and close cannonade, the President lost thirty-five men killed and seventy-six wounded; the *Endymion* ten killed and twelve wounded; but her upper rigging, at which the enemy chiefly aimed, was very much cut away. This action was one of the most honourable ever fought by the British navy, and in none was more skilful seamanship displayed; for

	<i>Endymion.</i>	<i>President.</i>
* Broadside guns.	24	28
Weight of metal in lb.	884	832
Crew—men only.	319	465
Tons.	1277	1583

—JAMES, vi. 307.

In justice to the Americans, however, it must be observed, that as they were chased by other vessels, besides the *Endymion*,

although at the close of the action the *Pomona* came up, yet during its continuance the superiority was strongly on the side of the President. When she struck, there were no less than one hundred and eighty British seamen found in her crew, the greater part of whom had fought under English colours in the *Macedonian*, and been since enticed, in moments of intoxication, into the service of their enemies.

69. This was the last action between frigates that occurred during the war; but several lesser combats ensued, honourable alike to the sailors and officers of both nations. Let it not be said those combats were trivial occurrences; nothing is trivial which touches the national honour. Napoleon felt this at the battle of Maida, albeit not more momentous to his colossal power than the capture of a sloop to Great Britain. The superiority of her navy is an affair of life or death to England: when her people cease to think so, the last hour of her national existence has struck. On the 23d March, long after peace had been signed, the *Hornet* met the *Penguin*, and a furious conflict ensued, both commanders being ignorant of the termination of hostilities. Both vessels were of equal size and weight of metal, but the American had the advantage in the number and composition of her crew;† and after a desperate conflict, in the course of which the brave Captain Dickinson of the *Penguin* was slain in the very act of attempting to board, the British vessel surrendered, having lost a third of her crew killed and wounded. The *Hornet* was shortly after chased by the *Cornwallis*, of seventy-four guns, and only escaped into New York by throwing all her guns overboard. Lastly, the American brig *Peacock*, of twenty-four guns, fell in with the British East India Company's cruiser, the *Nautilus*, of fourteen guns, which was of course though they had not yet come up, they could not venture to range up alongside, when their great superiority in guns and metal might have been most effectually brought into play.

	<i>Hornet.</i>	<i>Penguin.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Boys.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
† <i>Hornet.</i>	163	3	163	165	
<i>Penguin.</i>	105	17	122		

—JAMES, vi. 335, 336.

captured after a few broadsides, although the British commander assured the American that peace had been signed. Thus terminated at sea this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a century and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element; and in recounting which, the British historian, at a loss whether to admire most the devoted heroism of his own countrymen or the gallant bearing of their foes, feels almost equally warmed in narrating either side of the strife; and is inclined, like the English sailors who were prisoners in the hold of the French vessel that combated in the bay of Algiers (*ante*, Chap. XXXIV. § 56), to cheer with every broadside which came in, for it was delivered, in descent at least, from English hands.

70. At the beginning of 1814, the long continuance of the war, the total destruction of the American trade, and blockade of their harbours, and the evident hopelessness of the contest at land, after the pacification of the European continent had enabled Great Britain to send its victorious troops to the fields of Transatlantic warfare, increased to a very great degree the discontent of that large party in the United States who had throughout opposed the contest. Indeed, it rose to such a pitch, as, in two of the northern states, had influence sufficient to prevent their sending their contingents of armed men to carry it on. The blockade of their harbours, and stoppage of their trade, had almost entirely ruined the American customs, the only source of revenue, except the sale of waste lands, which their government had hitherto had to rely on; and from sheer necessity Congress was driven to lay on a great variety of new taxes on excisable articles, to supply the alarming deficiency of the public revenue. These taxes were laid on wine licenses, licenses to distil spirituous liquors, on sales by auction of merchandise, ships and vessels, on sugars refined in the United States, bank notes, and stamps for bills of exchange, and on imported salt. They were to continue during the

whole period of the war, and for a year after its termination. A further loan of seven million five hundred thousand dollars was negotiated in August 1813, for the service of that year and the first quarter of the next. Thus the Americans, under the pressure of warlike necessity, were fast gliding into the long-established system of taxation in the European states, and losing the peculiar advantage they had hitherto enjoyed, of being placed beyond the hostility of the Old World, and consequently relieved from its burdens.

71. It may readily be imagined that these direct or excise taxes, to which they had hitherto been wholly unaccustomed, did not increase the popularity of the war in the United States; the more especially after the evident approach of a termination to the European struggle left the contest equally without an object as without hope. To such a height did these discontents rise, even among the democratic party, who had hitherto been the most violent supporters of the war, that government was obliged to do something indicating a disposition to recede from the inveterate system of hostility which they had hitherto pursued. In the end of March, a message from the President to Congress recommended the repeal of the Non-importation Act; and, in pursuance of the recommendation, a bill soon after passed both houses, by a large majority, repealing both the Embargo and Non-importation Acts. This decisive approach to pacific measures awakened sanguine hopes throughout the Union of reviving trade and a speedy termination of hostilities; but they were soon undeceived by a proclamation by the British government, which declared the ports north of New York, as well as those to the southward, in a state of blockade. In answer to this, the American government issued a counter proclamation, in which, after setting forth that a blockade of a coast two thousand miles in length was an unwarrantable stretch, and could not be enforced, ordered all vessels, whether national or privateers, bearing the flag of the United States, to pay no regard to such blockade, and not to

molest any vessels belonging to neutral powers bound for any harbour in the United States.

72. But the discontents of the Northern States had now risen to such a height as seriously threatened the dissolution of the Union. The two states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire continued to refuse to send their contingents to the army; and the governor of the former state thus addressed the State Legislature in the beginning of the year:—"If our conduct to both belligerents had been really impartial, all the calamities of war might have been avoided. We had assumed the character of a neutral nation; but had we not violated the duties imposed by that character! Had not every subject of complaint against one belligerent been amply displayed, and those against the other palliated or concealed! When France and England were engaged in an arduous struggle, and we interfered and assaulted one of them, will any man doubt our intention to assist the other!" At a subsequent period of the same year, the state of Massachusetts took still more decisive measures. Openly asserting their inherent right to frame a new constitution, they resolved to "appoint delegates to confer with delegates from New England on the subject of their grievances and common concerns, and to take measures, if they think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States to revise the constitution." These propositions were the more alarming, that the general discontent was much increased by the vast augmentation of the taxes, which were progressively swelled to the end of the year, and had already arisen to the most alarming amount. The indirect taxes were advanced fifty per cent; the tax on auctions was doubled, and many new imposts were added, expected to produce eleven or twelve millions of dollars, or about two million five hundred thousand pounds. And with all these aids, so low had the credit and resources of the treasury fallen, that the government could not negotiate a loan, and were driven to the necessity of issuing treasury notes

to a large amount, which were to bear interest like English Exchequer bills, and supply the want of a circulating medium in the States.

73. The greatest exertions were made during the winter in Canada, to augment the efficient military force of the provinces, and prepare in the most vigorous manner for the ensuing campaign. The Houses of Assembly warmly seconded the efforts of the British; thanks were unanimously voted to Colonel de Salavary and the other officers who had distinguished themselves during the preceding campaign; the embodied or regular militia was augmented to four thousand men, besides the voltigeur and frontier corps, which numbered as many more; and considerable sums were voted by the chief towns to expedite the transmission of the troops. In March, a solemn embassy from the Indians waited on the governor at Quebec, to supplicate the powerful protection of Great Britain, in shielding them from the continual encroachments of the American states. "The Americans," said they, "are taking lands from us every day; they have no hearts, father; they have no pity for us, they want to drive us beyond the setting sun; but we hope, although we are few, and are here as it were upon a little island, our great and mighty father, who lives beyond the great lake, will not forsake us in our distress, but will continue to remember his faithful red children." They received the strongest assurance of protection and support, and were sent back to their wilds loaded with presents, determined to avenge their beloved chief Tecumseh, and prosecute the war with redoubled vigour.

74. No material movement occurred on either side on the Canadian frontier till the end of March, when the American general Wilkinson, on the extreme right on Lake Champlain, collecting a large force from Plattsburg and Burlington, attacked the Canadian outposts at La Cole Mill; but he was repulsed with considerable loss, with very little injury to the British detachments. A more serious attempt was made, in Upper Canada, by Sir James Yeo and

General Drummond, on Fort Oswego, situated on Lake Ontario. This fort was an important station, as it served as a resting-place and depot in the transit of military stores from Sackett's Harbour, the grand arsenal on the lake, to its upper extremity in the neighbourhood of Niagara, where it was known the principal effort was to be made in the ensuing campaign. Three hundred seamen and marines were landed from the flotilla, who carried the place in gallant style, destroyed the barracks, carried off the stores, and brought away the guns. At this time the British had a superiority on Lake Ontario, though the Americans were assiduously labouring to augment their force; and accordingly Sackett's Harbour was closely blockaded, and an attempt was made by Captain Popham, who commanded the blockading squadron, to destroy the enemy's flotilla in Sandy Creek, which was conveying a considerable quantity of naval and military stores. This onset, however, which was gallantly made with two hundred seamen and marines, was repulsed with the loss of seventy men, in consequence of the assailants being suddenly attacked by forces three times more numerous, consisting of riflemen, militia, and Indians. The English prisoners were with difficulty rescued from the bloody tomahawks of the latter by their more humane American enemies.

75. The American forces destined for the invasion of Upper Canada were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Buffalo, Black Rock, and other places on the Niagara frontier. Early in June, two strong brigades crossed over, under General Ripley, containing about five thousand men, and not only effected a landing without opposition, but succeeded in making themselves masters of Fort Erie, with its garrison of a hundred and seventy men, without firing a shot. Having thus gained one stronghold on the British side, Ripley advanced confidently to the neighbourhood of Chippewa, and was making preparations to carry that place, when General Riall, who had collected about fifteen hundred regular troops and a thousand militia and Indians, adopted

the bold resolution, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority of force, of hazarding an immediate attack. The action commenced at five o'clock in the afternoon, by the militia and Indians assailing the light infantry of the enemy. But the Kentucky Rifles fought stoutly: their marksmen among the trees dealt out death with no sparing hand; and it was only by the light companies of the Royal Scots and 100th that they were finally driven in. The main body, consisting of these regiments, the King's, and the militia, now advanced to the attack, in column, the Americans receiving them in line, thus reversing the usual order of the British and French in the Peninsular campaigns. The result was the same as what had there so-often occurred; the head of the British column was crushed by the discharges of the American line, which stood bravely, and fired with great precision; and though the British succeeded in deploying with much steadiness, yet General Riall was at last obliged to retreat, with the loss of one hundred and fifty-one killed, and three hundred and twenty wounded. The American loss was two hundred and fifty-one. After this repulse, the British retired to their intrenched camp; but the Americans, now commanded by General Brown, having discovered a cross-road, which enabled them to threaten his communications, Riall fell back to Twenty-Mile Creek, abandoning Queenstown, which was occupied by the enemy.

76. This well-fought action was the most considerable which had yet occurred during the war; and as it terminated unfavourably for the British, though with a great superiority of force on the part of the enemy, it demonstrated that increased experience and protracted hostilities were beginning to produce their ordinary effects in teaching a people, naturally brave, the art of war. Their triumph, however, was not of long duration. Brown advanced to the vicinity of Fort George, where, according to the plan of the campaign, he was to have met the flotilla; but as the British still had the superiority on Lake Ontario, he not only met there

with none of the naval succour which he had expected, but found the English flotilla lying in the harbour, and their land forces considerably augmented. The forts also, both of George and Niagara, were so strengthened as to leave no hope of a successful siege of them with the means at his disposal. Brown, accordingly, after remaining a week in the neighbourhood, of Fort George, commenced his retreat to Chippewa, which he reached on the evening of the 24th. General Riall immediately moved out of his intrenched camp in pursuit; and General Drummond having come up at the same time with reinforcements from Kingston, an attack with the united body—in all about three thousand, of whom eighteen hundred were regulars—was made upon the enemy, whose force was about five thousand strong. The British guns, nine in number, happily seized a commanding eminence, which swept the whole field of battle. With great resolution, however, and highly elated with their recent success, the Americans advanced to the charge. The action began about six in the evening, and the whole line was soon warmly engaged, but the weight of the conflict fell upon the British centre and left. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts, the latter was forced back, and General Riall was severely wounded and made prisoner. In the centre, however, the 89th Royals and King's regiments opposed a determined resistance, and the guns on the hill, which were worked with prodigious rapidity, occasioned so great a loss to the attacking columns, that Brown soon saw that there was no chance of success till that battery was carried; and a desperate effort was resolved on to obtain the mastery of it.

77. The Americans, under General Millar, advanced with the utmost resolution, and with such vigour, that five of the British cannon at first fell into their hands. So desperate was the onset, so strenuous the resistance, that the British artillerymen were bayoneted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of their guns were advanced to within a few yards of the English

battery. This dreadful conflict continued till after dark, with alternate success, in the course of which the combatants fought hand to hand, by the light of the discharges of the guns, and the artillery on both sides was repeatedly taken and retaken. At length, after an hour's vehement struggle, the combatants sank to rest from pure mutual exhaustion, within a few yards of each other, and so intermingled, that two of the American guns were finally mastered by the British, and one of the British by the Americans; so that, on the whole, one gun was gained for England in this unparalleled struggle with her worthy offspring. During this period of repose, the loud roar of the battle was succeeded by silence so profound, that the dull roar of the falls of Niagara, interrupted at intervals by the groans of the wounded, was distinctly heard. Over the scene of this desperate strife the moon threw an uncertain light, which yielded occasionally to the bright flashes of musketry or cannon, when the combat was partially renewed. Drummond skilfully took advantage of this respite to bring up the left wing, which had been repulsed, so as to form a support to the centre, while the line was prolonged to the right, where there was some danger of being outflanked; so that the blood-stained hill now formed the pivot of the British right. Upon this, the American general, being in no condition to continue the contest, gave orders for a retreat, which was carried into effect about midnight, the whole army retiring into their camp near Chippewa. Next day the retreat was continued to Fort Erie, with such precipitation, that the whole baggage, provisions, and camp-equipage were thrown into the Rapids, and precipitated over the awful cataract of Niagara.

78. In this desperate battle, the loss on both sides was very severe, but more so to the Americans than to the British. The former lost nine hundred and thirty killed and wounded, including in the latter Generals Brown and Scott; besides three hundred prisoners and one gun. The latter were only weak

ened by eight hundred and seventy men, of whom forty-two were made prisoners; among the latter were General Riall and his staff. But the result of the action was of the highest importance, as it entirely stopped the invasion of Upper Canada, and threw the Americans, lately so confident of success, back into Fort Erie, where they were immediately besieged by a force little more than half their amount. The operations were pushed with great activity: three armed schooners, anchored off the fort, were captured by a body of marines, who pushed off in boats during the night; and the defences were so much injured, that Drummond determined to hazard an assault early on the morning of the 15th August.

79. This daring attempt, with two thousand men, to storm an intrenched camp resting on a fort, and garrisoned by three thousand five hundred, had very nearly succeeded. The assailants were divided into three columns, and the first, under Colonel Fischer, had actually gained possession of the enemy's batteries, at the point assigned for its attack, two hours before daylight. If the other columns had reached their destined points of assault at the same time, the fort and intrenched camp would have been won, and the whole invading force made prisoners. But the supporting columns got entangled, by marching too near the lake, between the rocks and the water, and came up later, when the enemy were on the alert, who opened a tremendous fire upon the head of the column, which threw it into confusion. Meanwhile the other storming party succeeded, after a desperate resistance, in effecting a lodgment in the fort, by creeping in through the embrasures of a bastion, and had actually turned its guns for above an hour upon the enemy. At this critical moment, the stone building in the interior, which was still held, took fire, and the flames having caught a quantity of powder placed in it, the whole blew up, with an explosion so tremendous, that the troops, thinking a mine had been sprung, were seized with a sudden panic, and, in spite of all the efforts of their officers, rushed in

disorder out of the fort. The enemy now turned their whole forces upon Fischer's column, which was driven out of the works it had won, and the assault was repulsed at all points. In this gallant but abortive attempt, the British lost one hundred and fifty-seven men killed, three hundred and eight wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners. The loss, heavy though it was, was more than compensated next day, by the arrival of two new regiments from Lower Canada; but, notwithstanding this, General Drummond did not deem himself in sufficient strength to hazard a second assault, but contented himself with drawing closer the investment, and occupying the large American army up in a corner of the British territory, where they were rendered perfectly useless during the remainder of the campaign.

80. The operations of the British armament, on the southern coasts of America, had hitherto been on a small scale, calculated rather to irritate than alarm; but the termination of the war in Europe having rendered the whole navy and great part of the army of Great Britain disposable, it was resolved to prosecute hostilities there and in Canada with much vigour, and on a scale commensurate with the strength and reputation of the empire. Three regiments of Wellington's army, the 4th, 44th, and 85th, were embarked at Bordeaux on the 2d June, on board the Royal Oak seventy-four, and Dictator and Diadem of sixty-four guns each, and on the 24th arrived at Bermuda, where they were joined by the 21st fusiliers, and two regiments from the Mediterranean, two of which, however, were destined for Canada, in six frigates, forming altogether a force of three thousand five hundred men, which arrived in Chesapeake Bay in the middle of August. There this little army was reinforced by a strong battalion of marines. General Ross commanded the land forces, Admiral Cockburn the fleet; and no two officers could have been found whose vigour, judgment, and daring were better calculated to effect great things with small means. Their first measure was

to take possession of Tangier Island, where they erected fortifications, built storehouses, and hoisted the British flag; inviting at the same time the Negroes in the adjoining provinces to join the British force in the island, and offering them emancipation in the event of their doing so. Seventeen hundred speedily appeared, were enrolled and disciplined, and proved of no small service in subsequent operations. This incitement of the Negro population to revolt, was a step of very questionable morality in a political point of view, and it in the end cost the British no small sum as a compensation to the injured proprietors.* But it marked, in an unequivocal manner, the perilous foundation on which society in the southern provinces of the United States is rested, and the heedlessness of the people who, placed on the edge of such a volcano, urged on the war which might at once lead to its explosion.

81. The chief approach to Washington is by the river Potomac, which discharges itself into the upper extremity of the bay of Chesapeake. It may also be reached by the Patuxent from the town of Benedict, on which river there is a good road to the metropolis. After much deliberation, it was determined by the British commander to make a dash at this capital, and to approach it by the latter river, partly on account of the greater facility of access which it afforded, partly in order to accomplish the destruction of Commodore Barney's powerful flotilla of gun-boats, which had taken refuge in creeks in the upper parts of its course. The latter part of this service was speedily and effectually performed. The ships of war having ascended the stream as far as Benedict, beyond which there is not a sufficient draught of water for large vessels, the boats of the fleet were

* By the treaty of Ghent, the compensation to be paid to the injured proprietors was referred to the Emperor of Russia; and that prince, influenced doubtless in some degree by the danger of a still more hostile in his own dominions, awarded the enormous sum of £250,000, or nearly £150 a head, for each Negro that gained his freedom.—See Mr. Roome's Speech (*Chancellor of Exchequer*), 25th February 1826, *Parl. Deb.*

despatched after the flotilla; and the Americans, finding escape impossible, committed it to the flames, which consumed in a few hours fifteen fine gun-boats. Another, which resisted the conflagration, was brought away, with thirteen merchant schooners which had sought protection under cover of the armed vessels. This brilliant stroke having at once destroyed the enemy's whole naval force in the river, it was determined immediately to make an attack on the capital. The troops were accordingly disembarked at Benedict, and, with the addition of some marines, amounted in all to three thousand five hundred combatants, with two hundred sailors to draw the guns; and with this handful of men, carrying with them two three-pounders, and provisions for three days, the British general commenced his march against the capital of a republic which numbered eight millions of inhabitants, and boasted of having eight hundred thousand men in arms.

82. The American government were far from being unprepared for this attack. From some hints imprudently dropped by the British commissioners who at this period were negotiating with those of America at Ghent, they had become aware that an attempt on the capital was in contemplation; and nearly a month before Ross landed in the Patuxent, measures had been taken for placing, in case of invasion, sixteen thousand six hundred men at the disposal of General Winder, to cover the capital. At the same time, a requisition for the whole militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, ninety-three thousand strong, was made, and cheerfully answered. But the result soon showed what reliance is to be placed on the nominal paper-musters of such ill-disciplined arrays, when real danger is to be faced. Of the ninety-three thousand combatants of Pennsylvania and Virginia, nothing was heard when the day of trial approached: of the sixteen thousand active troops placed at the disposal of General Winder, not one-half appeared at the place of muster: and when the British troops were within five miles of Washington, only six

thousand five hundred bayonets, three hundred horse, and six hundred seamen to work the guns, were assembled round the standards of the American general. He had, however, twenty-six guns to the British two : and with this force, about double that of the British, he took post opposite BLADENSBURG, a small village on the left bank of the eastern branch of the Potomac, upon a ridge of heights commanding the only bridge by which that river could be crossed. The great road ran straight through the centre of his position, and the artillery was placed so as to enfilade all the approaches to the bridge.

83. Ross's decision was soon taken. Forming his troops into three columns of brigade, the first consisting of the 85th, and the light companies of the other regiments under the command of Colonel Thornton ; the second of the 4th and 44th regiments under Colonel Brooke ; the third or reserve of the 21st fusiliers, under Colonel Paterson, he immediately gave orders for the attack. Thornton's men advanced in double-quick time, in the finest order, through the fire of the guns, dashed across the bridge, carried a fortified house at the other end, which was occupied and loopholed, dislodged the American riflemen from the thick copse on the opposite bank, and, quickly spreading out on either flank, advanced in extended order directly against the American batteries. So vigorous was the attack, so feeble the defence, that two guns were carried, and the first line thrown back in confusion on the second, by the first division alone, not more than fifteen hundred strong, aided by the fire of a few rockets, before the second could get across the bridge. The Americans, however, rallied upon their second line, again advanced upon Thornton's men, now disordered in pursuit, when Brooke's troops, debouching from the bridge, advanced to their support, the 44th charging on the right, and the 4th on the left. Instantly the scene was changed : the Americans could not meet the shock. Ten guns were taken, and the whole army, totally routed, took to flight, and reached Washington in the utmost confusion,

where they tarried not an instant, but hurried through to the heights of Georgetown to the westward. Hardly any pursuit was attempted by the British, partly from their having no cavalry, partly from the extraordinary heat of the day having so exhausted the troops, that even the stoutest men in the army were unable to proceed till it was somewhat abated by the approach of evening. Their loss was surprisingly small, being only sixty-one killed and a hundred and eighty-five wounded.

84. After two hours' rest, however, the march was resumed, and the troops arrived within a mile of Washington at eight at night, where two thousand of them were halted, and the remainder accompanied General Ross and Admiral Cockburn into the city. A proposition was then made to the American authorities to ransom the public buildings by paying a sum of money. This having been refused, the British general, on the following morning, applied the torch not only to the arsenals and store-houses, but to the public buildings of every description. In a few hours the Capitol, including the senate-house and House of Representatives; the arsenal, dockyard, treasury, war-office, president's palace, rope-walk, and the great bridge across the Potomac, were destroyed. The navy-yard and arsenal, with immense magazines of powder, were set on fire by the Americans before they retired, and with them twenty thousand stand of arms were consumed. A fine frigate, of sixteen hundred tons, nearly finished, and a sloop, the *Argus*, of twenty guns, already afloat, were burned by them before evacuating the city. Immense stores of ammunition, two hundred and six pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand rounds of ball-cartridge, were taken by the British and destroyed ; and having completed the ruin of all the warlike establishments in the place, they leisurely retired on the evening of the 25th, and reached Benedict by easy marches on the 29th, where they embarked next day without being disquieted by the enemy.

85. The capture of the American capital by so inconsiderable a British

force, notwithstanding all the preparations of the government for above a month to avert the danger, and the immense importance of the blow thus struck at the naval and military resources of the enemy, rendered this expedition one of the most brilliant ever carried into execution by any nation. As such, it excited at the time a prodigious sensation in the United States; and it has hardly done less service to future times, and the cause of historic truth, by demonstrating in a decisive manner the extreme feebleness of the means for national protection which democratic institutions afford, when not coerced by military or despotic power. Yet it is to be regretted that the lustre of the victory has been much tarnished to the British arms, by the unusual and, in the circumstances, unwarrantable extension which they made of the ravages of war to the *pacific* or ornamental edifices of the capital. The usages of warfare, alike in ancient and modern times, have usually saved from destruction, even in towns taken by storm, edifices which are dedicated to the purposes of religion or embellishment. The Parthenon, after having stood two thousand years, and been the prey alternately of the Goth, the Crusader, and the Saracen, was still entire when it was accidentally blown up by a bomb at the siege by the Venetians of the Acropolis in 1689. The majestic edifices of Rome were really wasted away, not by the torches of Alaric or Genseric, but by the selfish cupidity of its unworthy inhabitants, who employed them in the construction of modern buildings.

86. It is no small reproach to Napoleon that he wantonly extended the ravages of war, as well as the hand of the spoiler, into these hitherto untouched domains; and in the destruction of the bastions of Vienna and the Kremlin of Moscow, gave sure proof of a little and malevolent spirit, unworthy of so great a man. The cruel devastation by the Americans on the Canadian frontier is no adequate excuse; they had been amply and rightly avenged by the names of Buffalo and Black Rock; and Alexander had recently given example

of the noblest revenge for such outrages by saving Paris. It would appear, that as the contest between Great Britain and America resembled in more points than one a civil war, so it partook occasionally of the well-known inveterate character of that species of hostility; and the British historian, in recounting the transaction, will best discharge his duty by acknowledging the error of his country, and rejoice that it was in some degree redeemed by the strict discipline observed by the troops, and the complete protection afforded to the persons and property of the inhabitants during their occupation of the American capital.*

87. The capture of Washington was quickly succeeded by an exploit of inferior magnitude, but equally vigorous and successful. In the Potomac river, Captain Gordon, in the Seahorse frigate, with the Euryalus brig and several bomb-vessels, skilfully overcame the intricacies of the passage leading by that river to the metropolis; and on the evening of the 27th arrived abreast of Fort Washington, constructed to command the river as Fort Mifflin does

* "The British officers pay inviolable respect to private property, and no peaceable citizen is molested."—*National Intelligencer*, 25th August 1814, quoted in JAMES, vi. 311. "The value of the public property destroyed was 1,624,280 dollars, or £365,468 sterling."—*Ibid.*

It is but justice to the gallant officers employed in this expedition to observe, not only that they are noways responsible for the destruction of the public buildings of Washington, as they acted under distinct orders from their own government, but that they deserve the highest credit for carrying those barbarous instructions into execution in the most forbearing and considerate manner, confining the destruction to public edifices, and observing the strictest discipline in relation to private life and property. On the 14th August 1814, Admiral Cochrane officially announced to Mr Munroe, "That, under the new and imperative character of his orders, it became his duty to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments." What a contrast to the glorious and withal politic forbearance of Wellington in the south of France! And both had their reward—Wellington, in the capture of Toulouse and surrender of Bordeaux; the "new and imperative system," in the failure at Baltimore and the defeat at New Orleans."—See *AMSTERDAM*, II. 155.

the Scheldt. It was immediately bombarded; and the powder magazine having soon after exploded, the place was abandoned, and taken possession of, with all its guns, by the British. From thence they proceeded to Alexandria, and the bomb-vessels having assumed such a position as effectually commanded the shipping, the enemy were compelled to capitulate, and give up all their vessels, two-and-twenty in number, including several armed schooners, which were brought away in triumph. On returning down the river, heavily laden with their numerous prizes, the British squadron had a very serious danger to encounter from some American batteries which had been erected to cut off their retreat, and which were manned by the crews of the Baltimore flotilla; but, such was the skill with which the vessels were navigated that none went aground, and the shells from the bombs were thrown with such precision that the Americans were driven from their guns, and the whole squadron emerged safely with its prizes from the Potomac.

88. The successful issue of these attacks naturally suggested a similar expedition against Baltimore: and, after some deliberation, the British naval and military commanders agreed to undertake it. The fleet, accordingly, moved in that direction, and reached the mouth of the Patapsco, which leads to Baltimore, on the 11th September. Next day the troops were landed, and marched directly towards the city, while the ships moved up to co-operate in the attack that was contemplated. No opposition was attempted for the first six miles, though several intrenchments, newly thrown up, were passed, which had been abandoned; but when they approached Baltimore, a detachment of light troops was observed occupying a thick wood through which the road passed. General Ross, impelled by the daring courage by which he was distinguished, immediately advanced with the skirmishers to the front, and soon received a mortal wound in the breast. He survived only to recommend his young and unprovided family to his king and country. Colonel

Brooke, however, immediately assumed the command; and the light troops coming up, the enemy fell back, still skirmishing from behind the trees with which the country abounded, to a fortified position, running across a narrow neck of land which separated the Patapsco and Back rivers. Six thousand infantry, with four hundred horse and six guns, were here drawn up in line across the road, with either flank placed in a thick wood, and a strong wooden palisade covering their front. Brooke, however, gave orders for an immediate attack; and it was made with such vigour that, in less than fifteen minutes, the enemy were routed, and fled in every direction, leaving six hundred killed and wounded on the field of battle, besides three hundred prisoners and two guns in the hands of the British.

89. Early on the following morning the march was resumed, and Brooke arrived within a mile and a half of Baltimore, where he found a body of fifteen thousand men, with a large train of artillery, manned by the sailors of the frigates lying at Baltimore, strongly posted on a series of fortified heights which encircle the town. The magnitude of this force rendered it imprudent to hazard an immediate attack with three thousand bayonets; but Brooke, relying on the admirable spirit of his troops, determined on a night assault, when the enemy's artillery would be of little avail, and the whole dispositions were made for that purpose. At nightfall, however, and when the troops were just taking up their ground for the attack, advices were received from Admiral Cochrane, stating that the enemy, by sinking twenty vessels in the river, had arrested the further progress of the ships, and rendered naval co-operation impossible. Brooke, in these circumstances, wisely judged that the loss likely to be incurred in storming the intrenchments would more than counterbalance the prospect of advantage from the reduction of the town, and withdrew without molestation to his ships. The commanders of the *Severn*, *Rivulus*, *Havannah*, and *Hebrus* frigates had offered to lighten

their ships, and lay them alongside of Fort-le-Henry, which commanded the passage, and the possession of which would have left Baltimore at their mercy; and it is to be regretted that any view to ulterior operations should have led to this offer not being accepted, as its acceptance would probably have led to the destruction of the Java frigate, and Erie and Ontario brigs, which lay at Baltimore, and have prevented the land troops from being deprived of the fruit of their gallant victory.

90. A naval expedition, crowned with complete success, took place at this time under Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffith in the Penobscot river. They sailed from Halifax on the 1st September, and on their approach, the Fort of Cusine, which commands the entrance of the river, was evacuated by the enemy and blown up. An American frigate, the John Adams, having run up the river for safety as high as the town of Hampden, where her guns were taken out and placed in battery, a detachment of sailors and marines was landed from the ships, which attacked and stormed the batteries, manned by double their force, upon which the frigate was set on fire and totally destroyed. The expedition then pushed on to Bangor, which surrendered without resistance, with twenty-two guns; and thence to Machias, which also was taken by capitulation, the whole militia of the county of Washington being put on their parole not to serve again during the war. Formal possession was then taken of the whole country between the Penobscot and the British frontier of New Brunswick, a district a hundred miles broad; and a provisional government was established to rule it till the conclusion of the war. This success was not only important in itself, but still more so as giving practical demonstration of the disposition of the inhabitants of that part of the state of Maine, and evincing the ease with which, in the event of the continuance of hostilities, it might be severed from the United States.

91. Meanwhile a great expedition was preparing in Lower Canada, intending

to co-operate in a distant way with that of Sherbrooke and Griffith on the coast. Prevost's force had been progressively augmented by the successive arrival of brigades, detached, after the close of hostilities, from the army in the south of France; so that in the end of August, he had in all sixteen thousand regular troops in the two Canadas under his command, of whom twelve thousand were in the lower province. A force so considerable not only removed all danger of successful invasion by the American army, but rendered feasible a serious inroad upon the adjoining provinces of Maine and New York. Such an attempt was also advisable in itself, in order to make the enemy feel, in their own territory, the weight of that power whose hostility they had so needlessly provoked. A body of nine thousand men, accordingly, was collected on the frontier of Lower Canada, with a formidable train of artillery, and commanded, under Prevost, by several generals and officers who had acquired durable renown in the Peninsular campaigns. If anything could have added to the well-founded expectations entertained of this noble force, it was the circumstance of its being in great part composed of the veterans who had served with Wellington in Spain and France, and the remainder of the not less heroic band which had so gloriously struggled against overwhelming superiority of numbers in the two preceding campaigns, and who burned with anxiety to emulate the deeds of their brethren who had gained their laurels in the fields of European fame.

92. But, unfortunately, the naval part of the expedition, upon which, as in all Canadian warfare, the success of the land forces almost entirely depended, was by no means equally well provided. By a strange remissness on the part both of the British Admiralty and the local authorities, the flotilla on Lake Champlain, though consisting of a frigate, a brig, and twelve gunboats, was wretchedly equipped, and the crews were made up of a strange medley of English soldiers and Canadian militia, with not a fifth of English sailors among them. And, to com-

plate the untoward circumstances attending the naval force, Captain Fisher, by whom the fleet had been equipped, and who possessed the confidence of Sir George Prevost, was removed from the command a week before the decisive action, and Captain Downie, a brave man, but strange to the sailors, put in his place.

93. The first operations of the armament were attended with complete success. The American general, Izzard, had sailed from Sackett's Harbour on Lake Ontario, towards the upper part of the lake, with four thousand men, on the 10th August, to reinforce the troops in Fort Erie; so that the only forces which remained to resist Prevost on the banks of Lake Champlain, were fifteen hundred regulars and as many militia, under General Macomb. Prevost's advance, accordingly, met with no interruption; and on the 6th September his powerful army appeared before Plattsburg, then defended by three redoubts and two blockhouses, strongly fortified. So inconsiderable had been the resistance made by the Americans to the British advance, that General Macomb says, the latter "did not deign to fire upon them." The three following days were employed in bringing up the heavy artillery, and it had all arrived by the 10th; but still the English general did not deem it expedient to make the attack till the flotilla came up. So backward had been the state of its preparations, that it only hove in sight on the morning of the 11th; and the shipwrights, as she moved through the water, were still busy at work on the hull of the *Confiance*, which bore the British commodore's flag.

94. The relative strength of the squadrons* in this, as in every other naval action during the war where the British

were defeated, was decisively in favour of the Americans; but this disparity, already great in the number of vessels and men, and weight of metal, was rendered overwhelming by the wretched condition of the British crews, not a fourth of whom were sailors, and the unfinished state of the commodore's vessel. Sir George Prevost's solicitations, however, were so pressing for the squadron to operate, in consequence of the advanced period of the year, that on the 11th, while the clank of the builders' hammers was still heard on board the *Confiance*, Captain Downie gave the signal to weigh anchor. He relied upon the assurance given that the troops should commence an assault on the redoubts, at the same time that the squadron attacked the flotilla in the bay; and it was not doubted that the early capture of the forts, by depriving the enemy's ships of the support of their batteries, would lead to their defeat, and the final decision of the naval contest on the lake. The moment, accordingly, that the *Confiance*, which led the British flotilla, rounded Cumberland Head at a quarter to eight, Downie scaled his guns, as had been agreed on; but although instructions to hold themselves in readiness had been given to the troops at daybreak, yet they were ordered to breakfast before they moved, and did not in consequence begin their march till the action at sea had commenced; an unfortunate circumstance, as it postponed the military co-operation till it was too late. Meanwhile Downie gallantly led his little squadron into action; the American fleet, under its brave and skilful commander, Captain McDonough, being moored in line in the bay, the *Saratoga* of twenty-six guns, bearing his flag, in the centre, and the brig *Eagle* of twenty guns, *Ticonderago* of seventeen guns, and *Pride* of seven guns, and ten gunboats disposed on either flank.

95. As the *Confiance* mounted thirty-seven guns, she was greatly superior to any single vessel in the American flotilla; and if the British gunboats had all followed the example set them by their commander, the combat might, notwithstanding the Americans great

* Comparative force of the combatants:—

	British Squadron.	American.
Vessels	8	14
Broadside guns	38	52
Weight of metal, lb.	765	1194
Aggregate of crews	537	950
Tons	1426	2540

—JAMES, vi. 344; and COOPER, ii. 495, 497.

* The *Planch*, a British brig, grounded with all shot and did not engage; and one of the American gunboats, *Chippewa*, and never fired a shot; so the numbers are unequal. From the comparison, it is seen the two American ships which were not engaged.

superiority on the whole, have been not altogether unequal. But while the *Confiance* was gallantly leading into action amidst a tremendous fire from the American line, the whole gunboats, except three, and one of the cutters, took to flight, leaving Downie in the midst of the hostile fleet, with his own frigate, a brig, and a sloop, wholly unsupported, either by the advance of the land forces or by his own smaller vessels.* Undaunted, however, by this shameful defection of the boats, the British commander, who nobly headed his squadron, drawing the whole hostile fire upon his own vessel, held steadily on without returning a shot, while his rigging and spars were fast falling under the well-directed fire of the American fleet; but the wind failing just as he was on the point of breaking their line, he was under the necessity of casting anchor within two cables' distance, and bringing his broadside to bear on the enemy. Instantly the *Confiance* appeared a sheet of fire; her whole broadside, aimed at the *Saratoga*, which bore Captain M'Donough's flag, was discharged at once with great effect. The *Linnet* and *Chubb* soon after came up, and took their appointed stations; but in a short time the latter was so crippled that she became unmanageable, drifted within the American line, and was obliged to surrender, while the *Finch* struck on a reef of rocks, and could not get into action.

96. The whole guns of the American flotilla were now directed against the *Confiance*, which, enveloped by enemies, still maintained a gallant fight. Broadside after broadside came from her, until at length the *Saratoga*, against which her fire was almost entirely directed, had all her long guns dismounted, and her carronades so disabled that she had not a single piece of ordnance left available. Nothing was now wanting but one or two of the gunboats to have given the British a decisive victory; but they had all fled. The *Confiance* herself was suffering se-

verely from the concentric fire of the brigs and gunboats which clustered round her in every direction, some raking, some astern, as well as under her bows, and Captain Downie had fallen early in the action. Meanwhile her antagonist, the *Saratoga*, which she had completely silenced, lay at such a distance that she could not be taken possession of. So destructive, however, was the fire which the *Confiance* still kept up, that the *Saratoga* was on the point of surrendering, when, as a last resource, M'Donough made an effort to wear the ship round, so as to bring her larboard side, hitherto untouched, to bear upon the British vessel. This skilful movement was successfully performed; the *Confiance* strove to do the same; but, from the inexperience of her motley crew, the attempt failed, and the larboard guns of the *Saratoga*, almost all untouched, now spoke out like giants, and soon compelled the *Confiance* to strike. The only remaining British vessel was now the *Linnet*; against her the whole guns of the American squadron were immediately directed; and after a quarter of an hour's heroic resistance, she too was compelled to surrender. Captain M'Donough, on receiving the sword of Lieutenant Robertson, who commanded the *Confiance* after Downie had fallen, said, with the magnanimity which is ever the accompaniment of true valour,—“You owe it, sir, to the shameful conduct of your gunboats and cutters, that you are not performing this office to me; for had they done their duty, you must have perceived, from the situation of the *Saratoga*, that I could hold out no longer; and, indeed, nothing induced me to keep up her colours, but my seeing, from the united fire of all the rest of my squadron on the *Confiance*, and her unsupported situation, that she must ultimately surrender.”†

† In this desperate conflict, the *Confiance* had forty-one killed, including the lamented Captain Downie, and sixty wounded; the total loss of the British squadron was fifty-seven killed, and ninety-two wounded: the Americans lost on board the *Saratoga*, twenty-eight killed, and twenty-nine wounded; their total loss was fifty-two killed and fifty-nine wounded.—JAMES, vi. 346; and CORRIE, ii. 567, 568.

* This disaster, in all probability, would not have occurred, had Captain Fisher's public-spirited offer to command that force, made just before, been accepted.

97. While this desperate battle was raging on the lake, the army ashore, agreeably to Prevost's orders, was advancing towards the works of Plattsburg, and the guns of the British batteries opened on the American squadron as soon as the firing commenced, but too far off to have any effect. One column, under General Robinson, was directed to ford the Saranac, and attack the works in front, while another, led by General Brisbane, was to make a circuit and assault them in rear. Robinson's troops, however, being led astray by their guides, and deceived as to the real path, by a furious and highly characteristic stratagem,* did not reach the point of attack till the shouts from the American works announced that the fleet had surrendered. To have carried the redoubts when the troops did get up, would have been a bloody undertaking, though probably certain of success, and would have

* The following interesting note I have from an excellent and highly esteemed friend in Canada, Andrew William Cochrane, Esq., now high in office at Quebec:—

"Being travelling in the United States last September (1840), I made acquaintance with General Macomb, who entered freely and fully into details of the Plattsburg expedition, and spoke with strong reprobation of the cruel censures cast upon Sir George Prevost. He said that the forts might have been taken on the 6th or 7th (but then the fleet would have escaped, to capture or destroy which was considered one of the most important objects of the expedition); he doubted whether they could have been after that, without severe loss. He described the formidable double stockade, which he maintained would have delayed the best troops a long time to surmount or cut down; that the works were so situated, relatively, that the defenders could retreat from the one to the other; that though an overwhelming force might have forced them one after the other, the loss must have been severe, if, indeed, they succeeded at all; that, by a stratagem, he had caused the attacking division to lose their way, and to be led off in another direction, into the woods, which he had filled with militia in ambush; that he had done this by making the militia, during the night of the 10th, fill up the proper road of approach with young trees, planted so as to resemble the rest of the forest, and opening, at the same time, a road through the wood, away from the forts, which he caused to be beaten with ox carts, so as to look like a travelled wood path; and that it was here, as is well known, that the attacking division was led astray."

formed a set-off at least to the naval disaster. But Sir George Prevost, deeming his instructions not to expose the troops under his command to unnecessary or useless danger, to be imperative,† and being of opinion, that after the command of the lake was lost, no further advance into the American territory was practicable, and consequently, that the men lost in storming the redoubts would prove an unavailing sacrifice, gave the signal to draw off, and soon after commenced his retreat. Such was the indignation which this order excited among the British officers, injured in Spain to a long course of victory, that several of them broke their swords, declaring they would never serve again; and the army, in mournful submission, leisurely wound its way back to the Canadian frontier, without being disquieted by the enemy.‡

98. The actual casualties in this ill-fated expedition were under two hundred men, though four hundred were lost by desertion during the depression and facilities of the retreat. But the murmurs of the troops and of the people of Canada were loud and long at such a termination of the operations of an armament composed, so far as the military force was concerned, of such materials, and from which so much had been expected. The result was, that Sir George Prevost resigned, and demanded a court-martial. He was accused, accordingly, at the instance of Sir James Yeo, upon the charges of having unduly hurried the squadron on the lake into action, at a time when the Confidence was as yet unprepared for it; and, when the combat did begin, having neglected to storm the bat-

† "You will take care not to expose his Majesty's troops to being cut off; and guard against whatever might commit the safety of the force placed under your command."—*LORD BATHURST'S Instructions to Sir GEORGE PREVOST.*

‡ It is satisfactorily proved that the capture of the forts could not, save by its moral influence, which, however, might have been very great, have influenced the issue of the naval conflict, as both fleets were fully a mile and a half distant from the nearest batteries, and at beyond range of either party. —*See Memoirs of Sir G. Prevost, 161, 162, and Appendix, li. 112.*

terious, as had been agreed on, so as to have occasioned the destruction of the flotilla, and the failure of the expedition. The death of that ill-fated commander before the court-martial commenced, prevented these charges from being judicially investigated. But historic truth compels the expression of an opinion, that though proceeding from a laudable motive—the desire of preventing a needless effusion of human blood—the determination to abandon the attack on the forts by Sir George Prevost, though judicious with reference to the expedition he commanded, was unfortunate so far as the general interests of the war were concerned.

99. Yet did his error, if error it was, originate in a sacrifice of the feelings of self to a sense of public duty. His personal courage was undoubted, his character amiable in the highest degree; the mildness and conciliatory spirit of his government had justly endeared him to the Canadians; and his general conduct in North America had been, in very difficult circumstances, truly admirable. Indeed, his defence of that province against the vastly superior forces of the Americans is one of the brightest pages in the military annals of Great Britain, and, after his death, justly called forth a public expression of satisfaction from the Prince Regent, and the conferring of additional honours on his family. The failure of the expedition against Plattsburg was not to be ascribed entirely to him: it arose from the unprepared state of the fleet before the expedition commenced, and the shameful defection of the gunboats, which deserted the heroic Downie when on the point of gaining a decisive victory. We have the authority of the greatest military master of the age for the assertion, that, after the destruction of the fleet, any further prosecution of the advance at land could have led to no

beneficial result, as the troops could not have obtained supplies when the Americans had the command on the waters.* Prevost's error was, that he did not make his attack on the forts *simultaneously* with the action on the lake: he only began to move when the firing of the flotillas commenced.

100. It is true, the storming of the forts would have had no material effect, except by distant encouragement, on the issue of the naval combat, as it took place beyond the range of the batteries on shore; but such moral influence would perhaps have proved decisive. After the destruction of the fleet, the period of decisive success was past: nothing could then be done but to put the best face possible on a retreat. That Prevost might have carried the American blockhouses and batteries, is indeed certain; but the examples of New Orleans and Chippewa prove, that the Americans fight obstinately behind breastworks; and it could only have been effected by a heavy sacrifice of human life, which, with the prospect of a protracted war in Canada, was a serious consideration. His decision in regard to the expedience of an immediate retreat, therefore, after the fleet had been destroyed, was justified with reference to the single objects of that expedition. It is to be regretted only from its having occurred so immediately before the close of the war, and thereby afforded the Americans ground for representing as a complete triumph what, by a vigorous application of the military forces at his command, might have been converted into a drawn battle, in which the laurels, barren to both parties, were divided. But, in justice to Prevost, it must be added, that this contingent result could not have been with certainty foreseen by him, as the duration of the war was uncertain; and that the first thought of a general should be the immediate

* "I approve highly—indeed I go further—I admire all that has been done by the military in America, so far as I understand it generally. Whether Sir George Prevost was right or wrong in his decision at Lake Champlain, is more than I can tell; though of this I am certain, he must equally have returned to Kingston after the fleet was beaten;

and I am inclined to think he was right. I have told the ministers repeatedly that a naval superiority on the lakes is a *sure* guarantee of success in war on the frontier of Canada, even if our object should be wholly defensive."—WALLINGTON to SIR GEORGE MURRAY, 22d December, 1814; GURWOOD, xii. 224.

duty with which he is intrusted, rather than the ultimate results of a course which hazardous daring might perhaps induce.

101. The British were in some degree consoled for this discomfiture by the repulse of a very formidable sortie made from Fort Erie. In the outset the Americans gained considerable advantages, and having succeeded, during a thick mist and heavy rain, in turning unperceived the right of the English pickets, they made themselves masters of two batteries, and did great damage to the British works. Speedily, however, the besiegers collected their troops, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The loss on each side was about equal; that of the British being six hundred, of whom one-half were prisoners; that of the Americans five hundred and eleven. Both parties after this became weary of this destructive warfare, carried on in a corner of Upper Canada, and attended with no sensible influence on the fate of the campaign. On the 21st, as the low grounds around Fort Erie had become unhealthy, Drummond retired to higher and better quarters in the neighbourhood of Chippewa, after in vain endeavouring to provoke the American general to accept battle. And soon after, General Izard, who had come up from Sackett's Harbour to Fort Erie with four thousand additional troops, so far from prosecuting the advantages which so considerable an accumulation of force at that point promised, blew up Fort Erie, recrossed the Niagara, and withdrew with his whole troops into the American territory. "Thus," says Armstrong, the American war-secretary, "literally fulfilling his own prediction, that the expedition would terminate in disappointment and disgrace."

102. This total evacuation of the British territory, after so much bloodshed, and such formidable preparations of the Americans for its conquest, was mainly owing to the English having at length acquired a decisive superiority on Lake Ontario. During some months in autumn, Commodore Chauncey had the advantage both in the number and weight of his vessels; and while Sir

James Yeo was taking the most active measures to turn the balance the other way, he had the virtue—for to a British seaman it was a virtue—of meanwhile submitting to be blockaded in Kingston by the American squadron. At length the *St Lawrence*, a noble three-decker of one hundred guns, was launched; Chauncey instantly withdrew, and was blockaded in his turn in Sackett's Harbour, and the British acquired the entire command of the lake for the remainder of the war. Sir James Yeo immediately availed himself of this advantage to convey a large quantity of stores and considerable reinforcements of troops to the upper end of the lake, and preparations were making for an active campaign in the ensuing year on both sides, the Americans having laid down two line-of-battle ships, and the British two frigates on the stocks, when hostilities were terminated by the conclusion of peace between the two countries.

103. To conclude this history of the American War, it only remains to notice the attack on New Orleans, which terminated in so calamitous a manner to the British arms. This rising town, which then numbered seventeen thousand inhabitants, was not a place of warlike preparation, or very important in a military point of view. But it was the great emporium of the cotton trade of the southern states, and it was supposed, not without reason, that the capture of a city which commanded the whole navigation of the Mississippi would prove the most sensible blow to the resources of the American government, as well as furnish a rich booty to the captors. The expedition, accordingly, which had been baffled at Baltimore, after having received strong reinforcements, was sent in this direction, and it was the dread of crippling it for this important stroke, that paralysed its efforts on the former occasion. The troops and squadron arrived off the shoals of the Mississippi on the 8th December; but the mouth of that great river having been found, from fortifications and sandbanks, to be unassailable, it was determined to disembark in the arm of the sea called the *Borgne*, which

runs up towards New Orleans, and to march across to that city. There they steered accordingly, and found a flotilla of gunboats prepared to dispute with the boats of the fleet the landing of the troops. Immediately a detachment of seamen and marines was put under the command of Captain Lockyer; and, after a hard chase of six-and-thirty hours, he succeeded in coming up with and destroying the whole, six in number, manned by two hundred and forty men. This pursuit, however, had taken the boats thirty miles from their ships; adverse winds, a tempestuous sea, and intricate shoals, impeded their return; and it was not till the 12th that they could get back, nor till the 15th that the landing of the troops commenced. Incredible difficulties were undergone, both by the soldiers and sailors, in effecting the disembarkation and conducting the march at that inclement season; and, what is very remarkable in that latitude, nothing retarded them more than the excessive cold, from which the troops, and in particular the blacks, suffered most severely. At length, however, by the united and indefatigable efforts of both services, these obstacles were overcome; the troops, in number about four thousand five hundred combatants, with a considerable quantity of heavy guns and stores, were landed; an attack of the American militia was repulsed, after a desperate struggle, the same evening; Sir Edward Pakenham arrived next day, and the army advanced in two columns to within six miles of New Orleans, where preparations for defence had been made.

104. GENERAL JACKSON, an officer since become celebrated both in the military and political history of his country, commanded the military force destined for the defence of the city, which amounted to above twelve thousand men. He had turned to good account the long delays which the formidable obstacles that opposed the disembarkation of the British troops had occasioned, and the fortified position in which he now awaited an attack was all but impregnable. The American army was posted behind an intrench-

ment about a thousand yards long stretching from the Mississippi on the right to a dense and impassable wood and morass on the left. This line was strengthened by a ditch about four feet deep which ran along its front, and was defended by flank bastions which enfiladed its whole extent, and on which a formidable array of heavy cannon was placed. On the opposite bank of the Mississippi, which is there about eight hundred yards broad, a battery of twenty guns had been erected, which also flanked the whole front of the parapet.

105. Attempts were made, for some days, to commence regular approaches against this formidable line of intrenchments, which was evidently much too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*; but it was soon found that the enemy's guns were so superior in weight and numbers, that nothing was to be expected from that species of attack. All hands were therefore set to deepen a canal in the rear of the British position, leading from Lake Borgne, where they had disembarked, by which boats might be brought over the intervening land to the Mississippi, and troops ferried across to carry the battery on the right bank of the river; but this proved a work of such extraordinary labour, that it was not till the evening of the 8th of January that the cut was declared passable. The boats were immediately brought up and secreted near the river, wholly unknown to the enemy; and dispositions for an assault were made at five o'clock on the morning of the 8th. Colonel Thornton, with fourteen hundred men, was to cross the river in the night, storm the battery, and advance up the right bank till he came abreast of New Orleans; while the main attack on the intrenchments in front was to be made in two columns—the first, destined to carry the works, under the command of General Hibbs; the second, consisting entirely of light troops, and intended merely to effect a diversion, led by General Keane. Including seamen and marines, about six thousand combatants on the British side were in the field: a slender force to attack double their

number, intrenched to the teeth in works bristling with bayonets, and loaded with heavy artillery.

106. Unexpected delays, principally owing to the rapid falling of the river, hindered the boats, fifty in number, which were to convey Thornton's men across, from reaching their destination at the appointed hour; and this, by preventing the attacks on the opposite banks being simultaneous, had a most prejudicial effect upon the issue of the operations. The patience of Pakenham being at length exhausted, the assault on the left bank was ordered, even before it was known whether the troops had been got across, and Gibbs' column advanced to the works. By this time, however, the wintry dawn had begun to break, and the dark mass was discerned from the American batteries, moving over the plain. Instantly a tremendous fire of grape and round-shot was opened on both sides from the bastions upon it; but nevertheless the column, consisting of the 4th, 21st, and 44th, with the 93d in support, moved steadily forward, and reached the edge of the glacis. There, however, it was found that, through some neglect on the part of the commander of the 44th regiment, the scaling-ladders and fascines had been forgotten, so that it was impossible to mount the parapet. This necessarily occasioned a stoppage at the foot of the works, just under the enemy's guns, while the ladders were sent for in all possible haste; but the fire was soon so terrible that the head of the column, riddled through and through, fell back in disorder.

107. Pakenham, whose buoyant courage ever led him to the scene of danger, thinking they were now fairly in for it, and must go on, rode to the front, rallied the troops again, led them to the slope of the glacis, and was in the act, with his hat off, of cheering on his followers, when he fell, mortally wounded, pierced at the same moment by two balls. General Gibbs also was soon struck down; Keane, who led on the reserve of this column, consisting of the 93d, which now advanced through the fire, shared the same fate; but that noble regiment, composed entirely of

Sutherland Highlanders, a thousand strong, instead of being daunted by the carnage, rushed with frantic valour through the throng, and with such fury pressed the leading files on, that, without either fascines or ladders, they fairly found their way by mounting upon each others' shoulders into the work. So close and deadly, however, was the fire of the riflemen when they got in, that the successful assailants were cut off to a man. At the same time Colonel Ranney, on the left, also penetrated into the intrenchments; but the companies which carried them, not being supported, were mown down by grape-shot as at Bergen-op-Zoom. Finally, General Lambert, upon whom the command had now devolved from the death of Pakenham and the wounds of Gibbs and Keane, finding that to carry the works was impossible, and that the slaughter was tremendous, drew off his troops, who by this time had been thrown into great confusion. Owing, however, to the admirable countenance maintained by the reserve which covered the retreat, consisting of the 7th and 43d regiments, the men were withdrawn without any molestation from the enemy.

108. While this sanguinary repulse, which cost the British two thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, was taking place on the left bank of the Mississippi, Colonel Thornton, with his division, had gained the most decisive success on the right. This able officer, with his fourteen hundred men, had repaired to the point assigned to him on the evening of the 7th, but found the boats not yet arrived; and it was not till near midnight that a number, barely sufficient to transport a third part of his troops across, were brought up. Deeming it, however, of essential importance to co-operate at the appointed time in the proposed attack, he moved over with a third of his men, and by a sudden charge, at the head of part of the 85th and a body of seamen, headed by himself, on the flank of the works, succeeded in making himself master of the redoubt with very little loss, though defended by twenty-two guns and seventeen hun-

dred men, and amply stored with supplies of all sorts. He was just preparing to turn these guns on the enemy's flank, which lay entirely exposed to their fire, when advices were received from General Lambert, of the defeat of the attack on the left bank of the river. Colonel Dickson was sent over to examine the situation of the battery which had been won, and report whether it was tenable; but he did not deem it defensible except with a larger force than Lambert could dispose of for that purpose, and therefore this detachment was drawn back to the left bank of the river, and the troops at all points returned to their camp.

109. The British troops, after this bloody defeat, were in a very critical position, far advanced into the enemy's country, with a victorious army, double their own strength, in their front, and a desert country, fourteen miles broad, to traverse in their rear, before they reached their ships. Lambert, not deeming himself in sufficient strength to renew the attack, retreated on the night of the 18th, and effected the movement with such ability that the whole field-artillery, ammunition, and stores of every description, were brought away, excepting eight heavy guns, which were destroyed. The whole wounded also were removed, except eighty of the worst cases, with whom movement would have been dangerous, who were left to the humanity of the enemy: a duty which General Jackson discharged with a zeal and attention worthy of the ability and gallantry he had displayed in the action. The British troops were safely re-embarked on the 27th, and soon after in some degree consoled for their disasters by the capture of Fort Boyer, near Mobile, commanding the entrance to the bay in which that town is situated; which yielded, with its garrison of three hundred and sixty men and twenty-two guns, to a combined attack of the land and sea forces on the 12th February. On the very next day intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace between the United States and Great Britain at Ghent.

110. Conferences had for some time been going on at that city in the Netherlands, between the British and American commissioners; and as the termination of the Continental war had entirely set at rest, at least for the present, the question of neutral flags, and the United States were in no condition to sustain a war singly with Great Britain, for the mere assertion of sailors' privileges in opposition to the right of search to apprehend deserters, there was no difficulty in coming to an accommodation. Accordingly on the 24th December a treaty was concluded at Ghent, on terms highly honourable to Great Britain. A general restitution of conquests and acquisitions on both sides was stipulated, with the exception of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, which were to remain as to possession *in statu quo* until the decision of the commissioners appointed by the two governments; and in the event of their differing in opinion, the decision of some friendly sovereign, whose judgment was to be final. The more important point of the boundary between the American state of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick, which has since become the subject of such angry contention between both the governments and the inhabitants of the two countries, was in like manner referred to two commissioners, one to be appointed by each party; * and, failing their decision, or in the event of their differing in opinion, to the decision of "some friendly sovereign or state, whose judgment shall be final and conclusive." A simi-

* "Whereas neither that part of the highlands lying due north from the source of the river St Croix, designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, nor the north-westmost head of the Connecticut river, have yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the source of the river St Croix directly north to the above-mentioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia; thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude; thence by a line due west on said latitude till

lar provision was made for the ascertainment of the disputed boundary, through the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Superior, and the Lake of the Woods. It was stipulated that neither party should keep up any armed vessels on the Lakes; in consequence of which all such were sunk in the mud. All hostilities with the Indian tribes were forthwith to cease, on the part of both the contracting parties; and it was further provided, "that whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to procure its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object." Nothing was said either regarding the flag covering the merchandise, or on the right of search for seamen, claimed and exercised by Great Britain.

111. Such was the treaty of Ghent, which put an end to the bloody and costly war between Great Britain and America. That it was advantageous to England, and that the United States emerged upon the whole worsted from the fight, is evident from the consideration, that neither the ostensible nor the real objects of the latter in engaging in the contest were attained. The ostensible objects were establishing the principles, that the flag covers the merchandise, and that the right of search for seamen who had deserted is inadmissible. The real objects were to wrest from Great Britain the Canadas, and, in conjunction with Napoleon, extinguish its maritime and colonial empire. Neither object was attained, for peace was concluded without one word being said about neutral rights;

it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy has not yet been surveyed—it is agreed that, for these several purposes, two commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorised, to examine and decide upon the said claims, according to such evidence as shall be laid before them by his Britannic Majesty and the United States respectively; and in the event of their differing, both parties agree to abide by the decision of such friendly sovereign or states as shall be mutually chosen." See *Ann. Reg.* 1815, 354; *State Papers*.

and so far from losing her North American possessions, Great Britain retained every part of them, and emerged from the contest with a much stronger and more defensible colonial dominion than that with which she went into it. Yet were the great questions really at issue in the war rather adjourned than decided; and the treaty itself is to be regarded rather as a long truce than a final pacification. The Maine frontier line remained undecided; a territory as large as all England, and part of which is of vital importance to the security of our American possessions, was left in dispute between the parties; the commissioners of the two powers, as might have been expected, adhered to the views of their respective cabinets; the award, in 1834, of the King of the Netherlands, who was chosen umpire, which divided the disputed territory between the parties, satisfied neither side, and by common consent was repudiated. The right claimed by Great Britain of searching merchants vessels remained untouched, and was therefore virtually conceded; the important duty of searching for slaves, left unsettled, threatens, at no distant period, to render it again the subject of angry contention between the two nations; and the triumphs of Plattsburg and New Orleans, with which the war terminated, have so elated the inhabitants of the United States, and blinded them to the real weakness of their situation, that there is too much room to fear, that, out of this premature and incomplete pacification, a future and calamitous war between the two countries may one day spring.

112. The heroic valour displayed by Sir Edward Pakenham, General Keane, and their brave comrades, in the attempt to carry by storm the lines before New Orleans, must not make us shut our eyes to the gallant and honourable, but still imprudent, hardihood which made them unduly despise their enemy, and seek to gain by force what might have been achieved by combination. When we recollect that Colonel Thornton, with his column, carried the battery on the right bank of the river with hardly any loss, thereby completely

turning the enemy's position, rendering it untenable against any considerable force cannonading from that side, and exposing the city to an immediate attack from a quarter where it had no defence, it is impossible not to regret the imprudent and needless display of valour which was attended with so grievous a loss, and caused to miscarry an enterprise so well conceived, and up to that point so ably executed. True, various unforeseen accidents conspired to mar the assault; the boats did not get through the canal so soon as had been expected, so that Thornton's co-operation on the right came too late to retrieve affairs on the left bank; and the unhappy oblivion of, or delay in bringing up, the fascines and scaling-ladders, converted what might have been a successful assault there into a bloody repulse. But still these accidents are the usual attendants of a night assault, especially where the columns of attack are combined from different quarters; and the point is—Might not the risk of incurring them have been avoided, by crossing the whole troops to the right bank of the river, as soon as the boats were got up and launched on its waters, thus rendering unavailing all the formidable intrenchments there? This was what Napoleon, by the passage of the Danube at Enzersdorf, did in regard to those erected at so great a cost of labour by the Austrians in front of Essling. It would appear that the rapid and brilliant success of a small British force at Bladensberg, as well as on many occasions in Canada, when they met the troops of the United States in the open field, had rendered the English general insensible to the dangers of attacking them when behind formidable intrenchments, and caused him to forget that the American rifle, though unable to withstand the shock of the English bayonet in regular combat, is a most formidable weapon when wielded by gallant hands behind trees, or under shelter of the redoubts, which so rapidly, and often fatally, equalise the veteran and the inexperienced soldier.

113. Perhaps no nation ever suffered
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so severely by war as the Americans did from this contest, in their external and commercial relations. Their foreign trade, anterior to the estrangement from Great Britain, so flourishing as to amount to £22,000,000 of exports and £28,000,000 of imports, carried on in one million three hundred thousand tons of shipping, was, literally speaking, and by no figure of speech, *annihilated*; for the official returns show that the former had sunk in 1814 to £1,400,000, or little more than an eighteenth part of their former amount, the latter to less than three millions.* The capture of no less than fourteen hundred American vessels of war and merchandise appeared in the London Gazette during the two years and a half of the struggle, besides probably an equal number which were too inconsiderable to enter that register; and although, no doubt, they retaliated actively and effectively by their ships of war and privateers on British commerce, yet the number of these was too small to produce considerable set-off to such immense losses.

114. The rapid growth of British commerce, when placed in juxtaposition to the almost total extinction of that of the United States, demonstrates decisively that, while the contest lasted, the sinews of war were increasing in the one country as rapidly as they were drying up in the other. In truth, the ordinary American revenue, almost entirely derived from customhouse duties, nearly vanished during the continuance of the contest, and the deficit required to be made up by excise and direct taxes levied in the

* Total of American exports and imports during three years before the rupture with Great Britain, and during the three years of its continuance. Dollars converted at 4s. 2d. to the dollar.

	Exports.	Imports.
1805.	£79,909,589	£23,125,000
1806.	21,153,552	26,078,416
1807.	22,571,488	28,968,765
1812.	8,026,504	16,047,918
1813.	5,813,222	4,584,375
1814.	1,443,216	3,701,841

—FORBES'S *Progress of the Nation*, H. 191.

interior, and loans, which in the year 1814 amounted to no less than twenty millions five hundred thousand dollars, or above £4,100,000 sterling; an immense sum for a state, the annual income of which in ordinary times was only twenty-three million dollars, or £4,600,000. Two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes in all the states of the Union became insolvent during these disastrous years; and such was the suffering and public discontent in the northern states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, that it altogether overcame their sentiment of nationality; and a part of the inhabitants, when peace arrived, were preparing steps to break off from the Union, assert their national independence, and make peace with Great Britain, the future protector of their republic.*

115. A war fraught with such disasters to the United States, was not without its evils also to the inhabitants of Great Britain. In ordinary times, the closing of the North American market, which at that period took off, on an average of years, twelve millions' worth of British produce and manufactures, would have been most severely felt, and it was mainly to its stoppage that the great distresses in England in 1811 and the first months of 1812 had been owing. But this market had, from the operation of the American Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, been long in abeyance; commerce had discovered new channels; and an ample compensation for its loss, for the time

at least, had been found in the markets of Russia, Germany, and Italy, now suddenly thrown open to British enterprise by the triumphs of the allied arms. But a lasting effect, fraught with consequences injurious to British manufacturing interests, was found in the forcible direction of a large portion of the capital, and no inconsiderable part of the industry, of the United States to manufacturing employment; an effect which has survived the temporary causes which gave it birth, and, by permanently investing large capitals in that species of industry, has rendered the subsequent exports of Great Britain, if the vast increase of population in the United States is taken into account, by no means so considerable as they were before the war. When the great and growing extent of the British colonies, and the prodigious market they have opened and are opening to British manufacturing industry, both in the eastern and western hemisphere, are considered, this dependence for the sale of so large a portion of our manufactures on any foreign nation whatever, may possibly appear to be fraught with serious danger, and its curtailment rather a benefit than an injury. But an unmixed evil has arisen from the jealousy of British manufactures which has necessarily grown up, especially in the northern states of the Union, from the growing importance of their own fabrics, and the animosity against this country which has in consequence arisen in those states which, when the

* Official value of British exports and imports during three years before the rupture with Great Britain, and during the three years of its continuance.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.
	Foreign and Colonial.	British Manufactures.	Total.	
1805	£7,643,130	£23,376,941	£31,020,071	£26,561,270
1806	7,717,555	25,861,879	33,579,434	26,899,668
1807	7,624,312	23,381,214	31,005,526	26,784,435
1812	9,532,065	29,508,508	39,041,573	36,165,431
1813	Reverts	destroyed	by Sea	—
1814	19,366,981	24,207,253	53,574,234	33,755,364

war commenced, were most firmly attached to our alliance.

116. When we consider the vast evils to both countries which must inevitably arise from a renewal of hostilities between America and Great Britain; when we recollect that our exports to the United States are still on an average eight millions annually in ordinary seasons; when we call to mind that England is the great market for the cotton of the southern states, and that the intercourse between the two countries is so immense; that out of two million and ninety-six thousand tons of shipping, which now carry on the foreign trade of the United States, no less than seven hundred and fifty-four thousand are employed in conducting the traffic between the two countries; when we remember that the connection between them is so close, that failures to any great extent in the American provinces never fail to produce stagnation and distress in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain; and that two consecutive bad harvests in the British Islands, by the strain on the money market of London which they occasioned, caused the whole banks of the southern states of America, including the national bank of the United States, to fail in 1839,—it will appear hardly possible that human folly could go so far as to force on hostilities between the two nations. This will appear the more improbable, when it is recollected how strenuously and laudably the supreme government, in both countries, have laboured to remove or soften, of late years, all causes of discord between them; and how clearly the leading men in the United States, as well as in this country, are impressed with the indissoluble union which subsists between their interests, and the disastrous effect which a rupture could not fail to have upon them. Nevertheless, nothing is more certain than that hostilities with the United States are not only probable but imminent; that the deep wounds they will inflict upon either country will furnish no security against their occurrence; and that, however much the patriots of both may lament, it is also their duty

to provide against them. The solution of this apparent paradox is easy, if the nature of the two governments is taken into consideration.

117. Democracy is universally and necessarily *expansive*; for the superabundant energy which it generates at home can only find vent in foreign acquisition. Whether it is *aggressive* or not, depends upon the situation of the democratic power, and the means it enjoys of finding vent, either in the pacific establishment of colonies, or in warlike conquests with the sword. Carthage and Tyre in ancient, Genoa, Venice, and Great Britain in modern times, have chiefly poured forth their superfluous numbers and energy in colonisation; Sparta, Athens, and Rome, of old, and republican France in our own day, have forced their way into the adjoining states, not with the olive branch of colonial industry, but with the sword of ruthless conquest. If we would judge how rapidly and certainly democratic institutions render a powerful nation aggressive, we have only to look to the numerous wars of conquest which have been undertaken by Great Britain in the East, especially since the great democratic convulsion of 1832. America shares to the full in these spreading propensities of all republican communities; and such is the growth of its population that expansion is to it the condition of existence. It is impossible that two such communities, brought in so many points into contact, and having so many subjects of national as well as individual rivalry, should not ere long be brought into collision. Large as it is, the New World is not, at least in their own opinion, large enough for both.

118. The pretensions the Americans have set up to an immense portion of the British possessions in Maine, and which they have succeeded by the treaty of 1842 in establishing to the extent of nearly a half, but which a glance at the map must convince every unprejudiced mind are wholly unfounded,* arise from this expansive and

* It has been established since the signing of the treaty of 1842, which, happily for both countries, set this question at rest, that the

aggressive propensity of democracy. Their seizure of Texas, without the shadow of a title; their unprincipled invasion of Mexico in search of the silver of its mines, or the gold of California; their ceaseless encroachments on the Indians of the Far West,—prove that they are noways behind their predecessors in the republics of Rome or Athens in aggressive ambition. The “*multis utile bellum*” is felt as strongly in the New as it ever was in the Old World. England has not been more incessant in its absorption of the lesser powers in India than the United States have been with America. This disposition, which is only inflamed with every acquisition it receives, must ere long bring them in contact, either by warlike aggression or pacific annexation, with our North American provinces. They would willingly shoulder off or incorporate the white man in the North, as they have done the red man in the West, or the Spaniard in the South. No dangers, no ultimate consequences, will deter them; no wisdom on the part of government will be able to restrain them. The question will not be, what do Mr Webster and the enlightened patriots of Washington desire, but what have the ardent democrats of Maine, the Ohio, and the Mississippi determined? It is there that the ruling power of America is to be found; it is in their dispositions and passions that the spring of its future fortunes is placed. That they are essentially both expansive and aggressive, can be doubted by none who have watched the systematic efforts which they have made along the Canadian frontier for several years past to bring on a war with Great Britain. They would suffer little, at least in the first instance, from such a contest, for their connections are all inclined to contend for by the British was even less favourable to them than that originally intended by Franklin and the authors of the treaty of 1763. The discovery in the Foreign Office at Paris of the original map, with the boundary intended delineated in a broad red line by Franklin himself, from Metlarmet to Mars-hill, by the south Adirondock mountains, has set the matter at rest.—See *Mr FRANKLIN'S NEGOTIATION'S PAMPHLET*, and *BUCHANAN'S CANADA*, 217, 218.

land, and their main dependence is on agricultural labour. If they derive no other satisfaction from hostilities, they will at least be sure of this, to them no small one, of seeing the commercial wealth and paper aristocracy of New York, Pennsylvania, and the great cities on the coast, the object of their undying jealousy, destroyed by the first convulsion consequent on a rupture.

Regarding, then, hostilities with the United States as not only probable, but, it is to be feared, ultimately unavoidable, it is of importance to gather such lessons from the past as may best avoid disaster in the future.

119. (I.) Democracy in war is just the reverse of paper credit: it is weakness in the outset, but strength in the end. Its uniform want of preparation, and resistance to present burdens for the sake of future advantages, induce the former; its inherent energy and inexhaustible resources, when fully roused, occasion the latter. It will be wisdom in British statesmen to calculate on both these occurrences. They should recollect that in 1812 the Americans rushed into a long-meditated war with Great Britain with four frigates, eight sloops, and six thousand men; but they should recollect also that with these tiny forces they achieved more remarkable victories over the British at sea than the French did during the whole course of the revolutionary war, and baffled at land the veterans of the Peninsular campaigns. In a contest with America, therefore, more than with any other power, it is of the highest importance to strike hard and successfully in the outset. The superior military and naval establishments, more ample revenue, and larger share of patriotic direction of Great Britain, give her the means of inflicting the most serious blows on America in the commencement of the war; while the extraordinary vigour of the American people, and their native courage, render it all but certain that success will come to be more nearly balanced in the end. Everything, therefore, will depend on the energy with which hostilities are at first conducted, and the skilful direction of the strokes which are first delivered.

120. (II.) In such a contest, it is more than probable that England will, in the first instance, assume the offensive, and strive to make the United States feel the weight of her fleets and armies, before they have assembled any considerable or experienced forces for their defence. Towards success in such a warfare, however, it is indispensable that adequate forces should, from the very outset, be placed at the disposal of her military commanders; and the wretched system of starving the war in the beginning be from the beginning abandoned. Every shilling saved then will cost a pound before hostilities are over. The deplorable plan of sending out a seventy-four gun ship, four or five frigates, and three thousand soldiers, to keep the coasts of the United States in a state of alarm; must never again be renewed. Its failure in the two first campaigns against a much more unwarlike enemy, the Chinese, has sufficiently stamped its absurdity. If it is, a repetition of the failure at Baltimore, and the disaster at New Orleans, may with confidence be anticipated. A squadron of ships of the line and armed steamers, such as that which tore down the ramparts of Acre, should at once be equipped and kept together; not less than ten, if possible fifteen thousand land troops, should be put on board. Such a force, if directed by able officers, would, with the powerful aid of war steamers, and the present gunnery of the British marine, destroy the whole naval establishments of the United States in a single campaign. The employment of a few thousand men, merely to land here and there, as we did at Baltimore, and as we have recently done in China, would infallibly terminate, after great expense, in disappointment and defeat. The Americans will not succumb, as the Chinese did when similarly attacked, when six thousand men appear before New York or Baltimore.

121. (III.) The military resources of the United States to resist such a system of warfare are perfectly trifling; and there is no likelihood, as long as the democratic regime continues in that country, of their consenting dur-

ing peace to such assessment as is necessary to give them anything like a respectable force at the commencement of hostilities. The militia, which is established in every part of the country, cannot be regarded as affording a considerable addition, at any one point, to the military force of the United States. For it is not liable to be removed far from home, and therefore the defence of each place must rest with its own immediate neighbourhood; and being exercised only three days in the year, and for the most part destitute even of uniform, it cannot be relied on for proper operations in the field. But the experience of the last war demonstrates what, *a priori*, might have been already anticipated, that behind intrenchments or stockades, or in the defence of woody positions, this species of force, composed for the most part of brave men, habituated to the use of the rifle, may often be extremely formidable. And the example of the contest in the Tyrol, in 1809, is not required to demonstrate that, in such a warfare, skilful marksmen, well acquainted with the localities of the country they are employed to defend, may often succeed in defeating the best disciplined regular forces. It will be the wisdom of England, therefore, in any future hostilities, to make no attempt on the American coast but with a very powerful military force; and if such is not at her disposal, to confine her efforts to a close blockade of the harbours of the United States, and bombardment of such towns as appear to be accessible to that species of attack.

122. (IV.) In such a warfare, it is of the last importance that hostilities should be directed against *public* property or merchandise *afloat* only; and that the piratical system recently adopted in China, of threatening with destruction a city not fortified, if it does not redeem itself by a large contribution, should above all things be avoided. This was just Napoleon's system of war, which ultimately occasioned his ruin; and it was by steadily resisting any retaliation even of such a system upon him that Wellington avoided lighting up a national resistance in the south of France.

The conflagration of the public buildings, other than the arsenals, at Washington, was as injudicious as it was unwarranted; it was that unhappy step which produced the vigorous resistance at Baltimore, and manned the redoubts at New Orleans. The announcing of "Beauty and Booty" as the object of that expedition, which the American writers assert was done, was the mode of all others best calculated to awaken a vigorous spirit of opposition. In every mercantile community where opulence has made any progress, the great object of the citizens is to extricate their property without serious injury from the perils of war; and when the public defence has come to depend mainly on their exertions, it is seldom that they may not be paralysed by an offer of security to private property, and by restricting hostility to the armaments of the state. On the other hand, a sense of danger to their own possessions, from the city falling into the hands of the enemy, is more likely than anything to rouse its burghers to an energetic defence; and the example of New Orleans may show what cost is incurred ere the resistance even of such urban militia can be overcome.

123. (V.) The last war has clearly demonstrated that the command of the lakes is decisive of a campaign on the Canadian frontier, and that without it the best-laid plans of defence may fail; and Wellington has recorded his decided opinion, that on a due ascendancy on the inland waters, the success of every contest between the British and Americans in that quarter is entirely dependant [see, Chap. xci. § 99, note]. The two great disasters sustained at land in our North American possessions—the defeat of Proctor at the Moravian village, and the retreat of Prevost from Plattsburg—were the immediate consequences of the disaster on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. The movement of Chauncey gained the ascendancy on Lake Ontario. Toronto was taken; and the serious invasion, which was arrested only by the heroism at Chippewa, was commenced. Knowing, then, where the danger lies,

and where the means of averting it are to be found, it is the duty of the British government to be at all times prepared for hostilities, and in an especial manner ready at a moment's warning to equip or prepare a formidable naval force alike on Champlain, Erie, and Ontario. And on this subject it will be well to bear in mind two facts demonstrated by the experience of the last war, attention to which will prove of vital importance on the first renewal of hostilities.

124. First, that such are the facilities for ship-building on the lakes which the United States enjoy, partly from being at home on their shores, partly from the woods in their neighbourhood not having been felled to any considerable extent, that the American government had entered into a contract with ship-builders at Sackett's Harbour, in December 1814, to have two sail of the line, of one hundred guns each, ready for sea on Lake Ontario within sixty days of the time when the timber was standing in the forest. Second, that the rapidity of ship-building is much impaired on the British side by the older civilisation of the country in the lower province, though it is otherwise in the upper; and the extent to which the forests near the waters on the Canadian shores have been felled for the market of Great Britain. In consequence, preparation and foresight are more imperatively required on the English than the American part. And let it be recollected, that early success, important in all wars, will probably prove decisive in the next contest with America, from the ardent passion which it will awaken in their democratic community, and the wide extent of defenceless shores which a superiority on the Lakes will at once expose to their incursions. Have we, then, an adequate supply of seasoned wood, and an ample stock of naval stores, ready to be turned instantly to the purposes of ship-building, so soon as hostilities break out, or appear imminent with the United States; and are these stores so well secured by fortifications as to be beyond the reach of a *coup-de-main*? These are questions upon which it well becomes

the British government and nation to reflect; for with the answer to them our preservation of Canada, our retention with it of one-fourth of our commercial marine, and consequent maintenance of our maritime superiority and national existence, are indissolubly wound up.

125. (VI.) It must be evident to every observer, that the British government were much in error in many particulars connected with the late war with America. Undue contempt for their adversaries—ignorance of the peculiar style of frigates which they had constructed—imperfect and hasty manning of vessels—neglect in providing adequate crews of seamen for the vessels on the lakes, lay at the root of all the disasters which were incurred. The extraordinary pressure of the later years of the war, the wants of a navy which had then six hundred ships of war in commission, and the absolute necessity of directing every spare hand and guinea to the prosecution of the contest with Napoleon, may excuse these neglects previous to the taking of Paris. But they furnish no apology for their continuance after that period; and it was precisely then that the greatest disasters were incurred. No excuse will remain for a repetition of such errors in any future contest. We know to what causes our past reverses have been owing, and we will have ourselves to blame if they are again incurred. And of all the necessities of such a contest, there is none so urgent as that of providing in its very outset adequate crews of *skilled* seamen, both for the squadrons on the lakes, and for the single vessels intended to combat the detached frigates which the Americans will certainly send out to cruise against our marine. Unless this is attended to, it is next to certain that disaster will be incurred; for they will man a few frigates at sea, and squadrons on the lakes, with the choice of fifty thousand seamen, thrown idle by the blockade of their harbours, and having one-half of their number English sailors.

126. (VII.) If due attention be paid to these measures of provident defence,

it does not appear that any apprehension need be entertained that America will succeed, by force of arms, in wresting Canada from the British crown. It is vain for the United States to refer to their fifteen hundred thousand militia in arms: these local forces, for the most part wretchedly disciplined, and spread over an extent of territory equal to all Europe, can add little to the strength of an invading army. Such an irruption, if it is to be carried beyond the burning a few towns or arsenals on the frontier, must be conducted by means of regular forces; and the American democracy will never tax themselves during peace for the establishment of a powerful standing army. If, indeed, they could make war maintain war, and, like Napoleon, quarter half their troops permanently on other countries; or like the Romans, after the subjugation of Macedonia, proclaim a universal liberation from imposts to themselves as the result of their conquests, there can be no doubt that they would gladly accede to any augmentation of their standing army. But as there is no chance of their effecting such a transference of burdens to the shoulders of the vanquished, by the conquest of their only neighbours, the Mexicans and savages, taxation, to be effective, must begin at home; and therefore, while the present constitution lasts, it never will be attempted, at least for prospective objects. The militia of the North American provinces of Great Britain amount now to two hundred and sixty thousand; and, from a population of two million souls, they are capable of being raised to double that amount. Such a force, though of little service, from the difficulty of moving it, in offensive operations, is, with the aid of twenty thousand regular British soldiers, amply sufficient, especially in a woody country, to repel any invasion which the United States, with an army in peace of only twelve thousand men, could bring against it.

127. (VIII.) Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of the American navy in the late war, and the serious conflicts which always will await the Brit-

ish in contending with them on that element, it may well be doubted whether the United States are ever destined to become a great naval power. Their reluctance to submit to any heavy or direct taxation during peace, with a view to secure the contingent benefits of war, must permanently prevent them from equipping an adequate number of ships. They have now (1849) a population of twenty-one millions, being nearly the population of the British Islands at the close of the war with Napoleon: Great Britain had then two hundred and thirty ships of the line, and seven hundred and sixty-seven frigates and smaller vessels in her navy; and America has now, including all building, just eleven ships of the line, seventeen frigates, and thirty-three brigs and sloops. The prodigious outlet for population and industry in the basin of the Mississippi, the great fortunes to be realised there, and the evident determination of the inhabitants of the United States in that direction, leaves little doubt that agricultural industry will form the staple of the country for a course of ages. America, with its population of twenty-one millions, has now only fifty-six thousand sailors in her commercial marine: Great Britain, with its population of twenty-eight millions, has two hundred thousand. Of the fifty-six thousand sailors in the United States, it is understood that no less than thirty-three thousand are of British origin. And what decisively proves that the situation of Britain is better adapted for seafaring employment than that of America, it appears, from the parliamentary returns, that while the reciprocity system, during the twenty years of its continuance, has nearly extinguished the British trade with the Baltic powers, and augmented theirs with England in a similar proportion, none of all other countries it has led to the increase of British in a much greater ratio than of American shipping in carrying on the trade of the United States. And although, therefore, her tonnage is now very considerable, yet above a third of it is employed in the trade with Great

Britain or her colonial possessions;* while of the total tonnage of the British Islands not one-ninth part is employed in conducting the commercial intercourse with the American Republic.†

128. (IX.) After all that can be done to secure our North American possessions by the prudence and foresight of the mother country, their maintenance must always chiefly depend on the attachment and support of their inhabitants. Possibly their severance is destined to arise, not from foreign aggression, but from internal discontent; not from the ambitious projects of their neighbours, but from the selfish policy of their rulers in the mother country. Much as all must lament the effect which the unprincipled acts and criminal ambition of the revolutionists

* Table showing the comparative progress of British and American tonnage in conducting the trade with the United States:—

	British, Tons.	American, Tons.
1821.	55,188	705,098
1822.	70,669	787,961
1823.	89,553	775,271
1824.	67,351	850,033
1825.	63,036	880,754
1826.	69,295	942,206
1827.	89,114	918,361
1828.	104,167	868,581
1829.	86,377	879,949
1830.	87,231	867,227
1831.	215,887	922,052
1832.	285,841	949,022
1833.	343,487	1,111,441
1834.	453,495	1,074,870
1835.	539,922	1,353,653

British shipping has, during these fifteen years, increased 800, American 77 per cent.—*Porter's Progress of the Nation*, ii. 167.

Since that time, however, the shipping, both British and foreign, with America, has amazingly declined, as appears from the subjoined table. The great American crash in 1836 explains the great decrease.

	British, Tons.	American, Tons.
1836.	82,453	236,293
1837.	81,023	275,813
1838.	88,203	357,467
1839.	92,482	223,005
1840.	128,201	426,267
1841.	121,690	294,370
1842.	152,533	319,624

—*Porter's Parl. Tables*, vol. vi. to xii. pp. 44, 48.

† American and foreign tonnage in the year 1838:—

	Tons.
American.	1,477,428
Foreign.	624,614
Total.	2,102,042

of Lower Canada have had, in alienating the affections of the simple-minded and industrious, and once loyal and devoted inhabitants of the lower province, from the British government, the evil done is not yet irremediable; and, if met in the right spirit, it may be rendered, as passing evils often are, of lasting benefit. It will bring to light and force into notice many evils that otherwise might have lain unobserved, and clearly suggest the necessity of their removal. The vast increase of the British inhabitants of Upper Canada, the province of our North American possessions most exposed to incursion from the United States, is an additional ground for security. But the attachment and co-operation even of that gallant and loyal race can be permanently relied on only in one way, and that is, by the adoption and steady prosecution of a good system of colonial government. It is not going too far to assert, that the system of free trade, and sacrificing everything to cheapening prices in the mother country, is one calculated to snap asunder the unseen chain which has hitherto held together the vast fabric of the British empire. And if, from the persisting in this selfish and ruinous policy, the colonies are lost to England, there cannot be a doubt that the British empire will soon be ruined; we shall be reduced to two islands, oppressed with debt, eaten up by paupers, importing a third of their subsistence from foreign countries in foreign bottoms.

129. What should be the leading

Of which to—	Tons.
Great Britain and Ireland,	269,406
North American colonies,	835,506
East Indies,	10,557
West Indies,	76,749
Guyana,	4,393
Honduras,	6,434
Australia,	1,058
Total to British Empire,	754,157
Tonnage of Great Britain in the year 1838:—	
British,	2,376,236
Foreign,	1,323,803
Total,	4,099,039
Of which to—	
American—British,	199,561
American,	378,610
Total to United States,	458,171

—*FORSTER'S Parl. Tables*, ix. 43, 44; 591, 592.

principle of a wise colonial government is no longer a matter of doubt; it was announced eighteen hundred years ago as the rule of all intercourse between man and man; and subsequent experience has only tended to demonstrate its universal application as well to individual as to national transactions. It is simply to do as we would be done by. Consider the colonies as distant provinces of the empire; regard them in the same light as Yorkshire or Middlesex; treat them accordingly, and it will be long indeed ere they will seek to throw off the British connection. Legislate for them as you would wish they should legislate for you, if Quebec or Calcutta were the seat of the central government, and Great Britain and Ireland the remote dependencies. Seek no profit of them which you are not willing that they should make of you; subject them to no burdens for your own advantage which you are not willing to bear for theirs; give them, in so far as distance and circumstances will admit, the same privileges and rights which you yourselves enjoy. Protect their industry from the ruinous competition of foreigners: give them something to lose if British connection is dissolved. Let them feel that they are really, if not formally, represented in the Imperial Parliament; and that their interests are as well attended to as those of London or Manchester by the representatives of Great Britain. It was neglect of these first principles, so easy to see, so hard to practise, which lost the British the United States in North, and the Spaniards the whole of South America; it is in their observance that the only real security for our present magnificent colonial empire is to be found. And this affords another example of the all-important truth, which so many other passages of contemporary history tend to illustrate, that the laws of morality are not less applicable to social and political than to private conduct; and that the only secure foundation for national prosperity is to be found in the observance of that system of combined justice and good-will in the concerns of nations, which the Gospel has prescribed as the rule for private life.

CHAPTER XCII.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA, AND RETURN OF NAPOLEON FROM ELBA.

1. THE glorious termination of the war excited a degree of enthusiastic joy in the British dominions, of which it is impossible to give an adequate idea, and of which subsequent ages will scarcely be able to form a conception. A great proportion of the people had grown into existence during the continuance of the contest, and inhaled with their earliest breath an ardent desire for its success: all capable of reflection felt, that whatever opinion they might have entertained as to its policy in the outset, the fate and character of the British empire had been irrevocably staked upon the throw, and that their own and their children's freedom depended upon its result. The progress of the struggle had been watched with intense, and often hopeless anxiety: its conclusion was marked by a splendour as unlooked-for as it was unexampled. With whatever diversity of feelings its commencement had been regarded by the great parties who divided the nation, its long continuance had united in their wishes all but a few scoured and inveterate party leaders: the bloody triumphs of the French Revolutionists had alarmed even the warmest votaries of liberty: the stern despotism of Napoleon had alienated their affections; his unrelenting war against freedom terrified their adherents.

2. The patriots rejoiced in the result, because it secured the glory and independence of their country: the partisans of the aristocracy, because it closed a gulf which threatened to swallow up all ancient institutions: the friends of liberty, because it had been achieved by the united efforts of the European

people, and appeared likely to terminate in the establishment of lasting freedom in France. The former anticipated the commencement of an era of unexampled prosperity from the sacrifices which had been made: the latter beheld, in the necessities to which the continental sovereigns had been reduced, and the spirit which they had been compelled to call forth, the dawn of a brighter day in the annals of freedom. The visit of the allied sovereigns to England, in the summer of 1814, wound up these feelings to the very highest pitch. All ranks, from the throne to the cottage, shared in the general enthusiasm. In the anxiety and animation of public events, the distresses and the joys of private life were for a time forgotten: misery itself lost its poignancy in the contagion of general exultation. No other subject was spoken of in the streets, no other canvassed in company, hardly any other thought of in private. The feelings of the whole British nation resembled those of a crowded audience in a theatre, when the genius of the actor, and the enthusiasm of a multitude, break down the barriers of individual restraint, and draw from assembled thousands one simultaneous burst of common emotion.

3. Even after "the festive offices' blaze" was no longer seen, and the roar of artillery had ceased to cause the heart to throb, more thoughtful observers reflected with feelings of extraordinary thankfulness for the past, and sanguine anticipations for the future, on the marvellous events of the war. There seemed a poetical justice in its result, an equity in the retribution which had befallen the great and guilty nation,

which spoke at once the present God. Anticipations the most sanguine on the future progress of liberty in France itself were formed by its most zealous supporters in this country. "Deplorable as have been the excesses," it was said, "which stained with blood the hands of the first apostles of freedom in that country, their labours have not been in vain. A constitutional monarchy has at last been erected: guarantees of liberty have been established. Compared with the freedom she will enjoy under the Restoration, her condition under the old monarchy was slavery itself. The blood of Robespierre was but for a season; the carnage of Napoleon has passed away; but the glorious fabric of freedom has emerged un sullied even from the sanguinary hands of its founders, and a brighter era opened on the human race, from the very crimes which appeared to overcast its prospects."

4. Such hopes are the dream of the poet; they constitute the denouement of romance, they form the charm of the melodrama; but they are not the history of man. A constant struggle with evil, a perpetual contest for the mastery with the powers of sin, is his destiny from the cradle to the grave of nations. The crimes committed during the Revolution had been too great, the breaches formed too wide, the blood shed too profuse, the injuries inflicted too serious, to admit of a pacific and prosperous society, blessed with the enjoyment of real freedom, being built up out of the ruins they had produced. Human passions do not subside like the waves of the ocean when the winds are stilled; human iniquity, once let loose, cannot be restrained so soon as the original actors in it have been destroyed. The winged word spoken, the immortal thoughts written, the irreparable deeds done, must work out their appropriate effect; for good or for evil they are committed to the stream of time, and generations yet unborn must reap their fruits. Irreligion, passion, the thirst for illicit gratification, are easily let in to a nation: they find a ready entrance in the deceitful desires of the human heart;

they are admitted amidst a chorus of joyous hopes and sanguine anticipations. Ages must elapse, generations unborn descend to their tomb, possibly a new dominant race be introduced from distant and uncorrupted states, before they can be extirpated. The effect of noble thoughts, of just principles, of elevated conceptions, is never lost; it is more durable upon the human race than the immediate results of sin, and often finally improves its fortunes. But in the first instance it is incomparably more slow, in the purification of mankind, than the passions of vice are in corrupting them. He knew the destiny of mortals, and the laws of the moral world well, who said, "For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments."

5. The peace with France formed the subject of universal thought throughout the nation; but its conditions were so glorious to this country, that they could hardly form the subject of debate in parliament, and mere congratulatory addresses are hardly worthy of a place in history. Munificent provision, though not beyond his deserts, was made in testimony of the national gratitude to the Duke of Wellington. It was proposed by government that £300,000 should be voted to that illustrious commander, in addition to the £100,000 already bestowed on him by parliament; but when the subject was brought forward in the House of Commons, it was proposed by Mr Whitbread and Mr Ponsonby, highly to their honour, considering the persevering resistance they had made to the war, that it should be increased to £400,000, making half a million in all which he had received from the gratitude of his country. The enlarged sum was voted without a dissentient voice; so completely had the transcendent services of the British hero stifled the voice of envy and stilled the passions of political hostility. Sir Thomas Graham was raised to the peerage by

the title of Lord Lynedoch, with a pension of £2000 a-year to himself and his two following heirs: similar honours and pensions were bestowed on Marshal Beresford and Sir Rowland Hill, who became Lords Beresford and Hill. All these grants were in like manner passed unanimously; and the gratitude of the crown was appropriately evinced by raising all his principal officers, including Picton, Cole, Leith, Clinton, and almost all the names which have now acquired a durable place in history, to the honours of knighthood; while ribbons and stars were profusely scattered among their less elevated brethren in arms. Wellington himself, with the unanimous approbation of the nation, was elevated to the rank of duke.

6. A striking and impressive scene occurred when the British hero was presented to the House of Commons, to receive publicly the thanks of the House for the achievements which had shed such lustre on his country. He was received with loud cheers, all the members standing; and the Speaker addressed him in the following eloquent and dignified terms:—"My Lord, since I last had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children. It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character, which,

uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires. For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House; in gratitude for your eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction that, amidst the constellation of illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all common acclamation conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of Heaven and the common destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name—an imperishable monument—exciting others to like deeds of glory; and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth."

7. Indescribable was the enthusiasm which these eloquent and impressive words excited in all who listened to them, and rapturous the applause which ensued when Lord Castlereagh moved that they should be entered on the journals of the House.* The Duke of Wellington replied in modest and suitable terms, in which, without pretending to disclaim all merit himself, he ascribed the success which had been achieved mainly to the persevering support he had received from the government, and the fortitude and discipline of the troops under his command. A few days afterwards, a solemn thanksgiving was returned in St Paul's by the Prince-Regent and the royal family, accompanied by the whole ministers and privy-council, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and functionaries in London, and the principal persons of the British empire who were then assembled in London. The multitude were deeply impressed when the august procession, decked out with all the splendour of royalty, passed through

* The Author was present on the occasion. The impression the scene produced will never be effaced.

the streets; and when the Duke of Wellington, with the sword presented to him by the State before him, sat down on the right hand of the Prince-Regent in the cathedral, one burst of almost overpowering emotion thrilled through every one in its immense extent. But who can rely on the permanent affection of the ever-changing multitude? Could the eye of prophecy have pierced the depths of futurity, it would have beheld the hero of England, then "the observed of all observers," and almost sinking under "the electric shock of a nation's gratitude," reviled by the majority of his countrymen, execrated by the mob, and narrowly escaping death from their infuriated hands, in the vicinity of that very spot, on the anniversary of his great and crowning victory of Waterloo! Themistocles, the saviour of Athens, was obliged to seek refuge from his countrymen at the court of the Great King; Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, died an exile on a foreign shore,—his ungrateful country did not possess his bones.

8. An important discussion, alike interesting from the simple character of the people whose fate was at issue, and the principles in regard to the future settlement of Europe which it involved, took place in parliament on the subject of Norway. It has been already mentioned, that it was part of the secret engagements contracted by Alexander with Bernadotte, at Abo in 1812, that he should receive that kingdom in exchange for the continental possessions of the Swedish crown which were ceded to Russia, and that, by the subsequent treaty with Great Britain, not only had the consent of the cabinet of St. James been obtained to this arrangement, but his Britannic Majesty engaged, if necessary, to assist in an active manner with his fleet to carry the treaty into effect, [*ante* Chap. LXX. § 50; and Chap. LXXX. § 7]. The period had now arrived when Bernadotte claimed the performance of these stipulations, and when it became necessary for Great Britain to perform her engagements for the coercion of the Norwegians into obedience to this

transfer. The court of Denmark had acceded to it, by the treaty which admitted them into the Grand Alliance, [*ante*, Chap. LXXXIV. § 48], as indeed it was impossible for them to do otherwise, after the overthrow of the external power of France by the battle of Leipsic and evacuation of Germany. But the Norwegians loudly protested against this forcible transfer of a free people to the rule of their hereditary enemies; and not only refused to admit the Swedish authorities, in obedience to the injunctions of the King of Denmark, but made preparations to resist any forcible occupation of their territory. They even despatched envoys to Great Britain, to interest the English people in their cause. In consequence, a Swedish army assembled under the Crown-Prince on the frontier, and Great Britain despatched some vessels of war, to commence a blockade of the harbours of Norway. This proceeding excited the liveliest interest in Europe, both from the importance of the questions at issue to the parties, and the indication which it afforded of the intentions of the allied powers in regard to other countries, which, in like manner, it might be deemed expedient to transfer from their ancient dominion to new sovereigns. It became the subject of warm debates in the British parliament; and the arguments there urged are the more worthy of attention, that they were brought forward in the only assembly in existence where the subject could with perfect freedom be discussed.

9. On the side of the Opposition, it was maintained by Earl Grey, Lord Grenville, and Mr Wynne: "British policy never sustained a deeper shock, nor British character a deeper stain, than in the conduct which has recently been pursued in regard to Norway. If indeed it were incumbent on this country, on a fair construction of the treaty with Sweden, to assist by the co-operation of force in the reduction of Norway, it might fairly be urged that the evil, how great soever, was beyond the reach of remedy, and that even oppression must be enforced, rather than

breach of faith incurred. But are we bound by the treaty to employ force to compel the Norwegians to submit to a forcible junction with Sweden? Nothing can be clearer than that we are not. It is merely stipulated 'that we are to use our good offices to obtain the annexation, and even to employ force, if necessary.' But force was not to be employed, unless the King of Denmark refused to join the northern alliance. If, then, force had been already employed to compel that junction, we had done all that we engaged, and are liberated from any further obligations. Now, when were we called on to interpose force to compel this junction? When Denmark has joined the northern alliance—when her troops have marched in support of the common cause—and when she has not only ceded Norway, but has expressly fulfilled that condition, upon the refusal of which the employment of force was made to depend.

10. "We are clearly, therefore, not bound to co-operate by force, either by the letter or the spirit of the treaty; and if not, are we called upon to interpose by the nature of the transaction, or the merits of the hostility to which we have chosen to make ourselves a party? Here the argument is, if possible, still stronger. The King of Denmark had no right to transfer the people of Norway against their will. He might withdraw himself from their protection; he might absolve them from their allegiance to him: but he had no right to transfer that allegiance to another state; it became then the privilege of the people to determine to whom their allegiance should be transferred. Authority is not necessary to support a position so plain, so entirely in unison with the first principles of natural justice. If it were necessary to quote opinions of weight on such a point, our greatest international lawyers, Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel, are unanimous upon it. They state that a sovereign may, in case of necessity, withdraw his garrisons from their towns, but that, this being done, it rests with the people themselves to select the State to which they will

transfer their allegiance. Provinces of an empire, indeed, such as Franche-Comté and Lorraine, have often been transferred without the consent of the inhabitants; but that does not apply to the cession of an integral independent state, such as Norway. And whenever such a stretch has been attempted, as in the subjugation of Corsica by France, or the transfer of Scotland by Balliol to Edward I., the iniquitous measure has met with the unanimous condemnation of subsequent times, and the heroes who strove to resist it have been the admiration of the historian, the theme of the poet, in every subsequent age. If a more recent example is required, look at Spain. Ferdinand VII. ceded his people to Napoleon by the treaty of Bayonne: but, instead of acquiescing in the transfer, they strenuously resisted it, and for the last six years our whole efforts have been directed to aid them in withstanding a usurpation similar to that which we are now with as little justice about to force on the Norwegians.

11. "Have the services of Sweden in the common cause been so important, the fidelity of the Crown-Prince to his engagements so conspicuous, as to call for such an act on the part of Great Britain? It is notorious that the very reverse is the case. Have Sir C. Stewart and Mr Thornton never stated in their despatches that Sweden was backward in aiding the common cause? Have her troops ever taken the part assigned to them in the combined operations? Even at the battle of Leipzig, Sir C. Stewart has loudly complained that Sweden hung back, and that the utmost efforts were necessary to bring her troops into action. Subsequently, instead of directing his troops to the theatre of war in Silesia, the Crown-Prince employed them entirely against Denmark; and, during the campaign in France, his inactivity became so conspicuous that the Hanseatic Legion, intended to have been under his direction, was transferred to that of General Bulow, and two entire corps of his army were at once withdrawn from his orders, and placed under the direc-

tions of Marshal Blücher. Is it, then, for such a lukewarm, suspicious ally that we are to incur the odium of concurring in the subjugation of a free-born and gallant people?

12. "The policy of this co-operation is as mistaken as its principle is unjust. Sweden is attached to France, because it may be aided, and cannot be injured by it: it is jealous of Russia, because it may be injured, and cannot be benefited by it. The Crown-Prince will never lose his attachment to the land of his birth; in his case, national partiality, old recollections, will conspire with new interests and acquired desires to attach him to the French alliance. Rather than see Norway annexed to Sweden, it would be incomparably better to see it erected into an independent power. And as such a power, if independent, would necessarily be closely connected with this country, it would prove of essential service in furnishing materials for our navy from a quarter from whence the supplies are never likely to fail. But fail they unquestionably will if this annexation is persisted in; for, on the first general war in Europe, Sweden will join with France, from inevitable and well-founded dread of the power of Russia."

13. On the other hand, it was argued by Lord Castlereagh, Lord Harrowby, and Lord Liverpool: "This question is to be determined, not by the general considerations which have been brought forward with such glowing eloquence on the opposite side, but by the necessities of the case when the treaty with Sweden was concluded, and the plain meaning of that treaty itself. It was the anxious desire of this country, at the time when the co-operation of Sweden was essential to the interests of Europe, to obtain the assistance of that power against the common enemy; and to that end we engaged to put Sweden in possession of Norway, which being in the hands of a hostile state, rendered it impossible for the Swedish government to send forces to any considerable amount to the Continent until it was secured from attack on that vulnerable side. The Emperor of Russia, accordingly, by his treaty with Sweden,

bound himself to secure to the latter power the crown of Norway; and Great Britain pledged itself by its treaty to the same effect, by using its good offices with Denmark, and if necessary by naval co-operation. It was certainly provided that we should not employ force without making an attempt to induce Denmark to join the general confederacy, and that power has done so. But unless there was something illegal in the original treaty, can it be maintained that we are bound to stop short at the nominal cession, and do nothing to put our ally in possession of the territory which we had expressly agreed he should possess?

14. "As to the justice of the treaty itself, that is a different question, which it is too late to discuss, as it has been concluded and acted upon, and formed part of the public convention of Europe. But even if that question were to be again opened up, nothing can be clearer than that the treaty with Sweden might be defended on the best principles of justice and expedience. Many weighty authorities, indeed, have laid it down, that a sovereign cannot, without the consent of the inhabitants, alienate his *whole* dominions: but they also state, what common sense sufficiently demonstrates, that a particular town or province may be validly ceded without such consent. By all the treaties which have terminated the great wars of Europe, large cessions of territory have been made; they were, in fact, the price of the pacification, and without them that blessing could not have been obtained. In particular, this was done by the treaties of Westphalia, of Utrecht, and of Amiens; and by all concluded by Napoleon, large provinces were ceded without any complaint being made by the gentlemen opposite. Sicily, Naples, Flanders, and almost all the smaller states of Italy, as much independent states as Norway, have at different times been thus transferred. Did not Lord Chatham boast that he would conquer Germany in America!—a saying which, according to the doctrine now advanced, would be founded in gross injustice. If the consent of the people to their cession

were requisite to the legal validity of their transfer, treaties would be nugatory; every attempt at pacification would only lead to a difficult and often ineffectual negotiation with the subjects of the territory proposed to be ceded; and wars would be interminable, from the impossibility of guaranteeing to the victorious party any advantage which might induce him to terminate his hostility. The obligation on the part of subjects to submit to such transfers is but a part of the general result of the social union, by which the original liberty of each citizen is to a certain degree impaired for the public good.

15. "Whether or not the Crown-Prince has in every instance exerted himself with the greatest vigour for the prosecution of hostilities against the common enemy, is not now the question. Suffice it to say, that his co-operation on the whole has been of the most essential service, and such as fully entitles him to his stipulated reward. Had he not, by his accession to the alliance, created a formidable diversion in the rear of the French army which penetrated into Russia, we might have been at this moment occupied, instead of discussing the minutæ of our engagements with Sweden, in anxiously deliberating on the means of averting invasion from our own shores. The policy of strengthening Sweden is equally clear: the great evil of modern Europe, which has hitherto led to such frequent wars of ambition by the greater powers, has been the number of lesser states with which they are surrounded, at once a field for their hostility and a prey to their cupidity. It is our wisdom, therefore, so to strengthen the second-rate powers as may render the balance more even, and prevent their dominions from becoming, as heretofore, the mere battle-field in which the greater powers find an arena for their contests and the prize of their hostility. The resistance of the Norwegians to this projected union with Sweden has been entirely fomented by the Danes, who, having secured their equivalent in Pomerania, are now striving also to retain Norway: it has been conse-

quent on a journey of the heir-presumptive of the crown of Denmark, who went from Copenhagen to Norway, and was declared king of that country. The terms of the proposed union have hitherto been studiously concealed from the Norwegians; but when they come to be known, all opposition on their part will cease, as it has already done with a large portion of the most respectable and enlightened inhabitants."

16. Upon a division, parliament supported ministers in the course they had adopted on this subject in both houses: the majority in the Peers being eighty-one, in the Commons, two days afterwards, no less than a hundred and fifty-eight. The resistance of the Norwegians, however, still continued; and it became necessary for the Swedish government to have recourse to actual hostilities to effect the occupation of this much-coveted acquisition. A proclamation of the King of Sweden, containing an engagement to leave to the nation the power of establishing a constitution on the footing of national representation, to its inhabitants the right of taxing themselves, and not to consolidate the finances of the two countries, met with very little attention. As little respect was paid to a letter addressed to them by the King of Denmark two months afterwards, in which he counselled them to submit, disavowed the act of Prince Christian, who had gone to Norway, and been proclaimed King of that nation, and forbade all the officers in his service to remain in the country in its present state. Prince Christian, however, was not discouraged; he traversed the mountains between Sweden and Drontheim, and was everywhere met by crowds of peasants, shouting with enthusiastic ardour, "We will live or die for old Norway's freedom!" When he arrived at the monument in the pass of Gutbrandsthal, famous for the destruction of a band of Swedish invaders, and read the inscription, "Wee to the Norwegian whose blood does not boil in his veins at the sight of this monument!" thousands of voices rent the sky with the exclamation, "Thou shalt not leave us!" Continuing his jour-

ney to Drontheim, he was unanimously saluted as Regent: the Danish flag was taken down to the sound of a funeral dirge; the Norwegian banner hoisted amidst shouts of acclamation. Norway was declared independent; peace was declared with Great Britain; a deputation was appointed to wait on the British government, to deprecate the proposed coercion; and Count Axel Rosen, the Swedish envoy, who came from the government of Stockholm, commissioned to receive execution of the treaty, was informed that, till the declaration of independence was communicated to the powers of Europe, no answer to his requisitions could be made.

17. The engagements of the allied powers, however, towards Sweden, were too stringent to permit of any attention being paid even to these touching appeals of a gallant people struggling for their independence. Mr Anker, the Norwegian envoy to the court of London, was informed by Lord Liverpool of the situation and obligations of the British government, and desired to return to Norway: but still the Norwegians were undismayed, and on the 19th April, the Diet, by a considerable majority, conferred the crown on Prince Christian and his male heirs. M. Morier was afterwards despatched by the British government to endeavour to effect a pacific settlement of the differences, and soon after the envoys from all the allied powers arrived in Norway with a similar purpose; but all their efforts were fruitless: they departed from Drontheim without having induced either Christian or the Diet to submit, and preparations on both sides were immediately made for war.

18. It belongs to the northern historians to relate in detail the circumstances of the brief but interesting campaign which followed. Suffice it to say, that the Norwegian flotilla was defeated near the Hvalørn Islands, with hardly any loss to the Swedish squadron; and that Bernadotte having put himself at the head of the invading army, twenty thousand strong, the frontier was immediately crossed. The

Swedish General Gahn was, in the first instance, worsted in an attempt to force the mountain passes, yet Friedrichstadt was captured two days after. The strong position of Isebro was soon after forced, with considerable loss to the Norwegians; General Vegesack overthrew a body of six thousand gallant mountaineers; Sleswick was abandoned, and taken possession of by the invaders; the passage of the Glommen was won; preparations were made for the bombardment of Friedrichstein, before which Charles XII. lost his life; the ridge of the Kjolberg was carried after a brave resistance; and measures were taken for surrounding, with a very superior force, the army of Prince Christian, posted near Moss. Further resistance would now have been hopeless; the match was evidently unequal; and therefore Prince Christian made proposals to the Crown-Prince, which were accepted. By this convention the Danish prince resigned all pretensions to the crown of Norway; and, on the other hand, the Crown-Prince accepted the constitution for Norway which had been fixed by the Diet of Eswold, and engaged to govern it with no other changes than were necessary to the union of the two kingdoms. After some local disturbances, and great heartburnings among the peasantry, this convention was submitted to; the Diet at Christians, by a majority of seventy-four to five, agreed to accept their new king, and consent to the union of the two kingdoms. The terms arranged were in the highest degree favourable to the Norwegians, who preserved the substance, though not the form, of independence, and a degree of popular power which would be inconsistent with good government in a less primitive state of society. Bernadotte has since ruled them with leniency and judgment; and though many old patriots still mourn over the loss of their political independence, Norway has had no real reason, from its subsequent government, to regret its union with the Swedish monarchy.

19. Although the military events of this miniature contest are of little im-

portance, yet the moral and political questions which it involves are of the highest interest, and by much the most material which arose for the consideration of the statesmen of Europe upon the overthrow of the French Empire. By that great event, dominions which had been incorporated with it under the sceptre of Napoleon, containing thirteen millions of souls, besides states embracing a still greater number, forming part of his allied dependencies, had been in great part bereft of their former government, and lay at the disposal of the allied powers. It became, therefore, a matter at once of the highest importance, and of no small difficulty, to provide properly for the political distribution of the conquered or rescued states. For, on the one hand, the general interests of Europe imperatively required that the old arrangements should not in every instance be specifically resumed, as experience had demonstrated that, if they were so, the weakness of the intermediate states rendered them an immediate prey to the ambition of the greater. On the other, the attachment of the people to their old sovereigns and form of government was often strong, always respectable; and it ill became the champions of European independence to terminate their work of deliverance by an act of injustice which might be paralleled to any, to terminate which they had taken up arms.

20. In these difficult circumstances, where state necessity and insurmountable expedience pointed to one course, and a sense of justice and regard to the rights of man appeared to demand another, it is not surprising that the decision of the allied powers should have been the subject of impassioned declamation or sincere regret, and that the annexation of Norway to Sweden, of great part of Saxony to Prussia, of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw to Russia, the Milanese to Austria, and Genoa to the kingdom of Piedmont, should have been represented as acts of violence and spoliation, equal to any which had stained the arms of Napoleon. Without pretending to vindicate all those measures, and fully admitting the prin-

ciple, that the end will not justify the means, there is yet this important fact to be observed, which draws a broad and clear line of distinction between all these acts of incorporation, and those which were so loudly complained of under the government of the French Emperor. All these states, which were disposed of, some against their will, by the Congress of Vienna, were at the close of hostilities *at war* with the allied powers: they were part of the French empire, or of its allied dependencies; and if they were allotted to some of the conquering powers, they underwent no more than the stern rule of war, the sad lot of the vanquished from the beginning of the world. What was complained of in Napoleon's usurpations, was not the provinces which he wrested from his *enemies* at the close of war, but the crowns which he tore from the brows of his *allies*, or neutral states, during peace. The contest, moreover, on the termination of which they were partitioned, was one of the grossest aggression on their part: their forces had all formed part of the vast crusade, at the head of which Napoleon had crossed the Niemen, and carried the sword and the firebrand into the heart of Russia; and if they in the end found the scales of fortune turned against them, and lamented their forcible transference to the rule of another, they underwent no other fate than the just law of retribution. They experienced no more than they had inflicted on the Austrians, the Prussians, and the Dutch; than they had attempted to inflict on the Spaniards and the Russians.

Another subject in the highest degree interesting, both to the domestic historian of Great Britain and the general annalist of Europe, which underwent a thorough discussion, and was placed on a new footing at this period, was the English *COIN LAWS*.

21. During the greater part of the eighteenth century, England had been to a certain, though not a large, extent an exporting country; and so great was the influence of the landowners in the legislature, that they had obtained the grant of a bounty of five shillings

a quarter on the exportation of wheat to foreign states. By the statute 1 William and Mary, c. 12, passed in the year 1688, exportation was permitted when wheat shall be at or under 48s. the quarter, and a bounty of 5s. a quarter was allowed. The bounty was repeatedly suspended during the next century when grain was high, and a great variety of temporary statutes were passed to alleviate passing distress; but this bounty continued to be the general law of the country till 1765, when, by the 3 Geo. III. c. 81, it was entirely abolished, and all import duties were repealed. This continued the law till 1791, when, by the 21 Geo. III. c. 30, the old bounty of 5s. was revived when wheat shall be under 44s. the quarter; when above 46s., exportation was prohibited. On imported wheat, if prices were under 50s. a duty of 24s. 3d. was imposed; from 50s. to 54s., the duty fell to 2s. 6d.; and above 54s., the duty was only 6d. This scale was to a certain degree modified by the 44 Geo. III. c. 109, passed in 1804, by which act export was allowed when wheat was at and under 48s., with a bounty of 5s.: above 54s. there was no export: import, if prices were under 63s., was allowed only on payment of a duty of 24s. 3d.; from 63s. to 66s., at a duty of 2s. 6d.; above 66s., at a duty of 6d. The object of these,

and an immense number of intermediate temporary or partial acts, was to prevent that grievous evil to which society is subjected in the great fluctuation of the prices of grain, and secure, as far as human foresight could, the advantage of a plentiful supply and steady prices in the article of human subsistence.

22. Under the operation of these statutes, Great Britain long continued an exporting country. From 1697 to 1766, a period of nearly seventy years, the annual amount of exports of corn was, with the exception only of six years, much greater than that of imports; and this excess had, in the middle* of the eighteenth century, sometimes reached as much as nine hundred thousand quarters.* From 1766, however, the balance turned the other way, and the amount imported generally, though not always, exceeded that exported; until, during the dreadful scarcity of 1800 and 1801, and the scarcely less severe season of 1810, the quantity imported had ranged from one million two hundred thousand to one million five hundred thousand quarters.† This was a most important change, and that in prices was hardly less so; for on an average of ten years for the last hundred and fifty years, the price of wheat had doubled, and, as compared with the middle of last

* Quarters of wheat exported and imported from England:—

Years.	Quarters Exported.	Quarters Imported.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.
1748	545,387	365	£1 12 10
1749	639,049	382	1 12 10½
1750	947,602	279	1 8 10
1751	661,416	3	1 14 2
1752	429,279	0	1 17 2½

—*Parl. Debates*, xxvii. 682.

Years.	Quarters Exported.	Quarters Imported.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.
1800	22,613	1,264,620	£6 7 0
1801	36,496	1,424,766	6 8 6
1802	149,304	647,664	3 7 2
1803	76,580	373,725	3 0 2
1804	68,078	461,140	3 9 6
1805	77,959	320,634	4 8 0
1806	29,563	310,342	4 3 0
1807	24,363	400,759	3 15 0
1808	77,567	31,466	3 19 2
1809	31,278	448,487	5 6 0
1810	78,765	1,580,691	5 12 0
1811	97,765	292,038	5 8 0
1812	46,324	129,466	5 8 0
1813		Records destroyed by fire.	6 0 0

—*Parl. Debates*, xxvii. 682, 683.

century, had more than tripled.* These facts naturally awakened the anxious solicitude of the legislature and the country at the close of the war, when the restoration of a general peace exposed the British farmer anew to the competition of the foreign producer, and the vast change of prices consequent on the suspension of cash payments in 1797, and the subsequent boundless expenditure of the war, had rendered him so much less qualified to bear it.

23. Agriculture had immensely advanced under the combined influence of foreign exclusion and domestic encouragement in the latter years of the contest. Capital to the amount of several hundred millions sterling had been invested in land, and was now producing a remunerating return; the home cultivators, notwithstanding an increase of nearly fifty per cent in the number of the people during the last twenty-five years, had kept pace both with the wants of the people, and the rapidly augmenting luxury of the age; the importation of grain for the three preceding years had been a perfect trifle. It had thus become a very grave question, whether these advantages should now be thrown away, and the nation, after having by a painful process of foreign warfare been raised to a state of independence of foreign supplies, should at its close, by the inundation of continental grain, consequent on the expenses and high prices which that very war had occasioned,

be reduced to a state of dependence on external powers for the most necessary articles of subsistence.

24. On the one hand, it was argued by Mr Huskisson, Mr Vansittart, and Mr Frankland Lewis: "The two grand objects which the House has to obtain by the proposed measures, are to render the nation independent of foreign supply, and to keep the price of corn as nearly equal as possible. Under the system begun in 1765, which has now been in operation for nearly fifty years, the country has been gradually becoming more and more dependent on foreign countries for a supply of grain, and prices have been kept in a continual state of fluctuation. All this has happened in consequence of deviating from a system which, for nearly sixty years previously, had rendered the country nearly independent of foreign supply, and during which period the fluctuation of prices had never exceeded one-third. Instead of which, during the last forty years, large importations had taken place, and the fluctuations have risen as high as three to one, instead of one to three. What must be the state of the law which produced these evils, if they have been produced by law, of which there can be no doubt?—And is not some remedy necessary?"

25. "It is impossible that temporary fluctuation can raise the price of labour in proportion to the rise in the price of grain; and as the agricultural labourers constitute the largest class, and their earnings approach nearest to what is necessary for mere existence, any temporary rise in the price of grain is more severely felt by them than by any others, and this evil has exhibited itself in augmented poor-rates and many other forms. The fluctuation of prices is an evil as much to be guarded against as too high a price: a total prohibition of exportation, it is true, may raise the price; but a medium may be found which will at once keep the price steady, and not unduly elevate it. Notwithstanding all that has been said about the importance of importation of grain, it is well known that in no year has it reached higher than a tenth

* Average price of wheat during ten years, ending the years under-specified.

Years.	s.	d.
1655.	51	7½
1665.	50	5½
1675.	40	11½
1685.	41	4½
1695.	39	6½
1705.	42	11
1715.	44	2½
1725.	35	4½
1735.	35	2
1745.	32	7
1755.	33	2½
1765.	39	3½
1775.	51	3½
1785.	47	8½
1795.	54	3½
1805.	81	2½
1815. (eight years).	101	9½

—Report of Committee on Corn Laws, 1814; Parl. Deb. xxvii. 687.

or twelfth of the annual consumption. If no foreign corn had been imported, the nation would have saved in the last twenty years sixty millions sterling; nor can it be said, that without this importation sixty millions' worth of our manufactures would have remained unsold; for what would those sixty millions have effected if they had been invested in land? What improvements would they have effected in our agriculture—what increased means of purchasing our manufactures would they have given to our cultivators! When the law permitting the importation of corn was first passed, there was a violent outcry against it; but what had been its effect? Why, that Ireland had come to supply England with corn, for which she had received several millions which had been employed in improving her soil, which, but for that law, would have gone to Holland or some other country. The importations from Ireland now amount to three millions annually, with a probability of a still greater increase. Are we prepared to throw away that benefit to our own subjects?

26. "Circumstances over which we have no control have of late years given an extraordinary impulse to British agriculture, and rendered us again independent of foreign nations. Having paid the price of our independence, would it be wise now to permit the domestic culture of the country to be destroyed, and render us again dependent on foreign nations? Such an advantage would be readily seized on by any power, and used to the annoyance, it might be the subjugation, of any country which should subject itself to such an evil. If the law is left in its present form, agriculture will speedily recede; the low price of corn produced by foreign importation will at once diminish the supply of grain, and throw out of employment a vast multitude of agricultural labourers; and thence will arise a double evil at once to the landowners, the farmers, and the nation. A loss of capital to a prodigious extent will ensue; rents will be immediately lowered; the best market for our manufactures, the home

market, will be essentially injured. The true wisdom of the legislature will be to impose a fluctuating scale of duties, which shall, when prices are high, let in importation from all the world, and, gradually rising as prices fall, shall, when they reach a certain point of depression, operate as a prohibition against it. Assuming 63s. the quarter, then, as the turning-point at which the prohibitory duty of 24s. 3d. should operate, the true principle appears to be to adopt a sliding scale, which shall add a shilling to the duty for every shilling that wheat falls, and take off a shilling for every shilling that it rises; so that at 86s. there should be no duty at all: and, at the same time, to lower these duties to one-half on grain imported from our own colonies."

27. On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Rose and Mr Canning: "Taking it for granted that no one entertains the slightest idea of introducing an entirely free importation, the great point is, at what price is importation to be restrained, and exportation permitted? The last average price of wheat at Dantzic is 36s., and the charges thence to the port of London are 26s., which in the war had risen as high as 82s. The supply of wheat in times of scarcity is now almost entirely from Poland, and the prices there are chiefly determined by those in this country. Now, if there be no restraint in the way of export, corn may be sent out of the country to such an extent as to be altogether beyond the reach of the artisans and labourers. It is mere legislation in favour of a particular class in society, to make the regulating price for the duties on the importation of corn a very high one, while at the same time free and unrestrained exportation is permitted. What in such a case becomes of the consumer? The middle and labouring classes have for many years endured, with exemplary patience, such a rise in the price of the necessaries of life as has exposed them to the severest privations. What, then, can be more unjust than now, when they may with confidence look forward, from the return of peace, to a fall of

prices, to perpetuate their distresses by such forced measures of legislation as shall permanently retain prices at the war level? The interests of the grower and consumer, when properly understood, are by no means incompatible: but the question is whether, in the measures recommended by the committee, and now pressed upon the House, the only point considered has not been the interest of the grower.

28. "The poor-rates must be inevitably and seriously augmented, if the present high rate of prices continue; and will not that abstract a large portion of the profits which they will bring to agriculture? This was sorely felt in 1800 and 1801, during which years this burden was in many places doubled. The revenue will be materially affected by the virtual prohibition, in ordinary years, of all imports of grain, and the consequent cessation of the whole duties obtained on its introduction. We are told the farmer requires protection, and would be ruined by foreign competition. How do the facts tally with this assertion? From 1801 to 1811 the population of England alone has increased one million four hundred and forty-eight thousand; that of the whole British Islands probably two millions five hundred thousand: in that period the average excess of importation over exportation has increased by five hundred and eighty-six thousand quarters: not a fifth part of the wants of the increased population at a quarter a-head; and even that includes two years of the severest scarcity ever known. This clearly demonstrates that the remainder has been obtained by the additional produce of our own cultivation, and in fact the advances made in that branch of industry of late years have been immense, as every part of the country demonstrates. If, then, agriculture is already so flourishing, why seek to prop it up at the expense of the other classes by artificial legislative enactments?

29. "To one class of society the committee and their supporters in this House hold out an expectation, that by increased cultivation bread will become cheap; to another, that

by raising the prices of importation, and lessening those of exportation, corn will become dearer. These propositions cannot both be true; and there appears every reason to believe that the benefit to the landowner and farmer will be incomparably less than the detriment to the consumers. The former have hitherto in one way or other been indemnified for their burdens; but the latter have not; and it will be the height of injustice to pass a law which shall render the price of grain permanently twice as high as it was before the war began. Delay in a question of such importance, and so vital in its consequences to the country, is loudly called for; and during the prorogation of parliament information may be collected, which will probably be the means of adjusting it more in conformity with the interests of all classes in the nation.*

30. The arguments of Mr Huskisson and Sir Henry Parnell proved entirely successful in the House of Commons, by whom the resolutions proposed by Sir Henry Parnell as the chairman of the committee, with the modification contended for by Mr Huskisson, were carried without a division; and the sliding scale, commencing with a duty of 24s. at 68s. the quarter, and declining 1s. with every shilling the price advanced, was agreed to. But the reception of these resolutions by the country was very different. Great alarm arose in the large towns and manufacturing districts, that their interests were about to be sacrificed to those of the landed proprietors; petitions for delay and farther inquiry flowed in from all quarters.—Mr Canning presented one from Liverpool, signed by twenty-two thousand names; and such was the effect of these remonstrances,

* It is impossible in such a question as the corn laws, where details and figures constitute the foundation of the subject, to give any idea, in an abstract of a few pages, of the arguments on either side. This debate, with the report of the committee on which it is founded, will be found to contain more ample information, both in the statute law, regarding the corn laws, and the influence they had on prices for one hundred and fifty years before 1814, than any other documents in existence.—See *Parl. Debates*, xxvii. 579, 690.

that, after the subject had been repeatedly before the House, it was finally carried by General Gascoigne, by a majority of ten; that the bill should be taken into consideration the day six months; in other words, it was lost. The bill was, however, brought forward again in the next session of parliament, when it was made the subject of most able debates

the two Houses of parliament: but at length it was carried by large majorities in both Houses—that in the Commons being one hundred and sixty-one the others one hundred and twenty-four.

31. "High prices and plenty," says Adam Smith, "are prosperity; low prices and scarcity are misery." In this profound saying is to be found the true principle which, in every old and opulent community, of necessity renders unavoidable a corn law and heavy duties upon the importation of foreign grain, except during periods of actual scarcity. It is in their very riches, the multitude of their cash transactions, in the weight of their taxes, the magnitude of their debt, the immensity of their currency—the bequest of previous ages of credit, of long-established civilisation—that the reason for this necessity is to be found. The prices of labour, of cultivation, of the implements of husbandry, of horses, of seed-corn, are necessarily higher in the old-established community than in the comparatively infant state, for the same reason that prices are higher in the metropolis than in the remote provinces of the same empire, or in the metropolis itself during the season of gaiety or fashion than in the other times of the year. This reason being permanent, and founded in the nature of things, is

of universal application. Of the many causes concurring to the same effect, by far the most important is that which arises from the accumulation of wealth. The amount of a nation's strength, in that particular, forms the measure of its weakness in competition for agricultural production with younger and poorer states. Machinery and the division of labour, the acquisitions of science, the discoveries of art, are of boundless efficacy in cheapening, in rich and old states, the production of manufactures; but it has scarcely any influence in diminishing the cost of those of the fruits of the earth. Machinery is of little applicability to the labour of the husbandman: man's first and best employment is, by the beneficence of nature, reserved for his exclusive use in every period of his progress. The manufacturers of England find no difficulty in underselling those of Hindostan in the Indian market, in fabrics made of cotton which grew on the banks of the Ganges; but its farmers strive in vain with those of Poland or Illinois in the supply of the London market with wheat.

32. Nor do the manufacturing classes suffer by such regulations as in ordinary seasons confine the supply of the home market to domestic cultivators; for their effect is to augment the riches, and increase the means of purchasing manufactured articles, in the hands of the best consumers of domestic fabrics.* It would be a poor compensation to the British manufacturer, if a free importation of grain ruined the cultivator of Kent or East Lothian, who consumed at an average five pounds' worth of British manufactures, to remind him that by so doing you had fostered the serf of Poland or the Ukraine, who did not

* Table showing the exports of manufactures from Great Britain and Ireland in 1836, with the population, and proportions per head consumed of them in the under-mentioned countries, viz. :—

	Population in 1836.	Consumption in 1836.	Proportion per head.
Russia,	60,000,000	£1,742,453	29 0 8
Prussia,	14,000,000	160,472	0 0 3
France,	32,000,000	1,591,331	0 0 11
Sweden,	2,000,000	113,366	6 6 2
British North American colonies,	1,500,000	2,789,331	1 11 6
British West Indies,	900,000	3,786,463	3 17 6
British Australia,	100,000	1,136,000	11 15 0
Great Britain and Ireland,	26,000,000	133,000,000	4 17 0

—FORRESTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1836, v. 1. 182.

consume to the amount of fivepence. The best trade which any nation can carry on, as Adam Smith remarked, is that between the town and the country; and subsequent experience has amply demonstrated the truth of the observation. No nation can pretend to independence, which rests for any sensible portion of its subsistence in ordinary seasons on foreign, who may become hostile, nations. And if we would see a memorable example of the manner in which the greatest and most powerful nation may, in the course of ages, come to be paralysed by this cause, we have only to cast our eyes on imperial Rome, when the vast extent of the empire had practically established a free trade in grain with the whole civilised world. The result was, that cultivation disappeared from the Italian plains, where from the presence of long-established opulence it had become so expensive; and, its fields being devoted to pasturage, grain was mainly obtained by importation from Egypt and Libya. The race of Roman agriculturists, the strength of the empire, became extinct; the culture of the fields was carried on only by slaves and cattle. The legions could no longer be recruited save from foreign bands; vast tracts of pasture overspread even the plains of Lombardy and the Campagna of Naples; and it was the plaintive confession of the Roman annalist, that the mistress of the world had come to depend for her subsistence on the floods of the Nile.*

33. While England was occupied with this momentous subject, forced on its immediate attention by the return of pacific relations with the Continent of Europe, France was painfully emerging from the crisis which had terminated in the overthrow of Napoleon. No task that ever fell to the lot of man to perform, was probably more difficult than that which now devolved on the French monarch, for he had at once to restrain

passion without power, to satisfy rapacity without funds, and to lull ambition without glory. During the dreadful struggle which had immediately preceded the fall of the empire, the evils experienced had been so overwhelming, that they had produced a general oblivion of lesser grievances, and a universal desire for instant deliverance. But now that the terrible conqueror was struck down, and the parties whose coalition had effected his overthrow were called on to remodel the government, to share the power, to nominate the administration, irreconcilable differences appeared among them. Mutual jealousies, as rancorous as those which had rent asunder the empire at its fall, already severed the monarchy in the first days of its restoration; and opposite pretensions, as conflicting as those which brought about the Revolution, tore the government even from its cradle. The seeds of the disunion which paralysed the Restoration were beginning to spring even before Louis XVIII. had ascended the throne; and his subsequent reign, till the Hundred Days, was but an amplification of the causes which produced the return of Napoleon.

34. The republicans in the senate, the veterans of the Revolution, the hoary regicides decorated with the titles of the empire, had joined with Talleyrand and the Royalists to dethrone Napoleon, solely on the promise that their wishes should be attended to in the formation of the new constitution, and that they should individually obtain a large share in the appointments and influence of the monarchy. The most extravagant expectations had in consequence been formed as to the extent to which popular power was to revive with the Restoration: the constitution of 1791 was openly talked of as the basis of the restored monarchy; it was declared that the king would only be recalled on condition that he implicitly subscribed the constitution chalked out by the senate. The Emperor Alexander publicly supported these principles, and used his influence to procure from Louis XVIII., even before he left London, a declaration in

* "And yet, in former days, distant provinces were furnished with supplies from the districts of Italy; nor at this time was the distress owing to sterility; but we now choose to ply Africa and Egypt; and the lives of the Roman people are made dependent upon ships and canals." Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 43.

their favour; while M. Blacas, who was the most confidential adviser of the king, warmly espoused the opposite side, and counselled the monarch to disregard altogether the restraints sought to be imposed on the royal prerogative. The Count d'Artois, when he arrived at Paris, embraced the same views. These divisions soon transpired, parties were formed, leaders took their sides; and to such a length did the dissensions arise, that it required all the influence of Talleyrand and Fouché, who had now come up to the scene of intrigue, to procure the proclamation of Louis XVIII. by the senate until its conditions had been formally agreed to.

35. The ideas of the French king, however, matured by long misfortune and reflection, were completely formed. He was determined to steer a middle course between the royalists and the republicans; and hoped, without submitting to such conditions as might alienate the former, to acquiesce in all the reasonable demands of the latter. With these views, he resolved to make no terms with his subjects, but simply mount the throne of his ancestors, and, when there, grant of his own free will such a constitution to his subjects as might satisfy even the warmest friends of civil liberty. A commission was accordingly formed, consisting of nine members of the legislative body, nine of the senate, and four commissioners appointed by the king, to frame a constitution. Their labours were not of long duration; they continued only from the 22d to the 27th May; at the close of which time the celebrated CHARTER was produced, which was solemnly promulgated with great pomp, to both the senate and legislative body, on the 4th June, in the Bourbon palace. The king there read a speech which he had composed himself; he addressed the peers and deputies as the representatives of the nation, and announced that he had prepared a charter which would be read to the meeting. He concluded with these words:—"A painful recollection mingles with my joy at thus finding myself for the first time in the midst of the representatives of a nation which has given me such

numerous proofs of its affection. I was born, I hoped to remain all my life, the most faithful subject of the best of kings—and now I occupy his place. But he yet breathes in that noble testament which he intended for the instruction of the august and unhappy infant to whom it has been my lot to succeed. It is with my eyes fixed on that immortal work—it is penetrated with the sentiments which dictated it—it is guided by the experience, and seconded by the counsels of many among you, that I have drawn up the constitutional charter which shall now be read."

36. These words were received with loud applause from all sides: but a feeling of surprise, a murmur of dissatisfaction, ran through the assembly, when M. d'Ambray, the chancellor, declared, that "the king, taught by twenty-five years of misfortune, had brought his people an ordinance of reformation, by which he extinguishes all parties, as he maintains all rights. *In full possession of his hereditary rights* over this noble kingdom, the king has no wish save to exercise the authority which he has received from God and his fathers, by himself placing limits to his power. He has no wish but to be the supreme chief of the great family of which he is the father. It is he himself who is about to give to the French a constitutional charter, suited at once to their desires and their wants, and to the respective situation of men and things." It concluded with the words, "Given at Paris in the year of grace 1814, in the nineteenth year of our reign." The veterans of the Revolution, at these expressions, recollected the words of Mirabeau, when Louis XVI. in 1789, announced his concessions to the States-General. "The concessions made by the king would be sufficient for the public good, if the presents of despotism were not always dangerous." [*Ante*, Chap. iv. § 68.]

37. The concessions in favour of freedom contained in the charter, though ushered in by these injudicious and ominous expressions, were such as might have satisfied, in the outset of the revolutionary troubles, the warmest friend of real freedom. The great

foundations of civil liberty—liberty of conscience and worship, freedom of the press, equality in the eye of the law, the right of being taxed only by the national representatives, the division of the legislature into two chambers, and trial by jury,—were established. The Chamber of Peers owed its existence to the charter; it came in place of the Senate of Napoleon, the adulations and tergiversations of which latter body had so degraded it in public estimation, that its existence could no longer be maintained. This Upper House, the members of which were all nominated by the King, consisted of six ecclesiastical peers, twenty of the old noblesse, twelve of the dignitaries of the Revolution, ninety-one of the Senate of Napoleon, and six generals of the ancient regime. A considerable number of the Senate were by this selection excluded, consisting chiefly of the most dangerous democratic characters. The powers of the legislative body were greatly enlarged by the charter—in fact, it was rendered the depository of nearly the whole public authority; and the constitution was received in consequence by that assembly with sentiments of the most lively gratitude. Yet were there two circumstances connected with the chamber of representatives worthy of notice, and singularly characteristic of the scanty elements for the construction of a really free government which now existed in France. The first was, that an annual pension was secured to every member of it, of the same amount as they had enjoyed under Napoleon; the second, that no person could be elected a deputy unless he paid 1000 francs (£40) of direct taxes annually to government, and that the right of election was limited to persons paying 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes yearly. This restriction threw the nomination entirely into the hands of the more opulent class of society, and confined it to less than eighty thousand persons out of above thirty millions.

80. Abettedly considered, however, the charter contained, in many points, the elements of true freedom. All public burdens were to be borne equally

by all classes in proportion to their fortune; all were declared equally admissible to all civil and military employment; prosecution or imprisonment was forbidden except in the cases provided for by the law, and according to its forms; universal liberty of conscience and worship was secured, though the Roman Catholic ministers were alone to be entitled to support from the state. Publication of thoughts was permitted, provided the laws were attended to which guarded against the abuses of the press: a universal amnesty for the past was proclaimed; the conscription abolished; the person of the king declared sacred and inviolable—his ministers alone responsible for his actions. The king was alone invested with the power of proposing laws: he commanded the forces by sea and land, declared war and made peace, concluded all treaties and conventions, nominated to all public employments, civil and military, and “was intrusted with the right of making all the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state.”* Laws, in general, might be introduced by authority of the king, either in the first chamber of peers or in that of deputies; but the consent of both was essential to their validity, and those relating to taxes could only be proposed, in the first instance, in the lower house. The Chambers were entitled to petition the king to propose a particular statute, and indicate what they desired should be its tenor; but this could only be done after it had been discussed and carried in secret committee. If carried there, and in the chamber itself, it was then, after the lapse of ten days, to be sent to the other chamber; and if agreed to by it also, the petition was then submitted to the king, who might grant or reject it; but, if rejected, it could not again be brought forward during that session. The king alone was intrusted with sanctioning and promulgating the laws, and

* An ambiguous and perilous power, the exercise of which, in after times, was made the pretext for chasing the elder branch of the house of Bourbon from the throne, and in its ultimate effects, restored the government of the sword.

the civil list was to be fixed for the whole of each reign during the first session held under it. The cognisance of cases of high treason was confined to the Chamber of Peers; that of ordinary offences to the courts of law, with the assistance of juries; all judges were to be named by the king, and hold their offices for life, except the *juges de la paix*, who were subject to removal; and justice, except where privacy was requisite from a regard to public decency, was to be administered with open doors. The Code Napoleon was continued as the ordinary law of France; the ancient noblesse resumed their titles; the new noblesse preserved theirs; the king was declared the sole fountain of honours in future; the Legion of Honour was kept up; the deputies were elected for five years, but every year a fifth retired, and re-elections to that extent took place.

39. Every one must admit that these changes contained the elements of a wise system of government, and were calculated, so far as they went, to combine the blessings of freedom and equal rights, with those of protection to life and property, and stable administration. But what are laws without the support of public morality? and what are the most anxious provisions for the liberty of the subject if the spirit is wanting, in the governors and the governed, by which it is maintained? Amidst all the numerous and anxious provisions for freedom which the charter contained, four circumstances were remarkable, which, to the sagacious observer, augured ill both as to the degree of protection to civil liberty which in the progress of time the new constitution might afford, or even the extent to which it was understood in the country, and the stability which the charter might attain amidst the receding waves of the Revolution. 1. No provision was inserted to prevent or restrain arbitrary imprisonment, or limit the period during which a person arrested might be detained before trial. 2. No attempt was made to limit or abolish the oppression of the police; a set of civil functionaries who impose such excessive and unnecessary

restraints on human action, in all the continental states, that it may safely be affirmed real freedom is inconsistent with their existence. 3. The upper house, instead of being composed of great proprietors, hereditary in their functions, respectable from their fortunes, illustrious from their descent, was made up for the most part of salaried officials, destitute of property, nominated by the crown, who enjoyed their seats, though their titles were hereditary, only during life. 4. No provision was made, more than in Revolutionary times, for the establishment of the church or public instruction on an adequate basis; but the teachers in both were left to languish, as public functionaries, in the obscurity and indigence bequeathed to them by the perfidy and rapacity of the Revolution. No blame, it is true, could be attached to the French sovereign or his ministers for these defects; they could not by possibility have been supplied; but that only demonstrates that the crimes of the Revolution had rendered impossible the construction of durable liberty in France.

40. It was comparatively an easy task, however, to frame a constitution which might balance, in form at least, the conflicting powers of the Revolution; the real difficulty was, to reconcile the conflicting interests, calm the furious passions, allay the dread of punishment, and provide for the destitute multitudes which its termination had left in France. Restoration is always a work of difficulty. Henry IV. had perished under it; James II. fled before it; but in France the difficulties were now of such overwhelming magnitude, that it is not surprising that the feeble dynasty of the Bourbons ere long sank beneath them. The only thing to be wondered at is, that they were able for any time to keep possession of the throne. The public joy at the Restoration had been as sincere as it was general: it arose from the sense of deliverance from instant and impending evils which had become insupportable. But when these evils had passed away; when the allied armies no longer oppressed the country; when the con-

scription had ceased to tear the tender youth from their weeping mothers, and France was left alone with its newly enthroned monarch, its losses, and its humiliation, the bitterness of the change sank into the soul of the nation. Whole classes, and these too the most powerful and important, were in secret alarm or sullen discontent. The holders of national domains—an immense body, amounting to several millions—were devoured with anxiety. It was to no purpose that the government had guaranteed the possession of their estates; they were a prey to a secret disquietude, because it was not participant in the iniquity by which they had been acquired; they felt the same uneasiness at the restoration of lawful government, that the resettlers of stolen property do at the approach of the officers of justice. The Bourbons who had suffered injury might forgive; the Revolutionists who had inflicted it, never could.

"Forgiveness to the injured does belong,
But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong."

41. The regicides, and numerous able and powerful men, who had been involved in the actual crimes of the Revolution, felt still greater apprehensions: the unqualified amnesty contained in the charter was far from removing their disquietude; conscience told them that they deserved punishment. The fact of the Restoration seemed an act of accusation against them, a condemnation of all they had done since the commencement of the convulsion; and they incessantly demanded fresh guarantees and additional securities.* The army was in despair. Defeated in the field, driven back into France, humiliated in the sight of Europe, they had now the additional mortification of being in great part disbanded, and universally condemned to inactivity. The wandering life of

camp, the excitement of the battlefield, the joys of the bivouac, the terrors of the breach, the contributions from provinces, the plunder of cities, were at an end; and instead, they found themselves dispersed over the provincial towns of France, or sent back to their homes, a prey to ennui, and destitute of either interest or hope in life. The titled generals, the civil and military *employés* who had been fastened by the imperial government on the provinces beyond the Alps and the Rhine, now wrested from France, returned in shoals to the capital, bereft of their employments, cast down from their authority, in great part deprived of subsistence. The marshals and numerous dignitaries of the Emperor who had obtained estates or revenues in Germany, France, and Italy, appendages to their titles, found themselves deprived of half, often of nearly the whole, of their income by the loss of these possessions, and destitute of all hope of improving their fortunes by fresh conquests.

42. If these were the sad realities of disaster in war to the most influential and formidable classes of society, the difficulties of government were still greater; and the most profound sagacity, the most fruitful invention, could hardly discover a mode either of appeasing the public discontents, or of satisfying the innumerable demands upon the public treasury. The Count d'Artois, in his progress towards Paris, had taken as his watchword, "*Plus de droits réunis (excise), plus de conscriptions*;" and the latter promise had formed an express article in the charter. But how was the first to be realised without depriving the crown of a large, and what had now become an indispensable, part of the public revenue?† or

† The "*droits réunis*," or excise, had constituted in latter times a considerable part of the ordinary revenue of Napoleon. They had amounted, in

	Francs.	£
1811, to	127,734,000	or 5,190,000
1812, ..	144,069,398	or 5,890,000
1813, ..	146,960,621	or 5,900,000

And, taking the proportion of Old France to the provinces ceded, the abolition of this impost would occasion a loss of 400,000,000 francs, or \$4,000,000 annually.—See *DUKE DE GASTA*, i. 309, 309.

* So true are the words of Corneille—

"Mais une grande offense est de cette nature,
Que toujours son auteur impute à l'offense
Un vil ressentiment dont il se croit blessé;
Et qu'on en apparence on les réconcilie,
Il le craint, il le hait, et jamais ne s'y fie,
Et toujours alarmé de cette illusion
Sait qu'il peut la perdre il prend l'occasion."
—*Rodogune*, Act i. s. 7.

the latter without reducing by at least two-thirds the ranks of the army, and throwing twenty thousand officers, without pay, or occupation, back in fearful discontent to their hearths? The Tuileries were besieged from morning to night by clamorous crowds, composed of men as far divided in principle as the poles are asunder, but uniting in one loud and importunate cry for employment or relief from the government. One-half were Royalists, demanding compensation for the losses they had sustained during the Revolution, or a return for the fidelity with which they had adhered to the cause of the exiled monarch, or aided his return: the other half, dignitaries or persons in employment under the imperial regime, who had been deprived of all by the overthrow of Napoleon, or the contraction of the French empire to the limits of the ancient monarchy. Here was to be seen frail emigrants dressed still in the costume of 1792, with knee-brèches, shoe-buckles, and powder in their hair: there, chiefs from La Vendée distinguished by their rural garb, long hair, and undaunted aspect. Deputations, from Bordeaux and the towns of the south, succeeded each other without intermission; while the dowagers of the Faubourg St Germain, emerging from their long retirement, were introduced to the palace by the ladies of the imperial household, not less clamorous than themselves for honour and employments. The wants of the troops were still more pressing, and they were of a kind which could not be resisted. Eight months' pay was due, when the Restoration took place, to the officers and soldiers of the army; ten months' arrears to the commissaries and civil administrators. To meet these accumulated embarrassments, Louis XVIII. had an exhausted treasury, a diminished territory, and a bankrupt people. So excessive had been the taxation, so enormous the requisitions in kind during the two last years of Napoleon's reign, that the provinces which had been the seat of war were almost wholly unable to bear any taxation; and such was the general exhaustion of the country, that the arrears of the last two years

had reached the enormous amount of 1,308,000,000 francs (£52,320,000), of which only 759,000,000 fr. (£30,400,000) were deemed recoverable. And while the most rigid economy, and extensive reductions on the part of the government, could do no more than bring down the expenditure to 827,415,000 francs, or £33,096,600, the receipts only reached 520,000,000 francs, or £20,800,000; and even this sum was obtained with the greatest difficulty, and by adding above a third to the direct taxes.

43. It would have required the genius of Sully, united to the firmness of Pitt, to have made head with such means against such difficulties; and the capacity of the King and his ministers was far indeed from being equal to the task. Striving to please both parties, they gained the confidence of neither: aiming at a middle course, they incurred its dangers without attaining its security. They left the crown, in the midst of pressing perils, without either moral or physical support. The celebrated saying of Napoleon, "*Ils n'ont rien appris—Ils n'ont rien oubliés*,"* conveyed an accurate idea of the cause to which their errors were owing. They had not power or vigour enough to undertake a decided part, and yet sufficient confidence in their legitimate title to venture on a hazardous one. Their system was to retain all the imperial functionaries, civil and military, in their employment: to displace no one, from the prefect to the humblest court officer: to continue to the military their rank, their titles, and, so far as it was possible, their emoluments: to make no change in the nation, in short, except by the substitution of a king for an emperor, and the introduction of a few leading Royalists into the cabinet. By this conduct, which, so far as it went, was well conceived, they hoped to gain the powers of the Revolution by injuring none of its interests. But they forgot that mankind are governed by desires, passions, and prejudices, as well as interests and selfishness; and that Napoleon had so long succeeded in governing the empire only because,

* "They have learned nothing—they have forgotten nothing."

while he sedulously attended in deeds to the interests of the Revolution, he carefully in words and forms flattered its principles. The latter part of his policy was entirely forgotten by the Bourbons, and in nothing more than in their treatment of the army. Their capital error consisted in this, that while they wholly depended on the physical forces of the Revolution, they made no attempt to disguise their aversion to its tenets; and that, without endeavouring to establish any adequate counterpoise to its powers, they irrecoverably alienated its supporters.

44. They abolished the national colours, the object of even superstitious veneration to the whole French soldiers, and substituted in their room the white flag of the monarchy, with which hardly any of the army had any association, and the honours of which, great as they were, had been entirely thrown into the shade by the transcendent glories of the empire. They altered the numbers of the whole regiments, as well infantry as cavalry, destroying thus the heart-stirring recollections connected with the many fields of fame in which they had signalled themselves, and reducing those which had fought at Rivoli or Austerlitz to a level with a newly raised levy. The tricolor standards were ordered to be given up; many regiments in preference burned them, in order that they might at least preserve their ashes. The eagles were generally secreted by the officers; the men hid the tricolor cockades in their knapsacks. They altered the whole designations of the superior officers, resuming those of the old monarchy, now wholly forgotten. Thus generals of brigade were denominated marshals of the camp; generals of division assumed the title of Lieutenant-generals. Catholic and Protestant soldiers were alike compelled to go to mass, to confess, to take the communion. The Imperial Guard, which in the first instance was intrusted with the service of the Tuilleries, was speedily removed, and its place supplied by troops obtained from Switzerland and La Vendée. That noble corps was even removed from

Paris, under pretence of avoiding quarrels with the foreign troops in occupation of the capital; the whole officers on half-pay were directed to return to their homes, there to await their ulterior destination; and the most severe orders were issued to the troops who had returned from foreign garrisons, to prevent any allusion even to the name of the Emperor. Six companies of *gardes-du-corps*, several red companies of guards, or military household—in fine, the whole military splendour of Louis XV. was revived; and these new troops, in their yet unsullied uniforms, supplanted alike the old troops and the national guard in the service of the palace. These things were submitted to in silence, but they sank deep into the heart of the army and the nation. But while they did thus so much to irritate the feelings and alienate the affections of the army, they committed the capital error of leaving the regiments retained in the service together. They neither disbanded them, nor made any change in their construction. They left the old officers with the old soldiers. Their former recollections were perpetuated by daily intercourse, and new discontent was strengthened by being felt together; while conspiracy was rendered easy by the habits of previous subordination. It will appear in the sequel with what fatal effects this mistake was attended on the future fortunes of the monarchy.

45. The civil regulations of the new government, though not so important in themselves as those which related to the military administration, were not less material in their ultimate effects; for they exposed the court to the most fatal of all attacks in Parisian society—the assaults of ridicule. An ordinance of the police forbade ordinary work to proceed on Sunday; this regulation, though expressly enjoined by religion, and loudly called for by the interests of the working classes, became the object of unmeasured obloquy, because it abridged the pleasures or interfered with the gains of an unbelieving and selfish generation. The restoration of all the services of the

Roman Catholic Church, with extraordinary pomp in the Tuileries, excited the ridicule and awakened the fears of a revolutionary people, by a great majority of whom these rights were regarded as the remnants only of a worn-out and expiring superstition. The ladies of the ancient regime indulged in cutting sarcasms against those of the new noblesse; not one of the marshals' wives, or duchesses of the empire, was placed in the royal household; and female animosity added its bitter venom to the many other causes of jealousy against the court. The restoration of the ancient orders, and especially of that of St Louis, the crosses of which were distributed with profusion, gave rise to so general a rumour of an intention to supersede or undermine the Legion of Honour, that the King, by an express ordinance, was obliged to clear himself from the imputation. In fine, the civil government of the Restoration, while in all essential particulars favourable to the interests of the Revolution, yet in language, form, and ceremony, had restored the most antiquated and obnoxious traditions of the monarchy; and the French had discernment enough to see that, in the intoxication of success, words and forms betrayed the real thoughts, and that acts favourable to revolutionary interests were forced on the government only by state necessity.

46. The army was reduced, partly from the embarrassment of the finances, partly from the policy of government, to a degree inconsistent with either the safety of the country or the attachment of the troops themselves. The abolition of the conscription, so loudly called for by its ruinous effects, at once revealed the exhaustion of the physical strength of the monarchy. Reduced successively to a hundred and forty thousand, and eighty thousand men, it was still encumbered with officers, and, except from La Vendée, the recruits came in with extreme tardiness. Above a hundred thousand leaves of absence had been given; and the soldiers, when once they had reached their homes, were in no hurry to

return. The dynasty of the Restoration was ere long to the last degree unpopular among the troops; the throne had, literally speaking, no armed force on which it could depend, except a few regiments of Guards and Swiss at Paris. The general discontent of the army was greatly augmented by an ordinance which put every officer not in actual employment on half-pay, a reduction hitherto unknown in the French army; and still more by another, which absolutely forbade any officer of whatever rank, not in actual service, to reside at Paris, if not already domiciled there. These were the circumstances, which induced the fall of Louis XVIII., and occasioned the incalculable evils to France of the Hundred Days; the consequences of the civil errors were remote, and of comparatively little importance. It was the alienation of the affections of the military, before any other force to supply their place had been organised, and when the throne had no moral support in the nation, which was the fatal mistake. And, in fact, such was the discontent of the troops arising from their disasters, that it is more than doubtful whether any human wisdom could have averted the catastrophe.

47. Notwithstanding these obvious and flagrant errors, the cabinet of Louis XVIII. was far from being destitute of men of ability. M. Blacas, the real premier and principal confidant of the king, had an ingenious mind and an upright heart. But his information was limited: he judged of France as he had seen it through the deceitful vision of the emigrants, and was entirely ignorant of the vast, the irremediable changes, both in the opinion of the influential classes, and the distribution of political and physical power, which had taken place during the Revolution. M. d'Ambray, the chancellor, an old lawyer of eminence in Normandy, and M. Ferrand, a monarchical theorist, caused considerable damage to the Restoration, by the long declamations in favour of now antiquated and jealously received doctrines regarding the authority of legitimate monarchs, with which they prefaced all the royal decrees. The

Abbé Montesquiou was inclined to the liberal side; he had embraced the principles of the Constituent Assembly, and shared a large portion of the confidence of the king. Guizot, then little known, had already conceived those doctrines of mingled conservatism and philosophy, to which his genius has subsequently given immortality; the Abbé de Pradt, at the head of the Legion of Honour, and M. de Bourrienne, as post-master-general, had each brought talents of no ordinary kind to the direction of their several departments. But the ability of the whole cabinet could not stem the difficulties with which they were surrounded; and if they had been gifted with far greater practical sagacity and acquaintance with men than they actually possessed, they would have been shattered by the unpopularity of General Dupont as minister-at-war; an appointment the most unfortunate that could have been made, for it continually reminded the army of the disaster of Baylen—the first and most humiliating of its closing reverses. To such a pitch, indeed, did the public discontent on this head arise, that the court were subsequently obliged to remove that ill-fated general, and substitute Marshal Soult in his room; but the army was by this time in such a state of ill-humour, that even his great abilities proved wholly unable to give it a right direction; and his strong leaning to the exiled Emperor subsequently proved in no slight degree instrumental in bringing about his return.

48. As the restoration of Napoleon was entirely a military movement, and the discontents of the people, founded or unfounded, had scarcely any share in bringing it about, the briefest summary will suffice of the domestic events in France, which preceded the Hundred Days. Such was the exasperation of the popular party and the Imperialists at the Bourbons, that by mutual consent they laid aside their whole previous animosities, and combined all their efforts to decry every measure of the government, and misrepresent every step, judicious or injudicious, which they took. A clamour was raised against everything. The celebration of a solemn

and most touching funeral service in Notre Dame, soon after the return of the royal family, to the memory of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Princess Elizabeth,* was set down as the commencement of persecution against the leaders of the Revolution. The exhumation of the remains of several Vendean and Chouan leaders, to re-inter them in consecrated ground, was looked on as a proof of the most deplorable superstition; and the erection, under the auspices of Marshal Soult, after he had been made minister-at-war, of a monumental edifice in Quiberon Bay, to the memory of those who had fallen victims there to loyal fidelity and revolutionary perfidy, as an indication of a desire to revert to the principles of the Chouans and Vendéans. A solemn ceremony, with which, on the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., his remains and those of Marie Antoinette were removed from their place of sepulture in the garden of Descloseaux, in the Rue Anjou, was regarded as a decided attack on the whole principles of the Revolution, [ante, Ch. VIII. § 98]. Few remains of the royal martyrs were to be found; what could be collected, had owed their identification and preservation from insult to the pious care of M. Descloseaux, the proprietor of the garden where they were laid, who worthily received the order of St Michael and a pension, as the reward of his fidelity. M. de Chateaubriand, who was present at the exhumation, has declared that he recognised the head of Marie Antoinette by a peculiar conformation of the jaw-bone, which he had observed during the enchantment of her snuff.† The bones and ashes were carefully enclosed in lead coffins, and translated with extraordinary pomp to the royal mausoleum at St Denis. "In those subter-

* It was one of the most imposing spectacles ever witnessed, being attended by all the monarchs, generals, and ministers then in Paris—including the whole marshals of France: the interior of the cathedral was all hung with black, and lighted with a profusion of lamps.—*Personal observation.*

† "Among the bones I recognised the head of the queen, from the snuff which she had bestowed upon me at Versailles."—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Memoirs*, VI. 396.

aneous abodes," says Chateaubriand, "where slept so many kings and princes of former days, Louis XVI. now was placed *alone*. How have so many of the dead been removed? whence is it that St Denis has become a desert? Let us rather ask how its vaults have been reopened? who has prepared their desolate chambers? The hand of the Man who seated himself on the throne of the Bourbons. Oh, Providence! he thought he was preparing the sepulchre of his race, and he was only constructing the tomb of Louis XVI.!"

49. The miseries and insolvency entailed on the nation by the ruinous wars of Napoleon, formed a necessary part of the financial *exposé* of the ministers, and constituted the best vindication of the great reductions in all departments which had become unavoidable. This was immediately set down as a direct and scandalous attack on the glory of the Empire. The unalienated national domains were, by a just proposition which passed both Chambers, restored to their rightful owners. This act of partial restitution, joined to a proposition of Marshal Macdonald in the Chamber of Peers, to provide an indemnity to the victims of the Revolution,* which he called a debt of honour, and to the military men who had been mutilated in the service of their country, which he denominated a debt of blood, though based on the equitable principle of doing even-handed justice to both parties, excited the most general apprehensions. It is unnecessary to go further. Every act of the government of the Restoration—some wise and natural, others injudicious or ill-timed—

were thus interpreted, and ascribed to the worst possible motives; and the great party and numerous interests of the Revolution, conscious of their sins, trembled, like Felix in holy writ, when the government spoke of a future world, or alluded even to a judgment to come.

50. While the French government were thus striving, amidst the chaos of revolutionary passions, to close the wounds and mitigate the sufferings of the Revolution, negotiations of the most important character for the general settlement of Europe had commenced, and were already considerably advanced, at Vienna. It had been originally intended that the Congress of Vienna should have commenced its sittings on the 29th July; but the visit of the allied sovereigns to England, and their subsequent return to their own capitals, necessarily caused it to be adjourned; and it was not till the end of September that the august assemblage commenced, by the entry of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia into the Austrian capital. They were immediately followed by the Kings of Bavaria, Denmark, and Würtemberg, and a host of lesser princes; while Lord Castlereagh, and subsequently the Duke of Wellington, on the part of England, and M. Talleyrand on that of France, more efficiently than any crowned heads could have done, upheld the dignity and maintained the interests of their respective monarchies. But although the sovereigns and ministers in appearance kept up the most amicable and confidential relations, it was easy to see that their

For the indemnity of the victims of the Revolution, he submitted the following calculations to the Chamber of Peers:—

	From.	By.
Value of national property (sold),	4,000,000,000 or	£160,000,000
Movable effects (confiscated),	900,000,000	36,000,000
	4,900,000,000	196,000,000
Deduct inscribed on the public funds,		
300,000,000		
National domains (unsold),	300,000,000	
	300,000,000	24,000,000
Remains to be provided for,	4,300,000,000	£172,000,000

—See THIRIAUDAU, s. 129; and BUCKER and HORN, s. 23, 26.

interests and views were widely at variance; and that the removal of common danger and the division of common spoil had produced their usual effect, of sowing dissension among the victors.

51. A preliminary question of precedence first arose as to the rank of the different states assembled, and their representatives; but this was at once terminated by the happy expedient of Alexander, that they should be arranged and should sign in the alphabetical order of their respective states. But a more serious difficulty soon after occurred as to the states which should in their own right as principals take part in the deliberations; and it was, in the outset, suggested by the ministers of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, that they should in the first instance come to an agreement as to the disposal of the territories wrested from France and its allies, before they entered into conferences with France and Spain. This proposal was naturally resisted by Talleyrand and the Spanish plenipotentiary; and it was their earnest endeavour in an energetic note to show, that the treaty of Chaumont, though formally to endure for twenty years, had in reality expired with the attainment of all its objects, and that France at least should be admitted into the deliberations. Lord Castlereagh, who early perceived the necessity of a counterpoise to the preponderating influence of Russia in the conferences, supported this note of M. Talleyrand's; and Prince Metternich, who was actuated by similar views, did the same. In consequence, it was agreed that the committee to whom the questions coming before the Congress should be submitted, should be the ministers not only of the four allied powers, but of France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. The Cardinal Gonzalvi, on the part of the court of Rome, was afterwards received, through the personal intercession of the Prince-Regent of England; while the plenipotentiaries of Murat, king of Naples, the Kings of Sicily, of Bavaria, the Low Countries, Saxony, and Denmark, besides the ministers of the Swiss and Genoese republics, though not admitted to the con-

ferences of the greater powers, were in attendance at Vienna, and had their interests attended to by such of their more powerful neighbours as were disposed to support them.

52. This preliminary difficulty, as always occurs in such cases, furnished a key to the course which the different powers were likely to take in the approaching negotiation; but a considerable time elapsed before the real divisions appeared. Much was done, in the first instance, without any difference of opinion taking place. Territories, inhabited by thirty-one million six hundred and ninety-one thousand persons, were at the disposal of the allied powers, and there was for each enough and to spare. It was at once agreed, in conformity with the secret articles of the treaty of Paris, that Belgium, united to Holland, should form one kingdom under the title of the Netherlands; that Norway should be annexed to Sweden; that Hanover, with a considerable accession of territory, taken from the kingdom of Westphalia, should be restored to the King of England; that Lombardy should again be placed under the rule of Austria, and Savoy under that of Piedmont. So far all was easily arranged; but the questions how Poland, Saxony, and Genoa were to be disposed of, were not so easily adjusted. The first of them gave rise to dissensions so serious, that they not only completely broke up, for the time, the Grand Alliance which had effected the deliverance of Europe, but, had it not been for the unexpected, and in that view most opportune, return of Napoleon from Elba, they would in all probability have led to the flames of war again breaking out, and to the allied forces being conducted to mutual slaughter.

53. Alexander loudly insisted that the whole Grand-duchy of Warsaw should be ceded to Russia as an indemnity for the sacrifices she had made, and the losses she had sustained, during the war. He represented, that were he to return to St Petersburg without having obtained some adequate compensation for the sacrifices the nation had undergone, it would be as much as

his crown was worth; that Poland was already *de facto* occupied by the Russian troops, and the Poles expected a revival of their nationality solely from a union with the Russian empire, or their separate establishment under a prince of the Russian imperial family; and that, considering the immense losses which Russia had sustained during the war, and the vast exertions she had made, it was in the highest degree reasonable that she should now obtain a territory essential to her security, and extending along no inconsiderable part of her frontier. These arguments, in themselves by no means destitute of weight, were powerfully supported by the significant hint, that he had three hundred thousand men ready to march at a moment's notice; that his troops already occupied the whole of Poland; and that, by representing the Russian alliance as the only means of restoring their lost nationality, the whole warlike force of the Poles would soon be ranged on his side.

54. Prussia, entirely under the influence of Russia, as well from gratitude as situation, entered warmly into these pretensions, and supported them with all her influence at the Congress. She had her own views, independent of the immense debt of gratitude which she owed to that great power for deliverance from the thralldom of Napoleon, in this adhesion. It had been stipulated in the treaty of Kalisch, which formed the basis of the Grand Alliance, that Prussia was to be "reinstated, at the close of hostilities, in all respects, statistical, financial, and geographical, as it had stood at the commencement of the war of 1806, with such additions as might be deemed practicable," [*ante*, Chap. LXXIV. § 31]. The Prussians now demanded fulfilment of this promise; and claimed, besides various provinces on the left bank of the Rhine which were at the disposal of the Allies by the dissolution of the French empire, the whole of Saxony. Prince Hardenberg, the able minister of the court of Berlin, supported this demand in an elaborate note; and insisted that, as Russia claimed a considerable part of Prussian Poland to round her pro-

posed acquisitions on the Vistula, it was indispensably necessary that Prussia should be largely indemnified in Germany; that the interests of Europe imperatively required that a powerful intermediate state should be placed between Russia and France; and that the recent dangers which had been escaped, clearly pointed to the side on which the necessary additions should be made to her territory. On condition, then, of obtaining Saxony and an indemnity on the Rhine, Prussia proposed to cede to Russia her provinces in Poland; and, to appease the jealousy of the German powers at this aggrandisement of Russia, suggested that the fortifications of Thorn and Dantzic should be demolished. In conclusion, he strongly contended that, as so reconstructed, Prussia, with a population of nine million eight hundred thousand souls, would not be strengthened in the same degree as Russia would be by the acquisition of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and Austria by Lombardy and the Milanese.

55. The views of France, Austria, and England were decidedly opposed to these sweeping annexations of territory to the northern powers. Independent of the obvious peril to the security of the other European states, if Russia were augmented by the greater part of Poland, and brought down by means of her outwork Prussia to the Elbe and the Rhine, which was sufficient to range the courts of Paris and Vienna on his side, Lord Castlereagh in an especial manner, and with the most energetic ability, opposed the union of the crowns of Poland and Russia on the same head,* or the annexation of Saxony to Prussia, as contrary to the great principles of justice on which the war against Napoleon had

* Lord Castlereagh declared in repeated memorials, "that he opposed firmly, and with all the force in his power, in the name of England, the creation of a kingdom in Poland, the crown of which should be placed on the same head with, or which should form an integral part of the empire of Russia: that the wish of his government was to see an independent power more or less extensive established there, under a distinct dynasty, and as an intermediate state between the three great monarchies."—*Memorial*, 16th December 1814; See CAPEFIGUE, *Cent Jour*, i. 86.

been maintained. The conduct of the British minister on this occasion was worthy of the cause for which he had contended, and the nation which he represented; and he met with cordial support from both M. Talleyrand and Prince Metternich, who beheld with undisguised apprehension these proposed additions to the power of their nearest neighbours. The former of these statesmen, in particular, resisted the annexation of Saxony to Prussia, as a measure of severity to a fallen monarch alike inexpedient and unjust. Alexander expected the resistance of Austria and England to his designs, and no serious alienation ensued in consequence between him and their ministers; but he was quite unprepared for the vigorous stand made by France on the occasion. He openly charged Louis XVIII. with black ingratitude, and his displeasure was manifested without disguise to M. Talleyrand. At the same time he contracted close relations with Eugene Beauharnais, who was at Vienna at the time; warmly espoused the cause of Murat, in opposition to the Bourbon family, in the contest for the throne of Naples; and spoke of the unfitness of the elder branch of the Bourbons for the throne, and the probability of a revolution similar to that of 1688 in England, which might put the sceptre into the hands of the house of Orleans.

56. To such a height, ere long, did the divisions arise, that they were soon not confined to mere indications of ill-humour at the Congress. Both parties prepared for war. Alexander halted his whole armies in Poland on their return to Russia, where they were kept together, and retained in every respect on the war footing. Hardenberg declared that, "as to Prussia, it would not abandon Saxony; that it had conquered it, and would keep it, without either the intention or the inclination of restoration;" and the cabinet of Berlin, to support the declaration, armed its whole contingents, as if war were on the point of breaking out. At the same time, the Grand-Duke Constantine, who commanded the whole Russian armies, two hundred and eighty

thousand strong, in Lithuania and Poland, published an animated address, in which he announced the intention of the Emperor his brother to restore to the Poles their lost nationality, and called on them to rally round his standards, as the only means of effecting it.* On the other side, the three powers were not idle. Austria put her armies in Galicia on the war footing: France was invited to suspend the disarming, which the ruined state of her finances had rendered so necessary; British troops in great numbers were sent over to Belgium; the absent forces in America, rendered disposable by the prospect of peace with that country, were destined, on their return, to the same quarter; and in the midst of a Congress assembled for the general pacification of the world, a million of armed men were retained round their banners ready for mutual slaughter.†

57. Matters were at length brought to a crisis, by the conclusion of a secret treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Austria, France, and England, at Vienna, on February 3, 1815. By this treaty it was stipulated that the contracting parties should act in concert, and in a disinterested manner, to carry into effect the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. It set out with the preamble, that the "high contracting parties, convinced that the powers whom it behoved to carry into effect this treaty should be maintained in a state of perfect security and independence, to enable them worthily to discharge that important duty, consider it in consequence as necessary, with reference to the pretensions recently manifested, to provide against every

* "The Emperor, your powerful protector, invokes your aid. Rally round his standards: let your arms be raised for the defence of your country and your political existence."—*CONSTANTINE'S Proclamation*, 11th Dec. 1814; *CAPARTON*, &c.

† Viz:—	
Russia,	280,000
Prussia,	178,000
Austria,	220,000
Anglo-Belgian,	80,000
Piedmont,	60,000
Lesser German powers,	100,000
France,	100,000
Total,	1,013,000

aggression to which their own possessions, or any of them, might be exposed, from a feeling of resentment at the propositions which they have felt it their duty to submit, and to sustain by a common agreement the principles of justice and equity which they had advanced in carrying out the provisions of the treaty of Paris." On this narrative, the three contracting powers agreed mutually to support each other if one was attacked; and, in order to do so with effect, to maintain severally a hundred and fifty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand should be cavalry. In the event of war breaking out, the views of the Allies were to be strictly regulated by the terms of the treaty of Paris, so far as the extent and frontiers of their several possessions were concerned, and a commander-in-chief was to be appointed. The plan of the proposed operations was traced out by Generals Radjewski and Langeron on the part of Austria, Marshal Wrede on that of Bavaria, and General Ricard on that of France; and they were intended to meet the case supposed, that the Russian armies would invade Moravia, and move upon Vienna. The Kings of Hanover, Bavaria, and Piedmont were invited to accede to this treaty, which they immediately did; so that, in effect, by it the whole forces of Western and Southern Europe were arrayed against Russia and Prussia.

58. What pains soever the principal powers concerned may have taken to prevent this treaty from coming to the knowledge of the other sovereigns at the Congress, it to a certain extent transpired, and produced a considerable modification in the views of the northern powers. Fortified by this support, Metternich took a bolder tone, and in reply to the menacing note of Hardenberg, transmitted an answer, in which, after representing that the safety of Austria, already compromised in Poland by the increase of Russia, would be destroyed by the incorporation of Saxony with Prussia, he explained in what sense the secret articles of the treaties of Kalisch and Reichenbach, so far as they related to the aggrandisement of the latter power, were to be

understood, and contended that they would be amply carried into effect by the cession to Prussia of a portion of Saxony on the right bank of the Elbe, containing eight hundred thousand souls. The reply to that note clearly showed that the northern powers had taken the alarm; for Hardenberg, in the name of Prussia, agreed to relinquish the possession of Thorn, and the district of Tarnopol adjoining it. Several other notes were interchanged: Russia abandoned several districts of Poland; Prussia agreed to be satisfied with a part of Saxony. It was evident that the high pretensions of these powers had undergone an abatement; but nothing had definitely been fixed on, when an event occurred which resounded like a thunderbolt from one end of Europe to the other, extinguished all these jealousies, and instantly drew the bonds of the old Grand Alliance as close together as they had been in the days of Leipsic and Paris.

59. One of the most important matters which came under the consideration of the Congress of Vienna, though not so difficult of adjustment, was the reconstruction of the Germanic confederacy. The old Empire and younger Confederation of the Rhine having been both swept away by the changes of time, it became necessary to create some new bond of union, which should at once provide for the security, and furnish a shield to the rights of the lesser Germanic states, and prevent that catastrophe which had uniformly occurred in former wars, of the French crossing the Rhine, and finding their battle-field and the sinews of war in the territories of the lesser states of Germany, before the jealousies or foresight of the greater powers would permit them to arm for their relief. The mutual jealousies of Prussia and Austria rendered this no easy matter; but the judgment and tact of Metternich proved adequate to the task. He proposed the union of the whole Germanic states into a great confederacy, bound to afford mutual support in case of external attack, and to be directed by a diet, in which Austria and Prussia were each to have two voices, Bavaria, Würt-

temberg, and Hanover, each one; but with the power to these greater states of making separate war and peace for themselves. The legislative power was to be vested in an assembly composed as well of the representatives of the larger states, as of those of the lesser ones and free towns; but the powers of this assembly had regard only to matters of internal and pacific arrangement, and did not extend to the declaration on their own authority of peace and war. As this constitution subjected the whole of Germany to the political direction of a diet, in which Austria and Prussia had four votes out of seven, it practically gave those states, if they drew together, the entire government of the confederacy, so far as external relations went. But such was the influence of the greater powers, and such the sense which was still entertained of the necessity of a strong barrier against the aggressions of France, that Talleyrand was unable to stir up any resistance to it, and it was agreed to without opposition.

60. Austria having renounced all claim to the Low Countries, which had been found by experience to be rather a burden than an advantage to the monarchy, little difficulty was experienced in arranging the affairs, and establishing the kingdom, of the Netherlands. It had been one of the secret articles of the treaty of Paris, [*ante*, Chap. LXXXIX. § 47], that the Netherlands and Holland should be united into one kingdom, under a prince of the house of Nassau; and this stipulation was now carried into effect by the reunion of the whole old seventeen provinces into a monarchy, under the title of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.* The great fortress of Luxem-

* It had been proposed by Elizabeth, in conjunction with Henry IV., to re-form the seventeen provinces of Flanders into one state, to form a barrier at once against France and Austria. Mr Pitt was the next statesman who embraced the project. He is a bold man who gainsays what in such remote periods was censured in equally by Henry IV. and Sully, Elizabeth and Burleigh, Meliorick and Wellington. Mr Pitt thought they should be given to Prussia.—See *ante*, Ap. A., Chap. XXXIX. But all concurred in the opinion, that the interests and balance of power in Europe required that they should be kept together.

bourg, with its adjacent territory, was only excluded, and, from its military importance, was declared to form part of the German confederation, of which it was one of the frontier bulwarks; but the King of the Netherlands acquired it also as Duke of Luxembourg. By patent, dated 16th March 1815, the King of Holland took the title of King of the Netherlands and Grand-duke of Luxembourg, which title was immediately recognised by all the courts of Europe.

61. Holland ceded to Great Britain by this arrangement the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; but in return Great Britain restored to the King of the Netherlands the noble island of Java—a colony worth all the other islands in the Eastern archipelago put together, and which, under British management, since its capture in 1810, had become so flourishing, that it promised soon to yield a larger surplus revenue than the whole of our Indian possessions put together. The uncalled-for restitution of this splendid possession, though owing to an honourable generosity, was one of the greatest errors ever committed by the English government, and is the most important political mistake chargeable against Lord Castlereagh. But the attention of that great man, absorbed by objects of continental interest, was not at that moment sufficiently drawn to the great and growing colonial empire of Great Britain. The dominions thus acquired by the house of Orange embraced some of the richest and most flourishing provinces in Europe, containing in all, with Holland, no less than five million four hundred and twenty-four thousand inhabitants, peopled at the rate of 1820 to the square league. It was a condition of its erection that the new kingdom should be ruled by a representative government, framed very much on the model of that of France, and that the kingdom of the Netherlands, jointly with England, should undertake the burden of a loan of fifty million florins (£4,200,000), formerly borrowed by Russia from the capitalists of Amsterdam.

62. The affairs of Switzerland, at the same time, occupied the attention of the Congress; but as the desire for aggrandisement on the part of none of the great powers was turned in that direction, they were adjusted with ease and with great impartiality. The confederacy was declared to embrace the whole nineteen cantons, as they stood by the convention of Bâle on 29th December 1813, [ante, Chap. LXXXIV. § 56], on an equal footing, which effectually excluded the unjust principle that one state should be subjected to another state. The Valais, Geneva and its territory, with the principality of Neuchâtel, were united to Switzerland, and formed so many cantons. The bishopric of Bâle, with the town of Bienne, was restored to the canton of Berne; and a great variety of lesser arrangements were adopted, to regulate the pecuniary concerns of the different cantons, regarding which these mountaineers were in the highest degree tenacious. This constitution was formally acceded to by the whole cantons on 27th May 1815, and has ever since formed the basis of the Helvetic confederacy.

63. The decision of the question regarding Saxony was somewhat more expeditious. The unhappy Frederick Augustus, who, since the fatal overthrow of Leipsic, had inhabited the castle of Friedrichsfeld as a sort of state prisoner, was invited by the allied sovereigns to approach the vicinity of Vienna, and arrived at Presburg on the 4th March, just two days before intelligence arrived of the departure of Napoleon from Elba. By the intervention of Great Britain, this intricate and delicate negotiation was adjusted; the share of Saxony devolving to Prussia was reduced to a territory containing one million one hundred thousand souls; and Hanover was contented with a portion containing two hundred and fifty thousand. Prussia accepted these modifications; and the King of Saxony, threatened with the total loss of his dominions in the event of refusal, had no alternative, after long holding out, but compliance. Under protest, therefore, that his con-

sent to the alienation of so large a portion of his dominions was constrained, he submitted to the conditions; the King of Prussia was authorised, by a note of the congress, to take possession of the ceded territory; and at length, by a formal treaty concluded on the 18th May, peace was finally ratified between the contending parties. By this treaty, Saxony ceded to Prussia, in perpetuity, the whole of Lower Lusatia, part of Upper Lusatia, the fortress and circle of Wittenberg, the circle of Thuringia, and various other territories on the right bank of the Elbe, containing one million one hundred thousand souls. Prussia at the same time acquired a portion of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, containing eight hundred and ten thousand inhabitants, in addition to the whole territories which she possessed before the battle of Jena,—acquisitions which raised her population to above ten millions of souls, and elevated her to the rank of a first-rate power. Dresden, Leipsic, and not quite two-thirds of his old dominions, remained to the King of Saxony; and although Europe deeply sympathised with an ancient and respectable house under this cruel partition of its territories, yet it was impossible to deny that the sovereign had brought the catastrophe upon himself; and that, as he had cast in his lot with Napoleon, largely participated in his conquests, and to the last resisted all the efforts of the Allies to detach him from his alliance, he could not in justice complain if he shared his fall.

64. It only remains to add, before finally taking leave of the Congress of Vienna, that on two points of importance, the one to the internal interests of Europe, and the other to the general interests of humanity, its deliberations, actuated by philanthropy and guided by wisdom, conferred a lasting benefit on mankind. 1st, Wise regulations were established for securing the free navigation of its great rivers, particularly the Rhine, the Necker, and the Meuse, without at the same time abrogating the just rights of the potentates who were interested in the dues of the

passage. Moderate duties were established, to be drawn by a central board, and allotted to each of the proprietors who substantiated titles; in proportion to their respective interests. The rents amounted to five hundred and eleven thousand florins, or £42,000 a-year. 2d, The great and important subject of the abolition of the slave trade occupied a considerable portion of the attention of the Congress. The House of Commons had petitioned the King of England to use his endeavours to procure the abolition, by all civilised nations, of this infamous traffic, and several states had concluded treaties with Great Britain, more or less stringent, for its limitation or abolition. In particular, this had been done by a treaty with the court of Rio Janeiro in 1810, and one with that of Sweden in 1813. Denmark had previously set the first example of the great deed of justice, by abolishing the traffic in 1794, by an edict to come into operation after the lapse of ten years. Before leaving Paris, Lord Castlereagh had addressed a circular to all the allied powers, earnestly requesting their co-operation in this great object; and not only had they all expressed opinions favourable to the proposed abolition, but the King of the Netherlands, by a decree in June 1815, abolished the trade in his dominions. A treaty was also concluded between England and Spain, by which the King of Spain engaged to take efficacious measures for abolishing it throughout his dominions; and at the Congress of Vienna a great step was made in the same career by a treaty with Portugal, by which it was absolutely prohibited to the subjects of Portugal to the north of the equator: no less than £600,000 was the price paid by England for this concession to the principles of humanity. Great resistance, however, was made by France and Spain to the efforts of Lord Castlereagh to procure the consent of their respective courts to the entire abolition of the slave trade within any limited period; and all that he could obtain was a joint declaration, signed by all the powers, of their abhorrence of the traffic, and their desire

for its being effectually put an end to, but leaving the period for its entire abolition to be fixed by separate negotiations between the different powers.

65. Italy presented in some respects a more complicated field for diplomacy. The cessions, indeed, of Lombardy to Austria, and of the Genoese republic to the kingdom of Piedmont, were at once agreed to without any difficulty, despite the earnest remonstrances of the citizens of the latter commonwealth, who passionately desired the restoration of their ancient form of government: so strongly was the necessity felt of strengthening the states on the French frontier, and above all the kingdom of Sardinia, in whose hands the keys of the most important passes from France into Italy were placed. But the conflicting claims of Murat and the old Bourbon family to the throne of Naples, excited a warm interest at the Congress; the more especially as Alexander, out of pique at the resistance of the court of France to his views in regard to Poland and Saxony, now openly supported the claims of the former to the crown, grounding his support on the engagement of Austria to maintain him in his throne, and enlarge his territory, entered into when he joined the Grand Alliance. The other powers, however, were far from sharing these sentiments: the court of Rome felt the utmost alarm at the close proximity of an ambitious prince, who openly coveted, and had more than once attempted to seize, the papal territories; and Austria was little inclined to permit the permanent establishment of a revolutionary throne so near the inflammable materials of her Italian provinces. Murat, in a laboured memorial, earnestly appealed to England to support him on his throne, in terms of the engagement undertaken by Lord William Bentinck and General Nugent; but Lord Castlereagh officially announced to the Congress in the end of February, that Murat had so completely failed in the performance of his own engagements, that he had virtually liberated the Allies from theirs, and that they were not bound to maintain him. Meanwhile, Murat was so far from anticipat-

ing any danger to his Neapolitan crown, that he was dreaming of the sceptre of the whole of Italy south of the Po; and with that view, in spite of all the representations of Austria and the court of Rome, kept military possession of the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, as the frontier provinces of his anticipated dominions. Nay, so far did he carry his extravagance, that on the 15th February he made a formal demand for the passage of eighty thousand men through the Austrian territories in Italy; to act against France; a proposition which only tended to increase the apprehensions of the cabinet of Vienna, and led to the force of that power, in the Italian peninsula, being augmented to a hundred and fifty thousand men.

66. This military position and demand excited the jealousy of the allied powers; the more especially as, towards the end of February, rumours reached Vienna of constant correspondence between the isle of Elba and the adjoining shores of Italy, and of an intended descent by Napoleon on the coast of France. These rumours soon acquired such consistency, that the propriety of removing him from the neighbourhood of Italy had already been more than once agitated in the Congress; and various places of residence for him, in exchange for Elba, had been proposed—among others, one of the Canary islands, which was suggested by the Portuguese minister, and St Helena or St Lucie, which were proposed by Lord Castlereagh. Alexander, however, still firmly held out for adhering to the treaty of Fontainebleau, and maintaining the fallen Emperor in possession of the island of Elba; alleging, as a reason, that his personal honour had been pledged to his great antagonist for that asylum, and that he would not be the first to break it. But Metternich, better informed, was so strongly impressed with the impending danger, that he secretly despatched a letter to Fouché at Paris, inquiring, What would happen if Napoleon returned?—what if the King of Rome with a squadron of horse appeared on the frontier?—and what would France do if left to its

spontaneous movement? The sagacious minister of police replied, that if one regiment sent against Napoleon ranged itself on his side, the whole army would follow its example—that if the King of Rome was escorted to the frontiers by an Austrian regiment, the whole nation would instantly hoist his colours; and that, if no external stimulus was applied, the nation would seek refuge in the Orleans dynasty. These dangers, however, were only appreciated by the few who had foresight equal to the Austrian statesman or French revolutionist; and all heads at Vienna were involved in a whirl of gaiety, splendour, and dissipation, which gave rise to the witty saying of the Prince de Ligne, “the Congress dances, but it does not advance,”—when, on the 7th March, intelligence was brought to Metternich, on the eve of a great ball at Vienna, that NAPOLEON HAD SECRETLY LEFT ELBA.

67. If a thunderbolt had fallen in the middle of the brilliant circle assembled in the imperial saloon at Vienna, it could not have excited greater consternation than this simple announcement. It was deemed expedient, nevertheless, to conceal the alarm which all really felt, and next day Metternich, Wellington, and Talleyrand went to Presburg, to announce to the King of Saxony, as had been previously arranged, the determination come to by the Congress in regard to the cessions of territory which he was required to make, under the pain of losing his crown. The affairs of Saxony, however, were soon adjusted. All minor differences were immediately forgotten: the strides of Russia, the aggrandisement of Prussia, the terrors of Austria, were buried in oblivion: all lesser subjects of alarm were absorbed in the pressing danger arising from the return of Napoleon to the throne of France. Alexander was profoundly irritated at the event. Alone, he had for long contended against the other powers at the Congress for the maintenance of Napoleon on the island of Elba, as a thing to which, whether right or wrong, his personal honour was engaged. He felt it, therefore, as a personal injury, when the

object of his solicitude was himself the first to break his engagement. Much uncertainty at first prevailed as to the place of his destination, and many suspected it was Naples, where Murat was openly preparing for hostilities: but all doubt was soon removed. The posts of the succeeding days brought intelligence by the way of Turin, that he had landed in the Gulf of St Juan, near Frejus; that he had taken the road for Paris through the mountains of Gap: and at last, that Labedoyère and the garrison of Grenoble had joined him, and he was making an unresisted and triumphant progress towards Lyons.

68. As the revolt of the army and the approaching downfall of the throne of Louis XVIII. could no longer be doubted, the Congress took the most vigorous measures to provide against the danger. The cabinet of Vienna felt it to be its duty to take the lead on this occasion; not only as its apprehensions had been the main cause of the late divisions which had prevailed in the deliberations of the Allies, but because Napoleon, relying on his family connection with the imperial house of Hapsburg, had disseminated with profusion on his road to Grenoble a proclamation, in which he declared that he had returned to France with the concurrence of Austria, and that he was speedily to be supported by a hundred thousand of the troops of that nation. Metternich, therefore, in the first formal meeting held to deliberate on the course which should be pursued, stated that it would be worthy of the allied powers, and of the highest importance in the existing crisis, to express their opinion on an event which could not fail to create a great sensation in every part of Europe: that Napoleon Buonaparte, in quitting the island of Elba, and disembarking in France at the head of an armed force, had openly rendered himself the disturber of the general peace; that as such he could no longer claim the protection of any treaty or law; that the powers who had signed the treaty of Paris felt themselves, in an especial manner, called upon to declare in the

face of Europe in what light they viewed that attempt; that they should add, that they were resolved at all hazards to carry into effect the whole provisions of the treaty of Paris; and that they were all prepared to support the King of France with their whole forces, in the event of circumstances, rendering their assistance necessary. These sentiments, which had been previously concerted with Talleyrand, specially in order to detach the cause of Napoleon from that of the independence of the French monarchy, met with the unanimous and cordial concurrence of all present; and, in consequence, a declaration was forthwith drawn up and signed by all the powers,* which, in the most rigid terms, proscribed Napoleon as a public enemy, with whom neither peace nor truce could be concluded, and expressed the determination of the powers to employ the

* "The powers which signed the treaty of Paris, reassembled in Congress at Vienna, informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entry with an armed force into France, owe it to their own dignity and to the interests of nations, to make a solemn announcement of their sentiments on the occasion. In breaking, after this manner, the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte has destroyed the sole legal title to which his political existence is attached. By reappearing in France, with projects of trouble and overthrow, he has not less deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and made it evident in the face of the universe that there can no longer be either peace or truce with him. The powers, therefore, declare that Buonaparte has placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as the general enemy and disturber of the world, he is abandoned to public justice. They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain untouched the treaty of Paris of 30th May 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, they will employ the whole means at their disposal to secure the preservation of general peace, the object of all their efforts; and although firmly persuaded that the whole of France will combine to crush this last mad attempt of criminal ambition, yet, if it should prove otherwise, they declare that they are ready to unite all their efforts, and exert all the powers at their disposal, to give the King of France all necessary assistance, and make common cause against all those who shall compromise the public tranquillity. METTERNICH, TALLEYRAND, WELLESLEY, HARDENBERG, NEUCHÂTEAU, LOVATINSKY."—*Recueil des Pièces Officielles*, v. 1.

whole forces at their disposal to prevent Europe from being again plunged into the abyss of revolution.

69. This energetic and decisive proclamation was immediately forwarded to Paris by the way of Strasburg, with instructions to the courier intrusted with it, to circulate as many copies as possible in the different towns and villages through which he passed in his route from the Rhine to the capital. Nor were the efforts of the allied sovereigns confined to mere denunciations on paper: the most vigorous measures were immediately taken to assemble a powerful force in the field. The Russian troops in Poland, two hundred and eighty thousand strong, were directed to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice. Alexander declared, "that he was ready to throw into the crusade the three hundred thousand men of whom he had the disposal, to put an end to these revolts of Prætorian Guards; and that, as he had been the most culpable in having retained Napoleon so long at Elba, so he would be the first to repair his fault." Austria put on the war footing her armies in Italy and Germany, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand men: Prussia called forth the landwehr in all her dominions, and raised her forces to two hundred thousand men, of whom a hundred and fifty thousand were ordered to march to the Low Countries: the lesser states of Germany all called out their respective contingents, and, amidst songs of triumphs and threats of vengeance, moved towards the Rhine: while England, now delivered from the pressure of the American War, exerted extraordinary activity, both in pouring troops into Flanders, and providing for the equipment of the newly-raised forces of the Belgians. Numerous levies were raised in Hanover, and the old troops had already begun their march for the Flemish frontier. Even Denmark and Sweden, forgetting their recent divisions, began to arm, and took measures to join the general coalition of Europe; and the Swiss cantons, departing from the cautious neutrality they had hitherto preserved, prepared to take an active

part in the strife, and assail France on the side where it was most vulnerable. At the same time, Spain and Portugal joined in the general league, and slowly organised their battalions to march towards the Pyrenees. And thus was verified the saying of Chateaubriand, "that if the cocked-hat and surtout of Napoleon were placed on a stick on the shores of Brest, it would cause Europe to run to arms from one end to the other."

70. The imminent danger which the whole powers ran from the return of the French Emperor, speedily led to a decision of the long-debated questions regarding Poland and Saxony. Russia at length agreed to accept of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, without the fortress of Thorn and its dependent territory, with the exception of a portion of it, containing eight hundred thousand souls, which was to be ceded to Prussia; and it was expressly stipulated that Poland should not be incorporated with Russia, but should form a separate kingdom, preserving its own laws, institutions, language, and religion. After a great deal of negotiation, a treaty was concluded on these bases on the 3d May, between Russia and Saxony; another, on the same day, between Prussia and Russia; and a third, between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. By these arrangements, Saxony ceded to Russia in perpetuity the grand-duchy of Warsaw, to be erected into a separate kingdom in favour of the Emperor of Russia, but not incorporated with that empire: the ancient town of Cracow, with a small territory adjacent, was erected into a separate republic, containing in all sixty-one thousand souls, with the shadow at least of independence. By this treaty a portion of Poland recovered its long-lost nationality: above four millions of Sarmatians were restored to the rank of a separate people: the Russian viceroy at Warsaw maintained regal state, surrounded by Polish soldiers, Polish uniforms, Polish ministers, and Polish institutions. A constitution establishing the elements of freedom, defective indeed in some essential particulars, but still a vast improvement upon its old

stormy *Comitia*, was guaranteed : and so great was the growth of the nation, and the improvement of its strength, under the regular and stable government which followed, that on occasion of the revolt of 1830, it singly withstood, guided by the genius of Skrynecki, the whole military force of Russia for nine months, and was at length subdued only by the accession of Prussia to the league of its enemies. Such as they were, those blessings were mainly to be ascribed to the philanthropic disposition of the Emperor Alexander, and the determined stand made by Lord Castlereagh : but, in common with many other guarantees of real freedom, they perished fifteen years afterwards under the assault of democracy, roused into frantic activity by the triumph of the Barri- cades which subverted the throne of Charles X.

71. It was not surprising that the European powers strove to reconcile their divisions, and accommodate their differences, at the Congress of Vienna ; for Napoleon had now landed in France, and was making rapidly for Paris, the ancient seat of his power. With a blindness to the future and probable course of events, which now appears scarcely conceivable, but of which, at the time of the treaty of Fontainebleau, Lord Castlereagh had fully appreciated the danger, the unreflecting generosity of the allied sovereigns had assigned to Napoleon, in independent sovereignty, a little island on the Tuscan coast, within sight of Italy, within a few days' sail of France, and in a situation of all others the most favourable for carrying on intrigues with both countries. As if, too, they had purposely intended to invite a second descent, he was placed there with an ample revenue, an armed force, — which was soon raised, by veterans who flocked to his standard from the adjacent shores, to above a thousand, tried and experienced soldiers, — and three small vessels of war at his disposal ; while there was not a single English line-of-battle ship or frigate to prevent an expedition sailing against the coast of France. Sir Neil Campbell and the other allied commissioners, indeed, were there, and enjoy-

ed a large share of the society of the Emperor ; but they were merely a species of accredited diplomatists at his court : they could only report to their respective cabinets what was going on, and were not entitled to restrain his proceedings, nor had they any armed force at their disposal to coerce his attempts. A brig of eighteen guns, indeed, cruised off the island ; but it was wholly unable to blockade Porto Ferrajo, or prevent the descent of the Emperor at the head of his Guards on the adjacent shores. It might have been foreseen what would be the result of this extraordinary facility afforded to the dethroned conqueror. In him, as in all mankind, the desire to reign, when its pleasures had been once felt, was insatiable.* A constant correspondence was maintained by Napoleon with his adherents in France and Italy ; his friends and relatives were continually in communication with or visiting him ; and soon a vast conspiracy was formed, with its centre in Paris, and its ramifications throughout the whole army and a great part of the civil functionaries, having for its object to overturn the dynasty of the Bourbons, and replace the Emperor on the throne.

72. The inferior officers and soldiers of the army were in an especial manner the seat of this conspiracy. The marshals and generals, worn out with war, and glad at any price to secure the peaceable possession of their titles and fortunes, had in good faith, for the most part, embraced the party of the Restoration. But though the troops had formally taken the oath to the new government, yet in their hearts they had never renounced their allegiance to the Emperor ; and their devotion to him was only the more profound, that time had weakened the remembrance of their disasters, and that no present fatigue or sufferings interfered with the charm of old recollections. In them was verified the old saying, that strong

* Mille exemples sanglans nous peuvent l'enseigner :

Il n'est rien qui ne cède à l'ardeur de régner,

Et depuis qu'une fois elle nous inquiète,
La nature est aveugle et la vertu muette."

CORNEILLE, *Nicomède*, Act II. scene 1.

passions are increased, weak ones only diminished by absence. The snows of Russia, the overthrow of Leipsic, the disasters of France, were forgotten : he appeared only to their memories as the hero of Rivoli or Austerlitz—the resistless chief who led them, conquering and to conquer, to almost every capital of continental Europe. These feelings were all but universal in the troops and in the officers, from the colonels downwards. While the generals and marshals besieged the antechambers of the Tuileries, and signed loyal addresses, resounding with the fleurs-de-lys, Henry IV., and the white flag, the poor soldiers, often the last depositaries, in a corrupted age, of fidelity and attachment, in secret adhered to their old allegiance ; they guarded the Emperor's eagles as their household gods, kept the tricolor cockades with pious care in their knapsacks, spoke with rapture of his exploits in their barracks, and worshipped his image in their hearts. Various words to signify the beloved object were invented, and, though known to thousands and tens of thousands, the secret was religiously preserved. He was called “Père la Violette,” and the “Petit Caporal :” and the rumour spread through the army, “that he would appear with the violet in spring on the Seine, to chase from thence the priests and emigrants who have insulted the national glory.”

73. Its close proximity to the Italian shore led naturally to a secret correspondence between the island of Elba and the court of Naples. Murat, ever governed by ambition, and yet destitute of the firmness of purpose requisite to render it successful, now found that his vacillation of conduct had ruined him with the aristocratic, as it had formerly done with the revolutionary party, and that the Allies were little disposed to reward his deviation from his engagements by the lasting possession of the throne of Naples. He threw himself, therefore, once more into the arms of France ; and it was arranged that the descent of Napoleon on the coast of Provence should be contemporaneous with the advance of his troops to the Po, and the proclamation

of the great principle of Italian unity and independence. At the same time, various illustrious strangers of both sexes visited Napoleon at Elba : among the former was Lord Ebrington, who has given the world a most interesting account of his conversations with the fallen hero ; among the latter, the Polish lady who had fascinated him before the battle of Eylau, [*ante*, Chap. XLIV. § 47], and the French ladies who had alleviated his anguish amidst the desertions of Fontainebleau, [*ante*, Chap. LXXXIX. § 24, note]. Amidst this varied society, by some of whom the great intrigue which was going forward was conducted, the language of the Emperor was always the same, and his profound powers of dissimulation were never more strikingly evinced. To the English he spoke only of the new constitution in France, the errors and difficulties of the King ; the irretrievable folly of the Bourbons ; the inapplicability of British institutions to the present state of French society ; the impossibility of finding a Chamber of Deputies not either servile or turbulent ; the entire termination of his own political existence, and the calm eye with which he now looked back on the stormy scene in which he had no longer any interest.

74. To Sir Neil Campbell, in particular, he was apparently communicative and confidential in the highest degree. Almost every morning he admitted him to his breakfast table, when the conversation ranged over every subject of history and politics ; they then strolled out along the beach, in company with some of the other commissioners, and he not unfrequently embarked with Sir Neil alone in a small boat, under pretence of fishing, and when he got a little way out from the shore said, “Now, we are out of their hearing : ask me anything, and I will tell you.” By these means the Emperor so far gained upon the confidence of that able officer, that he contented himself with reporting these precious conversations to his cabinet ; and, deeming no danger at hand, though not unlikely at some future period to occur, was frequently absent for days

together, at Florence or Leghorn, where he had several interesting acquaintances, among whom were fascinations of no ordinary kind. But even if he had been every day at the Emperor's side, it would have been of hardly any avail, for there were no visible preparations going on; if there had, he had no force whatever at his disposal to check them; and his instructions were merely to attend General Buonaparte to Elba, to see him established there, and remain as long as the ex-Emperor might desire his presence.*

75. All things being at length in readiness, and the preparations in France, by means of the inferior officers of the army, the veteran republicans at Paris, and the old Imperial functionaries still retained in office by the government, completed, Napoleon, on the 26th of February, gave a brilliant ball at Porto Ferrajo to the principal persons of the island, over which the grace and beauty of his sister, the Princess Pauline, who presided, threw an unusual lustre. Sir Neil Campbell unfortunately was absent, having sailed on the 17th in the Partridge for Leghorn: and so well had the preparations for departure been concealed, that Captain Adige, who commanded that vessel, had no conception that any departure was intended, and set out from Leghorn the very day of Napoleon's embarkation. Sir Neil was well aware that Napoleon meditated an outbreak, and some recent indications, particularly the arrival of three feluccas from Naples, made him suspect that it would ere long occur; but as he had no force at his disposal, and the single British cruiser, the Partridge of eighteen guns, was wholly unequal to the encounter of the whole flotilla of

* "You will pay every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in Elba it is the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection; and you will acquaint Napoleon, in suitable terms of attention, that you are directed to reside in the island till further orders, if he should consider that the presence of a British officer can be of any use in protecting the island and his person against insult or attack."—*LORD CASTLEREAGH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR NEIL CAMPBELL: Paris, 16th April 1814. SIR NEIL CAMPBELL'S MS. Papers.*

Napoleon, he contented himself with warning government of the chance of his escape,† and had gone to Leghorn principally to concert measures with Lord Burghersh, the British envoy at Florence, on the means of averting the danger which appeared approaching, by detaching a line-of-battle ship and frigate which lay at Genoa to cruise off the island, when in his absence it actually occurred.

76. While Napoleon's mother and sister were doing the honours of the ball, he himself walked around the room, conversing in the most affable manner with the guests. Meanwhile, secret orders had been despatched to his Guards, to hold themselves in readiness on the quay. At three o'clock in the afternoon, next day, they were all drawn up there, in number about eleven hundred, of whom four hundred were of the Old Guard, under the command of Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne. Napoleon joined them at half-past four, and orders were immediately given for commencing the embarkation. By seven o'clock it was completed, and the Emperor stepped on board the Inconstant brig, which contained four hundred of his old comrades in arms. His air was calm and serene: he merely said, in an under voice to those around him, "The die is now cast." The eyes of Bertrand gleamed with joy; Drouot was pensive and thoughtful; Cambronne seemed entirely occupied with the arrangement of his soldiers. It

† "If I may venture an opinion upon Buonaparte's plan, I think he will leave General Bertrand to defend Porto Ferrajo, as he has a wife and several children with him, to whom he is extremely attached, and probably will not communicate his intentions to him till the last moment. He will take with him General Drouot, and those of his Guards upon whom he can most depend, embarking General Cambronne (a desperate, uneducated ruffian, who was a drummer with him in Egypt) in the Inconstant, L'Étoile, and the other vessels mentioned in this memorandum; he will go himself, probably a day or two before the troops, with General Drouot in the Caroline, and the place of disembarkation will be Gaeta on the coast of Naples, or Civita Vecchia, if Murat has previously advanced to Rome."—*SIR N. CAMPBELL to LORD CASTLEREAGH, dated Leghorn, 26th February 1814; SIR N. CAMPBELL'S MS. Papers, Despatches, No. 45.*

was dark when the flotilla, which consisted in all of seven small vessels, got under weigh: Napoleon had given out to the inhabitants, that he was going to the coast of Barbary to chastise the pirates, who from time immemorial had infested the coasts of Elba; and sealed instructions were delivered to the captain of the *Inconstant*, not to be read till they were fairly at sea. The night was calm, the wind light from the south; and it was not till they were two leagues from the harbour that the captain opened his orders, and saw that his destination was the gulf of St Juan on the coast of Provence. He immediately steered in that direction, and the transports of the soldiers could no longer be restrained. "Officers and soldiers of my Guard," said Napoleon, "we are going to France." Loud cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" immediately burst out on all sides: but after the first transport of enthusiasm was over, sad presentiments filled the breasts of the soldiers; the recollection of Moscow and Leipzig returned to their minds; and even the bravest hesitated as to the result of an expedition, in which the Emperor, at the head of a thousand men, set out to brave the military force of all Europe.

77. During the night the wind fell, and at daybreak they were only six leagues from the nearest point of Elba. Napoleon shut himself up in his cabin, and dictated those proclamations to the people and army, which soon thrilled through France, from Calais to Bayonne. Some of the least resolute on board, seeing the wind fail, suggested that it would be prudent to return to Porto Ferrajo; but the Emperor replied, "If the ships are too heavily laden, throw all the baggage overboard: the idea of returning to Elba is pusillanimous; we bear France on the point of our swords." Opposite Leghorn, on the 27th, a French frigate was descried five leagues to windward; but it did not approach. The French brig *Zephyr* soon after came within hail: the soldiers took off their caps, and lay flat on deck to avoid discovery; and the captain, having asked if they had come from Elba, and how Napoleon was, he

himself answered, "*Il se porte à merveille.*" Suspecting nothing, the brig passed on. On the evening of the 29th, the lofty towers of Antibes were descried; and Napoleon, amidst loud cheers, read his proclamation to his soldiers, who all mounted the tricolor cockade. Without molestation the fleet pursued its course; soon the olive-clad slopes of Cannes opened to the view; and at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st March, the whole vessels cast anchor in the gulf of St Juan. The Old Guard, under Drouot, was immediately landed without opposition; shortly after, Napoleon himself descended into the long-boat of the brig, and approached the shore: on reaching the sand, it was moored to the trunk of an olive-tree. "That is a good omen," cried the Emperor, whose mind on momentous occasions was singularly alive to superstitious impressions; and he caused it to be mentioned to his soldiers, who received the omen with joyfulness. Stepping ashore, he gave a few napoleons to his attendants, to buy horses from the neighbouring peasants; spoke cheerfully, and with the magic which he had so wonderfully at his command, to the men; encouraged his officers by animated and varied conversation; and at night the watches were set, and the troops bivouacked, as on the eve of the battles of Austerlitz or Wagram.

78. The dangers of the passage were now over; but there remained the perils of the shore, which were sufficient to daunt the most resolute breasts. Though the great conspiracy, having for its object the overthrow of the Bourbons, had ramifications in almost every regiment in the army, yet it was in a few instances only that the superior officers had been gained; and it was as yet uncertain whether or not the men would disobey the orders of those of them who had not. The first attempt was unsuccessful: twenty-five of the Old Guard were sent to Antibes, to endeavour to seduce the garrison by the name of the Emperor; but General Germin, who commanded in that fortress, arrested the men; and on a second detachment being brought up, which

began to read at the foot of the rampart the proclamations issued by Napoleon, he cut the matter short by threatening to discharge the guns. This check spread great discouragement among the soldiers, and induced a moment's hesitation in the mind of the Emperor; but he had gone too far to recede, and at four o'clock in the following morning he took the road by Gap to Grenoble, through the mountains. This road, after quitting the Var at Sisteron, ascends into the Alpine range, which it never quits till it arrives in the neighbourhood of the latter town. No district of France could have been selected more favourable to the Emperor's designs, for it contains no great towns or wealthy districts; and the inhabitants, strongly imbued with the feelings of Helvetic independence, fearless and active as are all mountaineers, were in great part holders of national domains, and strongly imbued with the principles of the Revolution. They received him in consequence with open arms; and his versatile disposition flattered the prevailing wish wherever he went. Everywhere he spread the announcements most likely to be agreeable to the simple people to whom they were addressed.

79. Sometimes he declared that he was weary of war; that he would be as pacific as the Bourbons; that he would abolish the *droits réunis*, and never revive the conscription: at others, that Austria had engaged to support him with a hundred thousand men; that Murat was following him with eighty thousand; in fine, that the Congress had dethroned Louis XVIII. On all occasions he styled the people citizens, and spoke the language most calculated to revive the revolutionary fervour in their minds. "Why had he come to France? why had he hoisted the tricolor flag? It was to restore the liberty of 1789; to recognise all the privileges conquered by the Revolution; to secure the proprietors of the national domains menaced by the Bourbons; to give equal rights to all." Meanwhile, the advance was pressed with extraordinary activity. In the first two days they marched fifty-four miles; at

Digne, on the 4th, his proclamations were printed; near Sisteron the troops admired the good fortune which had left the formidable pass of the Saulce, between the Durance and an overhanging precipice, unguarded; at Gap he rested a few hours, and distributed his proclamations. Continuing his march with ceaseless vigour, he was already approaching Grenoble, when, on the 6th March, General Cambonne, at the head of the leading companies, met on the road of Vizille the advanced guard of the troops detached from the garrison of that fortress to arrest his progress. It was all in vain. "He advanced," says Chateaubriand, "without opposition, through those provinces where some months before they were ready to murder him. In the void formed around his gigantic shadow, if a few soldiers entered, they were invincibly attracted by the fascination of his eagles. His enemies sought him and found him not: he was shrouded in his glory, as the lion of the Sahara desert is hid in the dazzling rays of the sun. Enveloped in a cloud of fire, the bloody phantoms of Arcola, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, Eylau, the Moskwa, Lützen, Bautzen, formed his cortege, amidst a million of dead: From the midst of that column of fire and smoke, issued a few trumpet-notes at the approach of towns, and their walls fell down at the sound. When Napoleon passed the Niemen at the head of four hundred thousand infantry and a hundred thousand cavalry, to invade the palace of the Czar, he was less wonderful than when, breaking his ban, casting his fetters in the face of kings, he came alone from Cannes to Paris to sleep quietly in the château of the Tuileries."

80. Hitherto the march of Napoleon had been unresisted, and the dispositions of the peasants in the country through which he had passed had been favourable; but nothing was yet decided. It was not by the mountaineers of Dauphny, but by the troops of France, that the contest for the throne was to be determined; in such an enterprise as he was now engaged in, the conduct of the first regiment generally

determines the rest, and everything depends on the issue of the crisis which in the outset arrives. According to the plan which had been agreed on before, Napoleon left Elba, part of the garrison of Grenoble, under the command of Colonel Labedoyère, was to march out to meet him; and from their treason the defection of the whole army was anticipated. Labedoyère was an officer of handsome figure and elegant manners, descended of a respectable family, young, enthusiastic, and daring. He had owed his promotion and appointment to the royal court, but his heart dwelt on the glories of the empire: he had readily yielded at Paris to the seductions of the saloons of Hortense, recently created Duchess of St Leu, one of the most fascinating supporters of Napoleon; and his mind, debased by the chicanery of the Revolution, saw nothing dishonourable in holding a high military command under the Bourbons, and employing the power it gave him to aid in their destruction. Charity forbids us to stigmatise such conduct by its true appellation. Infidelity and selfishness had totally perverted the human heart, and almost dried up the springs of conscience in many breasts. Marlborough himself, in similar circumstances, did the same. It is the strongest proof of the peril of revolution, and the infernal agency at work in its origination, that it overturns the whole principles of virtue in all hearts save those fortified by religion, and converts bravery and honour themselves into treachery and treason.

81. An accidental circumstance, however, had well-nigh frustrated all these arrangements, and overthrown at its very outset this deep-laid conspiracy. General Marchand, the governor of Grenoble, although an old comrade of Napoleon in Egypt, was a man of honour, faithful to his trust, and entirely ignorant of the treason at work in his garrison. He had despatched towards Vizille a battalion of infantry and some guns, not under Labedoyère, with orders to observe the enemy, and retire before them to the ramparts of Gre-

noble, but on no account to permit any communication with Napoleon's soldiers. It was with these men that Cambrónno's advanced guard first came up; and he was filled with consternation upon finding, when he approached, that no signs of defection appeared, that no parleying was permitted between the troops, and that resistance was evidently prepared. He immediately despatched an aide-de-camp to the Emperor, with the alarming intelligence. "We have been deceived," said Napoleon to Bertrand, "but it is no matter—forward!" Advancing then to the front of the advanced guard, in the well-known surtout and cocked-hat which had become canonised in the recollection of the soldiers, he said aloud to the opposite rank, in a voice tremulous with emotion, "Comrades, do you know me again!" "Yes, sire," exclaimed the men. "Do you recognise me, my children?" he added. "I am your Emperor: fire on me if you wish; fire on your father: here is my bosom," and with that he bared his breast. At those words, the transports of the soldiers could no longer be restrained; as if struck by an electric shock, they all broke their ranks, threw themselves at the feet of the Emperor, embraced his knees with tears of joy, and with indescribable fervour again raised the old cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* Hardly had they risen from the ground, when the tricolor cockade was seen on every breast; the eagles reappeared on the standards; and the whole detachment sent out to combat the Emperor, ranged itself with fervent devotion on his side. The spot where this memorable meeting occurred is marked by a tree which overhangs the road, amidst those savage Alpine solitudes: few more interesting scenes are to be met with, even on the time-hallowed shores of the Mediterranean sea.

82. Meanwhile Labedoyère had assembled his regiment, and, in defiance alike of the commands of General Marchand, and of the injunctions of the prefect, who in vain endeavoured to retain him in his duty, left Grenoble at the head of his men, in the most vio-

lent state of excitement. Hardly was he out of the gates, when he drew an eagle from his pocket, which he embraced before the soldiers, who shouted, *Vive l'Empereur!*—and a drum having been opened containing tricolor cockades, which were immediately distributed among the men, the whole, amidst tumultuous shouts of joy, advanced and met Napoleon. He bestowed on Labedoyère the most flattering marks of regard, and the united column, now nearly three thousand strong, in the afternoon approached the fortress. Marchand and the prefect did their utmost to induce the garrison to resist, but all their efforts were in vain; the prestige of the Emperor was irresistible; and, finding their orders disregarded, they took the part of men of honour, and retired from situations of trust in which they could no longer exercise their functions. Soon after Napoleon arrived at the gates of Grenoble, behind which an enthusiastic crowd of soldiers and citizens was assembled, in the most vehement state of exultation. The gates were locked, but they were soon forced open; and Napoleon made his entry by torchlight, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and took up his abode at the Cheval Blanc, kept by an old veteran of his Guard.

83. Three decrees of great importance were issued by the Emperor from Grenoble. The first declared that all the acts of government should henceforth run in his name: this was in effect to resume the throne. By the second, the national guards of the five neighbouring departments were called out and placed in activity. By the third, the fortress of Grenoble was intrusted to these national guards. At the same time, he explained in conversation to M. Champollion the view which he took of the altered state of his affairs. "The Bourbons," said he, "had accustomed the people to political rights: he was prepared to follow out the same system—in a word, to apply to the cause of the Revolution the results of a constitutional government." In conformity with these ideas, he said, in answer to an address from the authorities and citizens of Grenoble, "I have been too

fond of war; I will wage it no longer: I return to restore its rights to the nation; I desire only to be its first citizen." In proclamations drawn in the masculine spirit of ancient oratory, one addressed to the French people, the other to the army, he repudiated the idea of their defeat, ascribed their misfortunes to treachery, and invited them again to range themselves around the tricolor standard.

84. "Soldiers!" said he, "we have not been conquered! Two men, sprung from our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor. Shall those whom we have seen during twenty years fly over every part of Europe to raise up opposition against us; who have passed their lives in the enemies' camps, uttering execrations against our beautiful France; shall they pretend to command us, to enchain our eagles—they who have so often quailed beneath their glance? Shall we suffer them to reap the fruits of our glorious labours—to take possession of our honours, of our effects—to calumniate your glory? Should their reign continue, all would be lost—even to the recollection of your glorious days: with what bitterness do they denounce them! how do they seek to detract from what the world admires! and if any defenders of your glory yet remain, it is among our ancient antagonists on the field of battle. Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice; I have come hither through all perils, despite all obstacles: your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and elevated on your bucklers, is restored to you. Come and join him; come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief: he has no existence but in yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than yours. Victory will march at the *pas de charge*; the eagle, with the national colours, will fly from steeple to steeple, till it lights on the towers of Notre Dame. There you will be able in safety to boast of what you have done: you will be the deliverers of your country. In your old age, surrounded and respected by your fellow-citizens, you will recount your great

deeds: you will say with pride—"And I, too, was part of that army which entered twice into the walls of Vienna, which passed twice through those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow, which delivered Paris from the stains that treason had affixed to it." Honour to those brave soldiers, the glory of their country! and shame to the criminal Frenchmen, in what rank soever fortune may have originally placed them, who have combated twenty-five years with the stranger to tear in pieces their country."

85. While Napoleon was thus thundering forth proclamations destined to strike again the strong chord of French nationality, to thrill every patriotic heart with emotion, and in their ultimate effects to convulse Europe from end to end, the court of the Tuileries, thunderstruck with the intelligence, vacillated between affected indifference and real apprehension. On the morning of the 3d March, a telegraphic despatch from the prefect of Toulon announced the landing of Napoleon in the gulf of St Juan; and soon after the full details were received. M. Blacas treated the enterprise with contempt, as the last effort of a madman. Louis XVIII. judged differently: from the outset he declared that it threatened the most serious consequences. The Duke de Berri, desirous of glory, could not conceal the joy which he felt at an event which he doubted not would add his name to those of the paladins of the monarchy. Three days after the first news had been received, the confidence of the court continued unabated, and exhaled in an indignant proclamation,* which proved a feeble counterpoise to the heart-stirring appeals of Napoleon, which were already

beginning to convulse France. As, however, the unprepared approach of the Emperor to Grenoble, and the defection of the garrison of that fortress, became known, alarm spread through all classes, and even the most devoted adherents of the Bourbons began to tremble for the result. An indescribable confusion pervaded the court; and while the columns of the *Moniteur* were filled with loyal addresses from the marshals, superior officers, and all the constituted authorities, that general quiver, the invariable precursor of revolution, was distinctly visible in all classes. A royal proclamation convoked the two Chambers with all possible expedition: the Count d'Artois was despatched, in company with the Duke d'Orleans and Marshal Macdonald, to Lyons, the former to secure the adhesion of the Constitutionalists, the latter to steady the wavering fidelity of the army. A special messenger was despatched to the Duke d'Angoulême, who, with the duchess, had recently before set off for Bordeaux to celebrate the first anniversary of the raising of the Royalist standard in that city, to warn him of the danger, and the necessity of rousing the southern provinces; the Duke de Bourbon was sent down to La Vendée, to endeavour, by the great name of Condé, to revive the devoted fidelity of the peasants of the Bocage; while the command of an army of reserve, to be formed at Essone and Fontainebleau, destined specially for the defence of the capital, was intrusted to the Duke de Berri.

86. Great efforts were made by the court to stimulate a Royalist resistance; but they were only partially successful. Louis went in person to the Chamber of Deputies, and pronounced in person

* "Buonaparte has escaped from the island of Elba, where the imprudent magnanimity of the allied sovereigns had given him a sovereignty, in return for the desolations which he had brought into their dominions. That man who, when he abdicated his power, retained all his ambition and his fury: that man, covered with the blood of generations, comes at the end of a year spent seemingly in apathy, to strive to dispute, in the name of his usurpations and his massacres, the legitimate and mild authority of the King of France. At the head of a few hundred Italians

and Piedmontese, he has dared again to set his foot on that land which had banished him for ever: he wishes to reopen the wounds, still but half-closed, which he had made, and which the hand of the King is healing every day. A few treasonable attempts, some movements in Italy excited by his insane brother-in-law, inflamed the pride of the cowardly warrior of Fontainebleau. He exposes himself, as he imagines, to the death of a hero; he will only die that of a traitor. France has rejected him: he returns; France will devour him."—*Moniteur*, 6th March 1815.

a noble address. "In this moment of danger," said he, "when the public enemy has invaded our country, I come into the midst of you to draw closer the bonds which unite us together. I have again seen my country: I have reconciled it with foreign nations, who will prove themselves, be assured, faithful to the treaties they have signed. I have laboured for the good of my people: I have received the most touching marks of their love. Can I, at the age of sixty, devote my life better than in its defence? I fear nothing for myself, therefore. He who has brought the torch of civil war brings amongst us also the scourge of foreign warfare: he comes to place our country under a yoke of iron; he comes to destroy that constitutional charter which I have given,—that charter which will constitute my best epitaph in the eyes of posterity." But it was all in vain. In Paris, indeed, the young men of the universities, aware that France owed to the Bourbons its first decided step in the path of freedom, which Napoleon would speedily frustrate, and that the conscription and wars would soon decimate their ranks if the Imperial regime were restored, enrolled themselves with alacrity as volunteers. But the youth of the country, constituting nine-tenths of the physical strength of the nation, hung back. They had a latent dread of the resumption of the national domains by the Royalist government, because they felt that justice demanded their restitution; they identified Napoleon with their cause and that of the Revolution, because he had risen from their ranks; and they were so thoroughly exhausted by previous wars, that neither for one party nor the other could they be induced to make any movement whatever. The great bulk of the influential citizens in towns were favourable to the government of the Restoration, and entertained a serious dread of the resumption of supreme power by Napoleon; but they were few in number, unarmed, and undisciplined. The rural population regarded the Bourbons with undisguised aversion; but they, too, were apathetic, and desired only to remain with their ploughs.

The whole real strength of the nation, at least for an immediate struggle, was placed in the army; and it, with the exception of a few regiments of royal guards at Paris, was unanimous, in all but the superior ranks, in favour of the Emperor. It was not difficult to foresee what must be the result of a civil war commenced among a people placed in such circumstances.

87. The court, however, was strongly supported, in words at least, by the marshals and dignified functionaries of the empire. Marshal Soult, as minister-at-war, issued a vehement proclamation to the troops, in which he stigmatised the ex-Emperor's enterprise as the work of an insensate madman, and conjured them by every feeling of honour, patriotism, and fidelity, to abide by the lillied banner.* The columns of the *Moniteur* were loaded for above a fortnight with addresses in the same strain from the municipality of Paris and the other great towns in France, the whole courts of law, universities, and colleges in the kingdom: the marshals and offi-

* "Soldiers! That man who so lately abdicated in the face of all Europe a usurped power of which he made so fatal a use—Bonaparte—has descended on the French soil, which he should never have seen again. What does he desire? Civil war. Whom does he seek? Traitors. Where will he find them? Will it be among the soldiers, whom he has deceived and sacrificed a thousand times, in misleading their valour? Will it be in the bosom of their families, whom his bare name fills with a shudder? Bonaparte despises us enough, to think that we are capable of abandoning a legitimate and beloved monarch, to share the lot of a man who is now but an adventurer. He believes it, madman, that he is! And his last act of insanity reveals him entirely. Soldiers! The French army is the bravest army in Europe—it will also be the most faithful. Let us rally round the spotless lillied banner at the voice of the father of his people, of the worthy inheritor of the virtues of the great Henry. He has himself forced to you the path which you ought to follow; he has put at your head that prince, the model of French chevaliers, whose happy return to his country has chased the usurper from it, and who now sets forth by his presence to destroy his single and last hope."—*LE MARÉCHAL DUC DE DALMATIE, Moniteur*, 6th March 1815; and *THIRADEAT*, x. 228, 229. Contrast this with Soult's proclamation to his soldiers, on March 14, 1814, (*ante*, Chap. LXXXVII. § 85), and say what is the consistency or delity of a revolution.

cers in command, whether of armies or garrisons: in fine, the whole authorities and constituted bodies throughout the monarchy. Recollecting what followed, a more melancholy instance of human baseness is not to be found in the annals of mankind. Benjamin Constant, in an eloquent article in the *Moniteur*, thundered against the insensate madman, who, after having thrice deserted his faithful followers, now sought again to light in Europe the torch of war.* Marshal Ney, in particular, expressed in the loudest terms his indignation at the insane attempt of the Emperor; and such faith did the government put in his fidelity, that they intrusted him with the command of the army assembling at Lons-le-Saulnier to stop the progress of the invaders. On the 7th March, he presented himself at the levee at the Tuilleries to take leave of the King, previous to setting out for his command. "Sire," said he, "I will bring back Buonaparte in an iron cage."† "Farewell!" replied the monarch, "I trust to your honour and fidelity." These words, coming from so renowned a warrior and so brave a man, made a great impression, and nothing was talked of in Paris for some days but Marshal Ney, his fidelity, and the iron cage.

88. Mortier received the command in the north of France; Augereau was

sent to Normandy; full powers were forwarded to Massena at Toulon; Oudinot was at Marseilles; and everything announced the most vigorous resistance. But meanwhile the progress of Napoleon was unopposed; defection after defection succeeded in the army; and it was unhappily soon apparent that the corps of thirty thousand men, which, by direction of Marshal Soult, had been formed in echelon on the frontier, between Besançon and Lyons, to observe the threatened movements of Murat, was giving the most fatal examples of disaffection. This circumstance was immediately ascribed to the treacherous forethought of the war minister; the clamour daily became louder, as the defection of one regiment after another was ascertained; and at length it arose to such a height, that he was publicly denounced in the Chamber of Deputies as a confederate of Napoleon, and obliged to resign his appointment. His successor, Clarke, began in the right spirit, when, in the order of the day announcing his appointment to the army, he said, "No capitulation can be entered into without infamy; and, sooner or later, without punishment. To what a deplorable illusion do those abandon themselves who now yield to the voice of a man who is coming to tear asunder France by the hands of Frenchmen, and abandon it a second time to the fire and sword of strangers!" But though a momentary confidence was restored by the energetic conduct of the new war-minister, the accounts from the south daily added strength to the melancholy conviction that all was lost. The Count d'Artois, with the Duke d'Orleans and Marshal Macdonald, had arrived at Lyons, the second city in the kingdom, and the first likely to be exposed to the seduction of Napoleon; and though they were received with enthusiasm by the higher, more opulent, and educated classes, yet the lower orders hardly attempted to conceal their joy at the return of the tricolor standard. The National Guard, as usual in all serious crises, was divided and irresolute; while the disposition of the soldiers was so manifest, that they refused to obey the

* "It is he who during fourteen years has undermined and destroyed liberty. He had not for doing so the excuse of recollections: he was not born to the throne. It is his fellow-citizens whom he has enchained—his equals he has enchained. What sort of liberty does he now promise us? Are we not a thousand times more free than under his empire? He promises us victory; and thrice has he left his troops in Egypt, in Spain, in Russia, to the triple agency of cold, misery, and despair. He has brought on France the humiliation of being invaded; he has lost not only his own conquests, but those we had made before his time. He promises us peace, and his name is the signal of universal war. The people who should trust to his word would become the object of European hatred; his triumph would be the commencement of a combat for life or death with the civilised world."—See CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mémoires*, vi. 363.

† The truth of this statement is undoubted: Marshal Ney admitted he had said so at his subsequent trial.—See *Procès de Ney*, 37; and CAPEFIGNO, l. 104.

orders given for putting the city in a state of defence, and already began to murmur because they had not been led out to join the standard of their beloved Emperor.

89. It was soon apparent from the agitation among the troops, the ardent enthusiasm of the inferior officers, and the universal disregard of the orders of the superior, that the crisis was approaching, and that Napoleon might ere long be expected on the opposite bank of the Rhone. In effect, he soon appeared, surrounded by an immense concourse of soldiers, national guards, and peasants, on the road leading from Port-Beauvoisin. The Count d'Artois, on being informed by the prefect that the case was hopeless, left Lyons, and retired on the road to Paris. Macdonald waited a little longer, but without being able to produce any impression on the troops; and hardly had he left the city, when Napoleon, at the head of his advanced guard, entered the suburb of La Guillotière, and amidst the enthusiastic cheers of an immense crowd, composed for the most part of the lowest class of the inhabitants, was conducted to the palace of the archbishop, where he received the keys of the city. None of the constituted authorities, however, and few of the respectable citizens, attended his levee. This great success at once gave the Emperor the command of the centre of France; emissaries joined him from all quarters, and were despatched by him in all directions; and he openly assumed the direction of the government.

90. Considering himself as now virtually in possession of the supreme authority, he issued three decrees, the first dissolving the Chambers of Peers and of Deputies, enjoining the deputies to return forthwith to their homes, and convoking the electoral colleges for an extraordinary assembly in the May ensuing; the second banishing anew the whole emigrants returned to France, who had not already obtained letters of amnesty from the imperial or republican governments; the third abolishing titles of honour and nobility, and restoring the whole laws of the Constituent Assembly in that respect, under

reservation of those who had obtained titles for national services, and which had been verified at the council. By a fourth decree, not less important than the former, the whole emigrant officers in the army who had received commissions since 1st April 1814 were struck off the list, and the minister-at-war was absolutely prohibited from granting them any pay, even for past services. These decrees at once indicated the spirit of the government of the Hundred Days, which was never departed from during the whole of their continuance. It was no longer the Imperial conqueror, whose will was law, and who was striving to reconstruct the scattered fragments of monarchical power, who was at the head of affairs. It was the Consul of the Revolution who was now in the ascendant; and the Emperor, constrained by misfortune to court the alliance of those whom of all men he most cordially detested, was glad to purchase the passive acquiescence of the nation, by the adoption of principles which he had spent his life in combating.

91. Meanwhile, Marshal Ney travelled rapidly, on the way to the army, to Auxerre, where he alighted at the hotel of M. Gamotte, the prefect, his brother-in-law, and a warm partisan of Napoleon. Doubts were there, for the first time, instilled into the marshal's mind as to the possibility of upholding the cause of the Bourbons; and these increased as he advanced nearer to Lyons, and perceived the vehement fermentation which was arising in all the towns and among the troops, on the approach of Napoleon. The Emperor, well aware of the vacillating and irresolute character of his lieutenant everywhere but on the field of battle, besieged him incessantly with emissaries, who represented the cause of the Bourbons as irrevocably ruined, appealed to his old recollections, and repeated with warmth, "The Emperor has no resource against you; he stretches out his arms to receive you; he agrees with you as to the stranger: there will be no more war: the national principles are about to triumph." These earnest appeals from his old companion in arms proved

too strong for the fidelity of the marshal. In charity to so brave an enemy, let the British historian adopt the version of his deplorable and disgraceful treachery which he himself has given. "I had, in fact," said he at his trial, "kissed the hand of the King, his majesty having presented it to me when he wished me a good journey; the descent of Buonaparte appeared to me so extravagant that I spoke of it with indignation, and made use in truth of the expression of the iron cage. In the night of the 13th of March—down to which time I protest my fidelity—I received a proclamation drawn by Napoleon, which I signed. Before reading it to the troops, I read it to General Bourmont, who was of opinion that it was necessary to join Buonaparte, and that the Bourbons had committed such follies that they could no longer be supported." On the 14th, accordingly, the fatal proclamation was published to the troops, which afterwards cost him his life, and has for ever disgraced his memory.* France was far indeed from the days when the Chevalier Bayard, addressing the Constable de Bourbon with dying voice, when stretched on

* "Officers and soldiers! the cause of the Bourbons is irrevocably lost! The legitimate dynasty which the French nation has adopted is about again to mount the throne; it is to the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, that it alone belongs to reign over this beautiful country. What care we whether the nobles of the Bourbons shall determine again to emigrate or remain amongst us? The sacred cause of liberty and of our independence shall no longer be blasted by their presence. They have sought to wither our military laurels, but they are deceived. Those laurels are the fruit of noble toils, which are for ever engraven in our memories. Soldiers! the time has gone by when mankind were to be governed by stifling their voice; liberty triumphs at last, and Napoleon, our august Emperor, is about to establish it for ever. Let this noble cause henceforth be ours, and that of all Frenchmen; let all the brave men whom I have the honour to command be penetrated with that great truth. Soldiers! I have often led you to victory; now I am about to unite you to that immortal phalanx which Napoleon leads to Paris, and which will arrive there in a few days; and there our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realised. *Vive l'Empereur!*"—*Le Maréchal de l'Empire*. *PARADES DE LA MOSKOWA, L'ONCLE SAMUEL*, 18th March 1815; *MONITEUR*, 21st March 1815; and *CAPARTISQUE*, l. 215.

the wayside in the valley of Aosta, with his eyes fixed on the cross of his sword-hilt, said, "Pity not me; pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."

92. Ney himself read the proclamation to his troops, and as soon as it was over, threw his hat in the air, waved his sabre, and cried "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The enthusiasm of the soldiers knew no bounds; the privates, drummers, and inferior officers of all the regiments, foot and horse, mixed, crowded in ecstasy round the Marshal to express their gratitude; caps and sabres were waved aloft in air, with frantic joy. But the superior officers kept aloof; and many honourable men, particularly Lecourbe and Beauregard, openly expressed their detestation at a step which, recalling the shameless treachery of the Prætorian Guards in the lower empire, had for ever disgraced the French army. The defection of Ney, which was immediately followed by that of his whole army, proved at once fatal to the royal authority. Not only was there no longer any obstacle whatever to the approach of Napoleon to Paris, but every possible facility was afforded to it; for, the troops sent out to oppose him having all joined the Imperial standards, he was advancing at the head of a formidable force to the capital. Nor were affairs less menacing in the northern and eastern provinces. In the former, Lefebvre-Desnouettes, having set out from Paris for that purpose, had penetrated into La Fère, corrupted its garrison, and having been checked by the firmness and fidelity of General Abouville, the governor, renewed his attempts on the principal towns of Picardy, the garrisons of which were with difficulty retained in their duty. Meanwhile d'Erlon, at Lille, led out his troops on the road to Paris to join in the conspiracy; but he was met on the way by Mortier, on his road to take the command in the northern fortresses, sent back to Lille, and arrested. It was by this fortunate event alone that the means of escape were left open to the royal family.

93. In this extremity the measures of the government were as vigorous as the

exigency of the circumstances required; but all their efforts were rendered unavailing from the want of any armed force to defend the throne. The Chamber of Deputies met, in pursuance of the summons of the King; loyal addresses were carried by a vast majority, thanks in profusion voted to the officers and soldiers who, in this trying crisis, had adhered to their duty and their oaths; the garrisons of Antibes and La Fère were declared to have deserved well of their country; Marshals Macdonald and Mortier received the warmest applause from both houses; and the court for a brief season flattered themselves that by these measures, and the influence of the legislature on the public mind, the progress of treason in the army and disaffection in the people would be arrested. The intrepid Royalists, with Chateaubriand and Marmont at their head, proposed to send the royal family into different parts of France, and retain only the king in Paris, to barricade the streets, and summon the national guards from the provinces for his defence. "Let us," said Chateaubriand, "line the quays and terraces of the palace with cannon. Let Buonaparte attack us if he dare in that position; let him bombard Paris if he chooses; let him render himself odious to the entire population, and we shall see the result. Let us resist only three days, and victory is our own. The king defending himself in his palace, will awaken a universal enthusiasm. If he must die, let the last exploit of Napoleon be the murder of an old man. Louis XVIII., in sacrificing his life, will gain the only battle he has fought: he will gain it for the human race." But it was all in vain. The Chamber felt its weakness against the only armed force in the kingdom. The time was past when a vote of the legislature could make the arms drop from the soldiers' hands; the Revolution had accustomed them to violent changes in the government; the Prætorian Guards laughed at votes of the Chambers, and were resolved to have an Emperor of their own selection. The fatal news of the treachery of Marshal Ney, and the defection of his troops,

paralysed every heart. It at once demonstrated that the army had determined to place the Emperor on the throne, and that all hope for the Royalists was lost. Driven from every other position, the government endeavoured to stop the movement by frequent and earnest appeals to the charter, which were carried by great majorities in both Chambers, by whom Napoleon was denounced as a public enemy. But what was the charter to an impassioned soldiery, or the denunciation of the conqueror by the legislature to the ruthless veterans who sighed for the restoration of the glory, license, and plunder to which he had accustomed them?

94. Every post brought accounts of the desertion of fresh bodies of men, and the universal transport which had seized upon the army. The defection of Lyons, and of Ney in Burgundy, determined the troops assembled as the last reserve at Essonne and Fontainebleau; and the despatches of the Duke de Berri and Marshal Oudinot, who commanded them, announced that they could no longer be relied on. As a last resource, the aged king appealed to the honour and loyalty of the French character; but in vain. "I have pledged myself," said he, "to the allied sovereigns for the fidelity of the army in the face of Europe. If Napoleon triumphs, five hundred thousand strangers will immediately inundate France. You who follow at this moment other standards than mine, I see in you nothing but children led astray: abjure your error; come and throw yourselves into the arms of your father, and I pledge my honour that all shall be forgotten." Vain words! The army rejected with contempt the proffered amnesty; the Chamber of Deputies in vain called on the youth of France to imitate those of Prussia, and enrol themselves for the defence of their country. Fruitless was the promise that the approaching campaign should count triple to the troops, and a national recompense be awarded to those who distinguished themselves by their fidelity. All, all was shattered against the treason and revolt of the army.

95. At length the fatal hour arrived.

On the 19th March a review of the national and royal guards took place: but few of the former, and still fewer volunteers, were to be seen; and after it was over, the latter, instead of taking the road to Fontainebleau, as had been announced, to combat the enemy, defiled by that to Beauvais, evidently to cover the retreat of the royal family. At dinner, the king announced to the few faithful friends who still adhered to him, that he was about to abandon the Tuileries. Tears fell from every eye; the mournful prospect of a second exile, of France subjected again to military despotism, vanquished, overrun, and probably partitioned, arose in gloomy prospective to every mind. The king, calm and resigned, addressed a few words of comfort to each, and, after making a few necessary arrangements, signed a proclamation dissolving the Chambers, directing the members forthwith to separate, and to assemble again at such place as the king should appoint. This proclamation, drawn up on the night of the 19th, appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 20th, when Paris was, literally speaking, without a government; for the king and royal family departed at midnight, taking the road to Beauvais. They travelled rapidly; by noon on the 20th they were at Abbéville, and in the evening at Lille, the capital of French Flanders. There they received proofs of fidelity to which, in old France, they had long been strangers. The inhabitants, untouched by the profligacy of the Revolution, crowded round the illustrious exiles with unfeigned enthusiasm, and manifested such sympathy, that the king was induced to establish his residence there for a few days; and more than one royal ordinance bears date from that place. Louis, in that extremity, and on the verge of his dominions, evinced the inherent firmness of his race. He abated nothing of his lofty bearing, would not abandon an iota of his hereditary rights: he seemed to say—"You may kill me, but you cannot kill the ages engraven on my forehead." It was soon discovered, however, that the garrison could not be trusted. In vain

Marshals Macdonald and Mortier exerted themselves, with an energy worthy of the ancient loyalty and present warlike renown of the French army, to retain the troops in the path of their duty. The contagion was universal; the intelligence that Napoleon had entered Paris, rendered the excitement irresistible; the men maintained that it was intended to give them up to the stranger, and loudly declared that they would not imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-soldiers. Meanwhile, the royal guard and volunteers who had followed the king into French Flanders, worn out by marching, misled by perfidy, repelled from every fortified gate, melted away, or disappeared; and the unhappy Louis, finding treachery and disaffection thickening on all sides around him, was glad to leave Lille, abandon the French territory, and take the road by Ypres to Ghent, where he established his court on the 25th, and remained during the melancholy period of the Hundred Days.

96. Meanwhile Napoleon travelled so rapidly from Lyons that his faithful Guard could not keep up with his carriage, and on the 19th he reached Fontainebleau. He has himself described the journey from Frejus to Paris as being the happiest period of his life: and it is not surprising that it was so; for it at once restored his fortunes and penetrated his heart: it was prodigal of enthusiasm and redolent of joy; it banished melancholy and revived hope. During that enchanting journey the Emperor seemed to tread on air. Borne aloft on the enthusiasm of the soldiers and the ardour of a portion of the people, he literally flew to empire: the throne of the Bourbons sank before his approach, the glories of the Empire seemed to re-descend upon his brow. Such was the rapture which this marvellous resurrection inspired in his mind, that it was not even for a moment damped by the sight of Fontainebleau, and the spot where he had addressed his faithful Guard, (*ante*, Ch. lxxxix. § 26). With almost infantine joy, he wandered over the splendid apartments of the palace, the sugges-

sive scene of his festivity and his wretchedness, and conversed familiarly with his attendants on the beauty of the undulated outline of the forest, and the vast marble basins where the swans exhibited their stately plumage.

97. It was not surprising that such all-absorbing transports had seized the mind of the Emperor, for the intelligence from Paris exceeded his most sanguine expectations. Couriers from Lavalette, the postmaster, who had long secretly, and now openly, espoused his cause, announced, early on the morning of the 20th, that the king and royal family had left the Tuileries the night before, and that the Emperor's arrival was anxiously expected. He set out, in consequence, at two o'clock in the afternoon, but purposely delayed his progress, so that it was a quarter to nine at night before his carriage entered the court of the Tuileries. This was done in order that the population of the capital, with the majority of whom the Emperor was well aware he was not popular, should not be made acquainted with his arrival, and accordingly they remained in ignorance

of it. But the doors of the palace, and the whole inner court of the Carrousel, from the triumphal arch to the foot of the great staircase, were filled with a crowd of generals, officers, and soldiers, who were in the secret, and who received their beloved chief with the most unbounded transports of joy. The moment that the carriage stopped he was seized by those next the door, borne aloft in their arms, amidst deafening cheers, through a dense and brilliant crowd of epaulettes, hurried literally above the heads of the throng up the great stair into the saloon of reception, where a splendid array of the ladies of the imperial court, adorned with a profusion of violet bouquets, half-concealed in the richest laces, received him with transports, and imprinted fervent kisses on his cheeks, his hands, and even his dress. Never was such a scene witnessed in history. If it was not such a demonstration of national enthusiasm, it was more personally gratifying than the English joy at the return of Charles II.; for it was not the gratitude of a people for the restoration of a government, but the transports of a party for the return of a man.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HUNDRED DAYS: TO THE CLOSE OF THE BATTLE OF LIGNY.

MARCH 21—JUNE 17, 1815.

1. NAPOLEON might well have asked on this night, like Voltaire on his last return to Paris, whether they meant to make him die of joy; and he has without doubt truly described this day as the most delightful of his life. But it was also his last of unmixed satisfaction. After the transports of the first reception were over, and he retired to rest in the imperial apartments of the Tuileries, he had leisure to reflect on the situation in which he was placed,

and the means he possessed of maintaining his position on the dizzy pinnacle on which he was again elevated. On landing in the gulf of St. Juan, his first words had been "*Voilà le Congrès dissous*;"* but he had too much penetration not to be aware that the effect would be just the reverse: that his return would at once rekindle all the divisions, and stir all the jealousies which were beginning to alienate the

* "Here the Congress dissolved."

European sovereigns; and that legions as formidable as those beneath which he had already sunk would ere long inundate his dominions. To meet the forces of coalesced Europe, the means at his disposal were fearfully diminished. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the ardour and enthusiasm of the army and of the imperial functionaries, and he could reckon with certainty on their cordial support; but the troops under arms did not exceed a hundred thousand, and even if the whole veterans were recalled to his standards, their number would not be more than doubled. The civil *employés* were incapable of forming a corps in the field; and, amidst all the transports of his journey from St Juan, he had perceived, with secret disquietude, that his supporters were chiefly to be found in the very lowest class, and that the more respectable peasants in the country, and citizens in the towns, gazed with silent wonder on his progress. The want of any cordial demonstration of attachment in Paris itself, save among the military, his immediate adherents, and the lowest of the people, had struck him with astonishment. General support from the physical strength of the nation he could not hope for: the recollection of the conscription was too recent, the horror at war too strong, the exhaustion of the military population too complete, to permit any effectual aid; and, strange to say, the mighty conqueror who had been borne to the throne on the shoulders of the army, found his chief embarrassment to arise from the want of military resources.

2. The very next morning showed on what an altered and precarious footing his authority was now placed. The whole troops in Paris, indeed, assembled with tumultuous joy in the court of the Tuileries; enthusiastic cheers burst from them when the Emperor appeared; and they received with rapture the veterans of the Old Guard, who had now been forwarded by post-horses from Lyons, and whose sunburnt visages, worn shoes, and dirty garments, shewed the fatigues they had undergone in keeping up with the rapid

advance of their chief. But when he came to make his appointments for the actual government, a very different disposition manifested itself. The imperial party were all in raptures at Napoleon's return; but very few among them were willing to accept the perilous honour of a situation of responsibility in his government. A secret sense of their shameful tergiversations; a feeling that they were disgraced in the eyes of Europe, by their successive treacheries to the Empire and the Restoration; a clear perception of the danger with which any prominent situation would be attended under this second revolutionary dynasty, kept almost all the leading men in the outset aloof from his service. Fouché was the first person he sent for: it was a signal proof to what straits the Emperor was reduced, when he was obliged to commence with the old blood-stained regicide, for whose treachery to himself he had formerly said with truth, that the scaffold would have been the appropriate punishment.*

3. Fouché, aware of his importance as the head of the old republican party, upon whose temporary alliance with the army the Emperor's power was entirely founded, made his own terms. He at first proposed that he should be made minister of foreign affairs; but Napoleon was desirous that he should return to his old situation as head of the police, to which he at length acceded, from a belief, which the event proved to be well founded, that it would give him the entire command of the interior. Cambacérès was offered the situation of minister of justice; he at once declined it, and was only prevailed on to accept, on the engagement that he should not be called on to take part in any political measures. Even Caulaincourt refused the portfolio of minister of foreign affairs; he was too well aware of the ban under which he would be laid by the potentates of Europe, to undertake its responsibility. M. Molé resolutely declined the same office, and frankly avowed to the Emperor that he

* "Duke of Otranto, your head ought to fall upon the scaffold."—Fouché, *Mémoires*, i. 417, 418.

thought the drama was concluded, that the dead could not be resuscitated. Napoleon admitted the immense difficulties of his situation, and that they proceeded chiefly from the impracticable character of the party with which he was linked in the civil administration of the empire. As a pledge of his adoption of their principles, he appointed Carnot minister of the interior, with direction of the whole organisation of the national guard; Caulaincourt, by his positive command, was compelled to accept the portfolio of foreign affairs, as Maret, by a similar compulsion, was that of secretary of state; while Davoust, who had been in disgrace during the whole of the Restoration, without difficulty accepted the situation of minister-at-war.

4. The same disinclination for office—a most unusual and ominous circumstance in France—was manifested in all the inferior departments of government. The situation of prefect, formerly solicited with such eagerness, and accepted with such gratitude, became now so much the object of aversion, that it was bestowed on persons who would never have been deemed competent, or who had been actually disgraced, under the imperial government. Among the rest M. Frochot, who had been so severely stigmatised by the Emperor for his weakness in the conspiracy of Malet, [*ante*, Chap. LXXIV. § 42], reappeared as prefect of the departments of the Rhone. A general stupor prevailed in all the provinces—even those of which the inhabitants had in the first instance manifested the greatest joy at the Emperor's return. The people of the eastern provinces in particular, among whom the revolutionary spirit had always been most ardent, and who, from their localities having been the theatre of war during the last invasion, were most exasperated against the Allies, were thunderstruck by the declaration of the Congress of Vienna of the 13th march, and contemplated with undisguised apprehension a return of the innumerable hordes of Cossacks and Cuirassiers, from whom they had so recently been delivered, to ravage their fields. Anxiety and dis-

quietude pervaded the whole of France, the result partly of shame, partly of distrust, partly of terror. It was evident that the once colossal power of the Emperor had been irrevocably shaken by his first overthrow, and consequent abdication; confidence at once in his good fortune and his stability of character was at an end; while the efficiency and vigour of his administration was essentially impaired by the alliance, evidently forced, which had taken place between him and the Jacobins, and the admission of many of the most dangerous of their faction into the most important offices of government.

5. The march of Napoleon to the capital had been so rapid, that the provinces were in great part ignorant of his having advanced beyond Grenoble, when they were informed of his arrival at Paris. Thus their inhabitants were stupified by this portentous event; and in the south and west at least, far from being disposed to transfer their allegiance, and trample under feet their oaths, at the beck of the Prætorian Guards of the capital, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and Bordeaux spontaneously took up arms. The Duke d'Angoulême, in the southern provinces, actively commenced the organisation and direction of the new levies; while the presence of the Duchess at Bordeaux, whither she had gone, as already noticed, to be present at the anniversary of the 12th March, when the Royalist standard was first hoisted in that city, roused to the highest pitch the loyal enthusiasm of its inhabitants. Such was the ardour which her character and the chivalrous gallantry of her bearing excited, that fifteen thousand national guards, in that city and its department alone, declared for her; and even the troops of the line in the adjoining forts of Blaye and Chateau-Trompette, whom she passed in review, seemed to have caught the generous flame, and to incline at least to support her cause. At Toulon the Duke d'Angoulême was most favourably received, both by the regular soldiers and the national guards; Marshal Massena, who commanded

there, remained firm in his allegiance; and so unanimous was the desire to resist the imperial government, that the old Republicans stood side by side in the volunteer ranks with the young Royalists. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, a vast but withal skilfully combined plan of operations was concerted. It was agreed that the army of the south, fifteen thousand strong, should march in two divisions, the one by Avignon and Valence, the other by Gap and Grenoble, on Lyons, the common centre of their operations; while the army of Bordeaux, of equal strength, should move towards La Vendée and Brittany, and awaken the dormant but inextinguishable loyalty of the western provinces.

6. How formidable, widespread, and well-combined soever this movement undoubtedly was, it was soon shattered against the treason of the army, the magic of the Emperor's name, and the deplorable subjection of the provinces to Paris, which had resulted from the centralisation of the Revolution. Grouchy, whose former zeal for the Bourbons, and recent desertion of their cause, was a sufficient guarantee for his fidelity, was sent with all the troops he could collect at Lyons against the Duke d'Angoulême; while Clausel, whose republican principles had long kept him in comparative disgrace with the Emperor at the zenith of his fortunes, was despatched with a large body of men, drawn together in the central provinces, against the Duchess. The instructions of both officers were brief and simple—"to put an end at any sacrifice to the civil war." The unbounded sway of the Emperor with the soldiers rendered this a more easy task than had been anticipated. Marching through the central provinces, and distributing everywhere the Emperor's proclamations, Clausel soon rallied the whole troops of the line there to his standard, and approached the Gironde with so formidable a force, that the regular soldiers in the forts of Bordeaux were entirely paralysed. They all declared that, although they would not permit any injury to be done to the Duchess, they would not combat against

their comrades in arms. In vain, with the spirit of Maria Theresa, she appealed to their loyalty, their oaths, their patriotism, and every feeling, which could rouse men of honour; she addressed not the simple and loyal Hungarians, but the corrupted and demoralised French. A mournful silence, interrupted only by isolated demonstrations of attachment, met all her heroic appeals; and with a heart penetrated with grief, she was obliged to leave the city and embark on board a British vessel, which soon conveyed her far from the treason of her country to the more faithful shores of England.

7. The efforts of the Duke d'Angoulême in the southern provinces, though attended in the end with no better success, were, in the outset, of a more encouraging description. The chief Royalist army there, under the command of the Duke in person, advanced in the beginning of April from Toulouse, eight thousand strong, composed for the most part of national guards, towards Valence, and defeated a body of regular soldiers at the bridge of La Drome. Encouraged by the successful result of this action, in which he displayed equal courage and conduct, the prince advanced to Valence and threatened Lyons. This was a very serious matter, and gave much uneasiness to Napoleon. He was no sooner informed of it, by telegraph, than he despatched Grouchy to that city, with full powers to combat or negotiate, but with the most positive instructions, at all hazards, to terminate the civil war. This soon became no difficult matter. While the principal army, which advanced by Valence, was gaining this success, the second Royalist corps, under General Ernouf, occupied Sisteron, and advanced to Gap, on the same road which Napoleon had so recently traversed. But there the men were so moved by the accounts which they received from the peasants of his marvellous progress, and the proclamations from his nervous pen which they saw placarded on the walls, that the regular soldiers all mounted the tricolor cockade, and declared for the cause of Napoleon.

8. By this defection the right flank of the Duke d'Angoulême was uncovered; Grouchy was advancing with a powerful force in front from Lyons; and, at the same time, intelligence arrived that General Gilly, with another body of regular troops, was marching from Nîmes upon the Pont St Esprit to cut off his retreat. In these circumstances, to retire became unavoidable; and no sooner had the retrograde movement commenced, than the hatred of the peasants of Dauphiny to the Royalist cause, and to their ancient enemies the Provençals, broke out on all sides with such vehemence, that the situation of the prince became extremely critical. The obvious danger of a prince of the blood-royal falling into the hands of Napoleon, now induced the Duke's generals to urge him in the strongest manner to provide for his individual safety, which he might easily have done by escaping into the adjoining provinces of Piedmont; but he positively refused, with true honour, to separate from his companions in arms. A convention was therefore proposed to General Gilly at Pont St Esprit, and at once agreed to, by which it was stipulated that the royal army should lay down its arms and be disbanded, and an entire amnesty be awarded to all persons engaged in the enterprise. Grouchy, however, would not ratify the capitulation, and at first retained the Duke in captivity in defiance of its provisions. The first telegraphic despatch announced the conclusion of the capitulation, and Maret prevailed on Napoleon to ratify it. A few hours after, a second telegraphic despatch declared that Grouchy had not ratified the convention; but Monnier, the under-secretary of state, did not communicate it to the Emperor till the evening, by which time, in consequence of the answer to the first, the prince was already free. A violent ebullition of the imperial wrath immediately took place; but it was soon over, and Napoleon was secretly rejoiced in the end that he was saved the necessity of acting with severity towards a descendant of Henry IV. Soon after, the Duke de Bourbon retired from La Vendée,

where he had failed in exciting any insurrection: resistance speedily disappeared on all sides; and on the 20th April a hundred guns, discharged from the Invalides, and repeated from all the fortresses of France, announced that the civil war was terminated, and the imperial authority everywhere re-established. To the honour of Napoleon, it must be added, that no executions or bloodshed stained his restoration; and that, with the exception of a few measures of police against the emigrants and Royal Guards, and the vigorous application of the laws against the Bourbons, no measures of severity marked the commencement of the Hundred Days.

9. The Emperor's authority was now fully established in France; but it was not in France that the real obstacles to his sovereignty were to be found. It was at Vienna that the enemies alone capable of overturning his empire existed; and the intelligence of his marvellous successes, by revealing the hitherto unsuspected extent of the sway which he still had over the French army, only made more apparent to them the necessity of the most vigorous measures for his overthrow. The Powers in this crisis acted with a vigour and unanimity worthy of the highest praise, and which in the end proved the salvation of Europe. Calmly measuring with prophetic eye the extent of the danger, they saw, in the elevation of Napoleon to the throne on the bucklers of the troops, the clearest proof that he would infallibly be driven to war. They perceived that a rapacious soldiery, which hailed his return as the restoration of the days of their glory, would never be at rest till again plunged into conquest; and that, even if the Ethiopian had changed his skin and the leopard his spots, and the Emperor were really desirous of peace, he would inevitably be forced into hostilities by the passions and necessities of his followers. Proceeding on these principles, the declaration of 13th March was not allowed to remain a dead letter; and on the 25th March a treaty was concluded, which in effect revived the treaty of Chaumont, for the preservation of Europe from the re-

newed dangers which now menaced it. By it the cabinets of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain "engaged to unite their forces against Buonaparte and his faction, in order to prevent him from again troubling the peace of Europe: they agreed to furnish a hundred and eighty thousand men each for the prosecution of the war, of which a tenth was to be cavalry, and, if necessary, to draw forth their whole military forces of every description." By a secret treaty concluded on the same day, it was solemnly stipulated that the contracting parties should not lay down their arms till they had effected the complete destruction of Napoleon. The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged on the 25th April; and, within a fortnight after, it was acceded to by all the lesser powers in Europe. The contingent of Bavaria was fixed at sixty thousand men—that of Piedmont at thirty thousand—that of Hanover at twenty-six thousand.

10. The forces at the disposal of the coalition were immense. According to the returns which were laid before the Congress in their secret sittings, of the military resources of the European states banded in this alliance, the number of troops which they could dispose of for active operations, without unduly diminishing the garrison and other services in their respective interiors, amounted to the enormous number of nine hundred and eighty-six thousand men.* Germany, arrayed in the Germanic confederation, was to take a part in this great alliance worthy of its vast strength and ancient renown; and the forces of its lesser powers, animated by experienced wrongs and inspired by recent victory, promised to be of a very

different mould from the old and unwilling contingents of the Empire. After making every reasonable deduction for the sick, absent, and non-efficient, it was calculated that six hundred thousand effective men might be brought to bear on the Rhine, the Alps, and the Flemish frontier early in June. In a secret meeting, held at Vienna on the 31st March, it was resolved forthwith to form three great armies, by which active operations were to be commenced as soon as possible: the first, of two hundred and sixty-five thousand, chiefly Austrians and Bavarians, on the Upper Rhine, under Schwartzenberg; the second, of a hundred and fifty-five thousand Prussians, on the Lower Rhine, under Blücher; the third, of an equal number of British, Hanoverians, and Belgians, in the Low Countries. It was resolved that military operations should be commenced early in June; before which time it was hoped that the great Russian army, a hundred and seventy thousand strong, could be on the Upper Rhine from Poland, and, entering France by Strasburg and Besançon, form a reserve to the invading armies from the eastward. In addition to these great armies, lesser diversions, but still of no inconsiderable importance, were to be attempted on the side of Switzerland, which had declared for the Allies, and the Pyrenees; the former by a united force of Austrians, British, and Piedmontese, the latter by the Spaniards and Portuguese; while England was also to send succours to organise the formidable strength of La Vendée in the cause of loyalty and religion.

11. From these arrangements, as well as the geographical position of the country which they occupied, it was evident

* The composition of the principal armies of this immense host was as follows:—

I. Army of Upper Rhine, (Schwarzenberg), viz.:-

Austrians,	150,000
Bavarians,	65,000
Württemberg,	25,000
Baden,	10,000
Hessians, &c.,	8,000
	<hr/> 264,000

II. Army of Lower Rhine, (Blücher), Prussians, Saxons, &c., 155,000

III. Army of Flanders—British, Belgians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, 155,000

IV. Russian Reserve, Barclay de Tolly, 108,000

742,000

that the British troops in Flanders would be first exposed to the shock of war; while at the same time it was of the highest importance to the general cause not to lose the vantage-ground which they there possessed, or to permit, as had so often previously been done, the advanced post of Europe against France to be converted into that of France against Europe. The preparations of the newly-elected monarchy of Belgium could not be expected to be in any state of forwardness; the Hanoverian levies were not as yet raised; and the flower of the British army was in Canada, or scattered over the American coast. In these circumstances, everything depended on the vigour of the British cabinet and the unanimity of the British people; and neither was wanting on the occasion. On the 6th April, a message from the Prince Regent formally announced to both Houses of Parliament the events which had recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the treaty of Paris, the communications entered into with his allies on the subject, and the necessity of augmenting the military forces both by sea and land. The address, which as usual was an echo of the message, was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Liverpool, and in the Commons by Lord Castlereagh; and so strongly were the members of both houses impressed with the awful nature of the crisis, and the necessity of making a vigorous effort in the outset to meet it, that the address in the House of Peers was carried without a dissenting voice, and in the Commons by a majority of one hundred and eighty-three, the numbers being two hundred and twenty to thirty-seven. Lord Castlereagh put the matter upon its true footing in the concluding sentence of his speech: "Some may think that an armed peace would be preferable to a state of war; but the danger must be fairly looked at: and, knowing that good faith was opposite to the system of the party to be treated with—knowing that the rule of his conduct was self-interest, regardless of every other consideration, whatever decision you come to must rest on the principle

of power, and not on that of reliance upon the man."

12. Nor were the financial, naval, and military preparations of Great Britain on a scale incommensurate to the magnitude of the undertaking to which she was committed, and the engagements she had contracted with foreign powers. On the 19th April, the House of Commons, by a majority of one hundred and twenty-five,—the numbers being one hundred and eighty-three to fifty-eight,—renewed the property tax, producing now fully £15,000,000 annually, for another year: a decisive proof that they were in earnest in supporting the government. The whole war-taxes were continued, and supplies to an unprecedented extent voted; those for the navy being £18,000,000, while those for the army rose to the enormous amount of £24,000,000, besides £3,800,000 for the ordnance. With these large sums, two hundred and seven thousand regular soldiers were maintained, besides eighty thousand militia, and three hundred and forty thousand local militia—in all, six hundred and fifty thousand men in arms; and the ships of the line placed in commission were fifty-eight. The subsidies to foreign powers amounted to no less than £11,000,000; and the whole expenditure of the year, when all was paid, reached the enormous sum of £110,000,000. To provide for this expenditure, the permanent and war taxes were calculated to produce £80,000,000, and loans to the amount of £30,000,000 were raised for the service of Great Britain and Ireland; but these sums, great as they were, proved unequal to the charges of the year. When the whole expenditure of the war was wound up at the close of the year, the unfunded or floating debt had risen to £48,725,000; the capital of the funded debt was £792,000,000; the annual charge of it was £42,000,000; but of that sum no less than £12,968,000 was for the support of the sinking fund. If that noble establishment had been kept up, even at that diminished amount,* by maintaining the indirect taxes, set apart by the wisdom of former times for its

* See Appendix, A. Chapter.

support, it would have paid off the whole national debt by the year 1845; and the nation, from the effects of the long peace, purchased by the sacrifices of the war, would have discharged the whole burdens contracted during its continuance.

13. In addition to these immense military and naval preparations, the subsidies which Great Britain became bound to advance to foreign powers were so considerable, that it might truly be said that the whole military force of Europe was this year arrayed in English pay against France. Such was the exhaustion of the finances of the greater powers, from the unparalleled efforts they had made during the two preceding years, that they were wholly unable to put their armies in motion without this pecuniary assistance. By a treaty concluded at Vienna, between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the former of these powers agreed to furnish to the three latter a subsidy of £5,000,000, to be paid by monthly instalments to the ministers of these powers in equal proportions; and if peace was concluded within the year, they were to receive after its signature, Russia four months', and Austria and Prussia two months' subsidy each, to provide for the return of the troops to their own dominions. Sweden obtained £521,000, Hanover £206,000, the lesser German powers £1,724,000. The stipulated sums paid to the greater powers required to be enlarged; and the total sum paid by Great Britain in the year to foreign powers exceeded £11,000,000.* It is the most astonishing proof both of the resources of the British empire, and of the admirable system of finance

and currency by which they had been sustained, that at a period when the financial resources of all the other countries in Europe were entirely exhausted, it alone was able not only to make head against its own gigantic expenditure, but to retain all the other armies of the Allies in its pay.

14. Nothing which vigour and activity could do was wanting on the part of Napoleon, to provide the means of defence against this prodigious phalanx of enemies, ready to overwhelm him. But such was the exhaustion of the military strength of the country in consequence of his preceding wars, and the apathy or despair of the people from the effects of long-continued disaster, that all his efforts were unable to raise anything like an adequate force. The arsenals and fortresses were nearly empty, especially on the eastern frontier, which was most exposed to danger, from the exhaustion of the preceding campaign or the abstractions of the allied armies; twelve thousand pieces of cannon in fifty-three fortresses had been ceded by the treaties at Paris; and the regular troops in arms did not amount to a hundred thousand men. The treasury, after the first six weeks' expenditure, was exhausted; arrears of taxes were almost irrecoverable; the national credit was equal to nothing. To provide forces for withstanding the hostility of combined Europe, with such means and in such a country, was indeed a herculean task; but the genius of Napoleon was equal to the undertaking, and but for the surpassing firmness of Wellington, and the gallantry of the British troops, his efforts would in all probability have proved successful.

15. His first step was to restore to the old regiments, with their eagles, their numbers ennobled by so many heroic deeds, and so unwisely taken away by the late government. These precious memorials of past glory were given back to the troops with every pomp and circumstance likely to reanimate the spirits of the soldiers. The skeletons of three additional battalions were next organised for each regiment;

The subsidies paid were:—

Austria,	£1,796,320
Russia,	3,241,919
Prussia,	2,332,823
Hanover,	206,590
Spain,	147,833
Portugal,	100,000
Sweden,	521,061
Italy and Netherlands,	78,152
Minor Powers,	1,724,000
Miscellaneous,	237,134

Total, £11,035,333.

—*Financial Accounts, 1816; Ann. Reg. 1816, 436.*

and to provide men to fill their ranks, the whole retired veterans were by proclamation invited to join their respective corps. Two additional squadrons were in like manner added to each regiment of cavalry; and thirty new battalions of artillery were raised, chiefly from the sailors of Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon. Forty battalions, in twenty regiments, were added to the Young Guard, entirely drawn from veterans who had served six campaigns; and two hundred battalions of the national guard were organised, to take the duty of the garrison towns and interior, and thus permit the whole regular troops to be moved to the frontier. By these means the Emperor calculated that the effective strength of the army, by the 1st June, would be raised to four hundred thousand men, of which one-half might be disposable for active operations in the field; and by the 1st September his sanguine temperament led him to hope that he would have five hundred battalions of troops of the line and fifty-two of the Guards, mustering six hundred thousand combatants, besides sixty thousand admirable horse.

16. To provide arms and the muniments of war for so prodigious a multitude out of the exhausted arsenals, and with the worn-out finances of the empire, was a still more difficult matter; but the ardent genius of the Emperor, appealing to the generous feelings, and rousing the national spirit of the people, was here, too, attended with surprising success. The whole workmen in all the manufactories of arms in the country were doubled: twenty thousand muskets a-month were thus obtained; but this supply, great as it was, was far from meeting the exigencies of the moment. To procure additional stores of warlike implements, bodies of permanent workmen were established in many places, in imitation of the corps of workmen on the plains of Grénelle, during the Revolution. The old arms were called in by proclamation, repaired, and served out to the young soldiers: the foundries were everywhere set to work with the utmost vigour to replenish

the arsenals with guns: purchases of horses to a vast extent were made in all the fairs of the empire; all those of the gendarmerie were taken, and requisitions made from the peasants of draught horses for the use of the artillery and waggon trains. Great part of these purchases were not, as may well be believed, paid for in ready money: orders on the treasury at distant dates were lavishly given, and, under military government, could not be refused; and they constituted no small part of the embarrassment of the government of the second Restoration. But, in the mean time, the things were got. The arming of the troops and equipment of the guns went on with extraordinary rapidity; and an order on the different communes to furnish each a certain portion of the clothing of a battalion, soon provided them with uniforms. Before the beginning of June, two hundred and twenty thousand men, almost all veteran soldiers, were completely armed, equipped, clothed, and in readiness to take the field; an astonishing proof of the patriotic spirit of the people, and the enthusiastic ardour with which, in the last struggle of their country, the old soldiers had thrown themselves into the breach.

17. In military arrangements, the power of the Emperor was unfettered, and his genius and prodigious activity appeared in their highest lustre; but in civil administration he was entirely in the hands of Fouché and the Republicans; and they steadily pursued one object, which was to provide a counterpoise to his power in the revival of the republican spirit of the people. Carnot, entirely engrossed in the herculean task of reorganising the national guard, left the direction of civil affairs entirely to that astute Jacobin; and he made such skilful use of his unbounded power and influence as head of the police, that the old regicides and Jacobins were everywhere called up again into activity, and the election for the approaching Chamber of Deputies, summoned for the Champ de Mai, had almost entirely fallen into their hands. His language in this respect was undisguised to his republican allies. "If

that man there," said he, "shall attempt to curb the Jacobin ideas, we will overturn him at once and for ever." Napoleon knew and deeply resented this conduct; but his precarious situation compelled him to dissemble, and continue Fouché in power; for he had no hold of the nation, apart from the army, but through the medium of the Republicans. Such was their influence in the present precarious state of his fortunes, that he was obliged by a decree to call out the national guards over the whole kingdom: the very thing, of all others, to which he was most averse. In truth, he was surrounded by a crowd of selfish and unprincipled men, the very drags of the Revolution, who were actuated by no other principle but the common one of turning his pressing necessities to the best account for their own private advantage. Meanwhile, such was the address of the Emperor, and the charm of his conversation, that he succeeded in detaching many of the leading men of talent in Paris, who had formerly taken a prominent part against him, from the royalist cause. Among the rest, M. Sismondi, the great historian, and Benjamin Constant, the able supporter of constitutional freedom, who had so recently published a just and eloquent declamation against him, were entirely won over to his side; and they were intrusted with the arduous duty of aiding in the formation of a constitution. One of the most extraordinary of the many extraordinary gifts with which this wonderful man was endowed, was the power he possessed of subduing the minds of men, and the faculty he had acquired of dazzling penetration the most acute, and winning over hostile prepossessions the most confirmed, by the mere magic of his fascinating conversation.

18. Benjamin Constant has left a precious account of a conversation which Napoleon had with him at this period, which bears every mark of truth. "The nation," said the Emperor, "has rested twelve years from political agitation; for a year it has reposed from war: that double rest has made it now feel the need of

activity. It now wishes, or thinks it wishes, a Tribune and popular assemblies. It did not always do so: it threw itself at my feet when I arrived at the government. You must recollect it was so, for you were in opposition. Where was your support, where your strength? Nowhere. I took less power than they wished to give me. At present all is changed: the taste for constitutions, debates, harangues, has returned. Nevertheless, it is only the noisy minority who wish it: be assured of that. The people wish only for me; you have seen them pressing on my footsteps, descending from their mountains to see me. Nothing was wanting but a signal from me to make them fall on the Royalists and nobles. But I will never be a king of the *Jacquerie*. If it is possible to govern with a constitution, all in good time: I desire nothing better; though it is not so easy as some suppose. I wished the empire of the world; and to obtain it, boundless authority was necessary. Possibly to govern France alone, a constitution may be practicable. It is still a problem; but I am willing to try it. I wished the empire of the world—who would not have done so in my place? The world invited me to rule: princes and people vied with each other, crouching beneath my sceptre. Give me your ideas: public discussions, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press: I have no objections to them—I am the man of the people; if they really wish for liberty, I will give it them; I was never an oppressor from inclination. I had great designs; fate willed it otherwise. I am no longer a conqueror; I cannot be so. I have now but one mission, that of restoring France, and giving it such institutions as are fit for it. But I do not wish to awaken false expectations; a long and difficult struggle awaits us; I have need of the support of the nation; I am willing to give it as much freedom as it can enjoy without relapsing into anarchy. I am growing old; I have need of repose; the rest of a constitutional king may suit me, and still more my son."

19. The financial difficulties of the Hundred Days were singularly lessened by the comparatively prosperous condition in which the treasury was found, from the diminished expenditure and increased economy of the Bourbon government. Nearly forty millions of francs (£1,600,000) had been left by Louis XVIII. in the treasury, or in the balance due by the receivers-general; and an equal sum fell in shortly after, at stated periods, from the sale of national wood, which they had previously made, but for which the bills were not yet all due. It was from these resources that the first and indispensable expenses of the Imperial government were defrayed, but they were soon exhausted by the vast purchases for the army; and as the capitalists had no confidence whatever in the dynasty of Napoleon, it became a very difficult matter to say how the treasury was to be replenished. As a last resource, the sinking fund, hitherto invariably respected, was offered as a security to a company of bankers, and at first refused; but their acceptance was at length purchased by such exorbitant interest, that the four millions of francs to which it amounted annually, produced only thirty-one millions of francs; in other words, the government borrowed at twelve per cent. The bills due by the receivers-general were discounted at the rate of seventeen and eighteen per cent; and by these extraordinary resources, and forestalling the ordinary revenue, eighty millions of francs (£3,200,000) were raised in April and May, which kept the treasury afloat till the battle of Waterloo terminated at once the difficulties and the political existence of Napoleon.

20. The task of framing a constitution, in a country so long habituated to that species of manufacture as France had been since the Revolution, proved much less difficult than that of restoring the finances. The commission to whom this duty had been devolved, presided over by Benjamin Constant, consisted chiefly of the old patriots of 1789 who had survived the Revolution; and it was governed, accordingly, by the visionary ideas of perfectibility

which had characterised that dreamy period. The first draft of a constitution which they submitted to the Emperor, was accordingly so democratic, that even in his present necessities it was at once rejected by him. "I will never," said he, "subscribe to such conditions: I have the army on my side, and after what it has done on the 20th March, it will know how to defend France and its Emperor." Defeated in this attempt, the Liberal party in the commission drew up another constitution; and this one, styled the "additional act," the work of Constant and Regnaud St Jean d'Angely, was little different from the Charter of Louis XVIII. Two Chambers, one of Peers and one of Commons, were established on nearly the same footing as they had been by the former government. But three particulars in this new constitution were very remarkable, and demonstrated how much more clearly Napoleon saw the exigencies of the times, and the necessity of bulwarks to power, than the Bourbons had done. 1. The peerage was declared to be *hereditary*—not for life only: a provision which at once announced the intention of reviving a feudal nobility. 2. The punishment of confiscation of property, a penalty so well known in the dark ages, abolished by the Charter, was restored in cases of high treason. 3. The family of the Bourbons was for ever proscribed, and even the power of recalling them denied to the people. It was in vain to disguise, that while these articles indicated in the strongest manner an intention to prevent a second restoration of the royal family, they pointed not less unequivocally to the practical abrogation of the power of self-government, and the construction of a strong monarchy for the family of the Emperor; and thus the publication of the "*Acte Additionnel*," on the 25th April, excited unbounded opposition in both the parties which now divided the nation, and left the Emperor in reality no support but in the soldiers of the army.

21. The public feeling appeared in an article which was inserted in the

Censeur Européen, the very existence of which demonstrated how the Emperor's authority had declined from the palmy days of the empire. It was entitled, "On the influence of the mustache on the reason, and the necessity of the sabre in government." "What," exclaimed the fearless writer, "is glory? Has a lion, which makes all the animals of the surrounding country tremble, glory? Has a miserable people, which knows not how to govern itself, and is to its neighbours an object only of terror and hatred, glory? If glory is the sole attribute of men who have done good to their race, where is the glory of a conquering people?" All classes, though for different reasons, exclaimed against the *Acte Additionnel*. Some complained that the initiative to framing laws was, contrary to all the principles of a free government, taken from the Chamber of Deputies; others, that the rule of clubs and popular societies was not re-established as in 1793. The Royalists were discontented at the abolition of feudal distinctions; the Democrats, at the Restoration of the titles which had been created during the Empire; and a still larger number complained of it as a cruel deception of the people, that a constitution was promulgated by the sole authority of the Emperor, before the military and civil electors, convoked from all parts of the empire for the Champ de Mai, had enjoyed an opportunity of considering it. So vehement did the clamour become, especially among the Republicans, that Carnot, who felt himself compromised with his party by the *Acte Additionnel*, wrote to the Emperor, strongly representing that dissatisfaction was universal, civil war on the point of breaking out; and that it was indispensable to publish a decree, forthwith authorising the Chambers to modify the constitution in the next session, and to submit the modification to the primary assemblies of the people. But Napoleon replied, "With you, Carnot, I have no need of disguise: you are a strong-headed man, with sagacious intellect. Let us deliver France, and after that we will arrange everything.

Let us not sow the seeds of discord, when the closest union is required to save the country." To the honour of Carnot, it must be added, that from that moment he made no opposition to a dictatorial power being for the time placed in the hands of the Emperor.

22. While Napoleon was vainly striving to blend into one united whole the fervent passions and wounded interests of revolutionary France, Caulaincourt was strenuously endeavouring to open up a diplomatic intercourse with the allied powers. In this vital matter everything depended on the success or failure of the first step; for if the Allies had consented to a negotiation of any kind with the Emperor, it would have been a recognition of his authority and a virtual revocation of the decree of the 13th March. But all his efforts were ineffectual: and what is remarkable, the Emperor Alexander, who in 1814 had most warmly espoused his cause, was now the most decided against him. "We can have no peace," he said with energy to a secret agent who approached him with overtures from the Emperor Napoleon; "it is a mortal duel betwixt us. He has broken his word: I am freed from my engagement. Europe requires an example." "Europe," said Metternich, in an official article from Vienna in the *European Observer*, "has declared war against Buonaparte. France can and ought to prove to Europe, that it knows its dignity sufficiently not to submit to the domination of one man. The French nation is powerful and free: its power and freedom are essential to the equilibrium of Europe. France has but to deliver itself from its oppressor, and return to the principles on which the social order reposes, to be at peace with Europe." The spirit of Germany was hourly more and more exalted by those declarations; already the excitement was as widespread, the enthusiasm as universal, as when the allied armies first approached the Rhine. Thus all attempts of Caulaincourt to open a negotiation, all the declarations of Napoleon that he aspired now only to be the first

in peace, proved ineffectual. His insincerity was universally known; the necessities of his situation universally appreciated. Napoleon, on the 1st April, addressed a circular to all the sovereigns, commencing in the usual style from one sovereign to another, "Sir, my brother," and concluding with the strongest protestations of his desire to commence a new strife in the arena of peace.* But all his efforts were ineffectual: none of M. Caulaincourt's couriers could reach their destined point: one was stopped at Kehl, another at Mayence, and a third near Turin. At the same time Caulaincourt was informed, in a confidential communication with Baron Vincent, that it was no longer possible to make the allied sovereigns swerve from their determination, or separate them from each other.

23. Murat was the first who raised the standard of war. Anxious to deprive Napoleon of such an ally, and prevent the distraction of its forces by an Italian war, when it was necessary to combine every effort for the overthrow of Napoleon, Austria had offered

* The true nature of the events which have taken place, must now be fully known to your Majesty. They were the result of an irresistible power—the work of the unanimous wish of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had imposed upon the country was not suited to it; the Bourbons were neither associated with its sentiments nor its habits. France required to separate from them. France has recalled a liberator; the inducement which had led me to the greatest of sacrifices no longer existed. I returned; and from the moment when I landed on the shore, the love of my people has borne me to the capital. The first wish of my heart is to repay so much affection by an honourable tranquillity; my sweetest hope is to render the re-establishment of the Imperial throne a guarantee for the peace of Europe. Enough of glory has successively adorned the standards of all nations; the vicissitudes of fate have sufficiently often made great reverses follow the most glorious success. A nobler arena is now opened to sovereigns; I will be the first to descend into it. After having exhibited to the world the spectacle of great combating, it will be now sweeter to exhibit henceforth no other rivalry but that of the advantages of peace—no other strife but that of the fidelity of nations."—*Napoleon to the Allied Sovereigns*, April 1, 1815; *Moniteur*, April 2; and *CAPETIUS*, i. 311, 312.

to guarantee to him the disputed marches, and procure for him the recognition of all the sovereigns at Vienna of his right to the throne of Naples, if he would declare for the Allies. But at that very moment the brave but infatuated king, transported by the intelligence of the success of Napoleon in France, and deeming the time had arrived when he might strike with effect for the independence of Italy and the throne of that beautiful peninsula, suddenly commenced hostilities. On the 31st March he crossed the Po, and published from Rimini a sonorous proclamation, in which he called on the Italians to unite with him in asserting their independence. "The moment," said he, "is arrived, when great destinies are about to be accomplished: Providence at length has called us to become an independent people. From the summit of the Alps to the extremity of Sicily, one cry is heard—the independence of Italy." But although these sentiments found a responsive echo in the general breast, yet the event soon proved on what a sandy foundation all projects for Italian independence were rested, which were based on the military operations of the Italian people.

24. Although the King of Naples was at the head of a well-disciplined, splendidly equipped, and beautifully dressed army of fifty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand advanced to the Po, the remainder being left in reserve in his own dominions, yet was his overthrow so easily effected that it could hardly be called a war. The Neapolitan troops, in the first instance, gained a slight success; but the Austrian generals, Bellegarde, Bianchi, and Frimont, quickly united their forces and attacked Murat at Tolentino. The Neapolitans fled like a flock of sheep at the first fire. A second engagement completed their rout, and dispersed the fugitives through the Roman States, from whence, in the utmost terror, they regained their own frontier. Murat himself, wholly deserted by his troops, was glad to embark at Naples for Toulon, which he reached in safety; while his queen, Caroline, escaped on board

an English merchant vessel, and was conveyed to Austria. Thus fell the throne of the Buonaparte family in Naples; and thus was accomplished the prophecy of Napoleon, who, when he heard of his commencing hostilities, said that his brother-in-law would ruin himself by taking up arms in 1815, as in 1814 he had ruined him by failing to do so. Nothing now remained to prevent the Sicilian family from resuming their ancient throne of Naples, which they accordingly immediately did, and were recognised by all Europe.

25. While these important events were in progress in Europe, the monarch whose fall had occasioned them all, and around whom this terrible conflagration was breaking forth, was living in seclusion, but yet not forgotten, at Ghent. Louis XVIII. maintained in that ancient city the state of a sovereign; M. Blacas, General Clarke, and Chateaubriand had followed him in his exile, and kept up diplomatic communications with foreign courts, the ambassadors of all of whom still, in his exile, waited on the dethroned monarch. Ambition and intrigue were not wanting; Ghent had its saloons and coteries as well as either Paris or Vienna. But what contributed most of all to give the court there consideration in the eyes of Europe, was the nomination of M. Lally Tollendal and Viscount Chateaubriand to the offices of ministers of state; and the powerful declamations which they soon began to launch out against the usurper of the French throne. The Duke of Wellington visited the king in his seclusion, and he had the satisfaction of hearing from the Duke the assurance, that "he regarded the restoration of the Bourbons as essential to the equilibrium of Europe." Clarke furnished valuable information in regard to the situation and strength of the French army when he left the ministry of war at Paris; while Chateaubriand, in the *Moniteur de Gand*, which appeared daily, combated the proclamations and state papers of Napoleon, published in the *Moniteur* at Paris, with such ability, and inveighed with such impassioned

eloquence against his government, that he contributed in a powerful manner to uphold the spirit of the European alliance. Fouché, who had never put trust in the restored fortunes of Napoleon, was not long of renewing his intrigues at the probable theatre of future power. Before the royal exiles had been long at Ghent, Madame de Vitrolles, wife of the nobleman who had made so narrow an escape from the Imperial wrath at Troyes, arrived, bearing a holograph note of the Count d'Artois, in which he expressed eternal gratitude to the able minister who had saved M. de Vitrolles. Fouché went no farther at present: the courtiers were charmed to find an ally in so powerful a man, and a minister of Napoleon; and all the influence of Chateaubriand could not prevent the arch-traitor from being looked upon by the needy crowd, sighing for the Tuileries, as the firmest supporter of the monarchy. The only difficulty was to make Louis XVIII. overcome his repugnance to the regicide author of the *mitrailleuses* at Lyons.

26. La Vendée had in the first instance disappointed the expectations of the Duke de Bourbon and the French Royalists; but the course of events in that province proved in the end eminently serviceable to the restoration of the monarchy. The Duke de Bourbon, who had first been sent there, was personally unknown to the Vendéans; his name had never figured in their heart-stirring annals, and thus he failed to rouse them to exertion. But in the beginning of May, when the Marquis Louis de Larochejaquelein made his appearance on their coast, the glorious name at once produced a general insurrection among them; and an animated proclamation from him drew thousands to the royal standard. M. de Suzannet was soon at the head of four thousand armed peasants in the Bocage; M. d'Autichamp raised a still larger number; M. de Sapineau was intrusted with the command of a third, five thousand strong; and Auguste de Larochejaquelein led a fourth. The presence of twenty thousand armed men in the thickets of La Vendée

occasioned no small uneasiness to the Emperor; and he despatched Generals Lamarque and Travot, to command a formidable army of twenty thousand men for their subjugation, while Fouché opened in secret a negotiation with their chiefs. The astute minister, foreseeing a second restoration, and having already commenced measures to secure his ascendancy in the event of it, despatched two able emissaries—M. de Malartic and de la Berandière—with instructions, by the most conclusive of all arguments, to put an end to the civil war. “Why,” said he, “should the Vendéans go to war? French blood will soon flow in sufficient streams without theirs being mingled with it. Let them wait a month or two, and all will be over. Above all, let not the English interfere in the business; for they come only to profit by our divisions. Conclude an armistice till the inevitable restoration. La Vendée is but an incident in the great European war about to break out in the plains of Belgium. The contest between the Blues and the Whites is henceforth without an object.” By these means, which were entirely in accordance with his whole policy throughout the Hundred Days, Fouché hoped to have the merit, in the eyes of Napoleon, of terminating the contest in La Vendée; in those of the Bourbons, of detaching twenty thousand men from his standard at the most critical period of his fortunes; and of the nation, of closing the frightful gulf of civil war. Fouché, at the same time, sent a confidential agent, M. Gaillard, to Ghent, who entered into negotiations with the royal family; and M. de Leon to Vienna, bearing holograph notes to Metternich and Talleyrand, the latter the French ambassador in that capital. In these letters, he not only entered into correspondence with the allied powers, but opened the subject, in the event of the restoration of Louis proving inexpedient, of elevating the Duke of Orleans to the throne, or of reinstating the family of Napoleon in the person of his son.

27. These deep-laid schemes proved entirely successful; and their favour-

able result was much aided by the divisions which prevailed among the Vendean chiefs themselves. Louis de Larochejaquelein aspired to the supreme command; and his great name and family influence, as well as the support of the English government, with which he was in close communication, fully entitled him to the honour. But his pretensions were contested by the other chiefs, particularly d'Autichamp and Suzannet; not from any distrust of his qualifications for the lead, but from a secret and not unnatural jealousy of external influence, and, above all, of British co-operation. Thus there was no cordial union among them, and this appeared in the very outset of operations; for Larochejaquelein, buoyant with courage, and ardent to enrol his name in the records of Vendean fame, was desirous at once to commence hostilities; while the other chiefs were inclined to follow Fouché's advice, and wait, at least, till the war broke out on the frontier, before they declared themselves. Larochejaquelein, however, who deemed his honour pledged to follow out his engagements with the British government, and whose heroic spirit could brook no delay, took up arms, and moved to the sea-coast, to cover the disembarkation of military stores and equipments which had commenced from the British vessels. He was followed by Lamarque at the head of eight thousand men, and several inconsiderable actions took place, in which the Vendéans displayed their accustomed valour, and reached in safety Croix de Vie on the shore, where the English vessels were lying, and the disembarkation was continued under their protection.

28. But there the effect of Fouché's ambiguous counsels appeared: d'Autichamp, Suzannet, and Sapineau, determined not to enter into communication with the British, withdrew with their divisions and disbanded their men. Thus Larochejaquelein, with his division, five thousand strong, was left alone to withstand eight thousand veteran soldiers who pressed upon him. Yet with this handful of men he was not discouraged, but with a heart

swelling with indignation at the desertion of his countrymen, and with the glorious recollections of his race, marched to meet the enemy. He sought only what he soon found—a glorious death. The Vendéans fought with their accustomed gallantry; but the loss of their chief spread a fatal discouragement among their ranks: the Marquis de Larochejaquelein, impelled by a generous ardour, spurred his charger out of the line, reached an eminence close to the enemy's troops to reconnoitre a body of men which he saw approaching, belonging to the troops of the Marais, fell mortally wounded, breathed a short prayer for his king and country, and expired. Auguste de Larochejaquelein soon after was severely wounded; and the Vendéans, despairing of the combat after the loss of their chiefs, gave way and dispersed. This action terminated the war in La Vendée, as the other leaders had all gone into Fouché's plan of awaiting the issue of events. But the heroic Louis de Larochejaquelein did not die in vain: his firmness remained at a critical time twenty thousand veteran French in the western provinces, when the campaign was just beginning in Flanders; and who can say what effect they might have had if thrown into the scale when the beam quivered on the field of Waterloo?

29. Meanwhile Napoleon was engaged with the meeting of the deputies at Paris, and the preparation of the great fête of the Champ de Mai, on a scale of magnificence which might at once captivate the people of the capital, and recall to the republican party the popular demonstrations of the Revolution. On the 30th April a decree was passed, convoking the electoral colleges for the nomination of deputies to the Chamber of Representatives, and ordaining that the deputies named should repair to Paris, to be present at the assembly of the Champ de Mai, and to form the Chamber, to which the *Acte Additionnel* should be submitted. The election of deputies was everywhere a vain formality, and did not afford the smallest indication of the real state of the public mind. In most of the de-

partments not a tenth part of the qualified persons came forward to the vote; in some, particularly those of Bouches du Rhone and La Vendée, the deputies were appointed by five electors; in twenty-nine no election whatever took place. The respectable citizens everywhere kept aloof from contests conducted under the auspices of Fouché, Carnot, and the violent republicans; the men of property deemed it unnecessary to mix themselves up with an ephemeral legislature, or to make any effort for a cause which would soon be determined by the bayonets of the Allies. Thus the elections fell into the hands, as in the commencement of the Revolution, of a mere knot of noisy orators, ignorant declaimers, and salaried agents of administration; and a legislature was returned, in which the great majority was composed of needy unprincipled adventurers, base worn-out hacks of the police, and furious Jacobins, whose presumption, as usual, was equalled only by their ignorance. Nothing could be expected but rashness and imbecility from such a legislature, and yet it was to be called to duties requiring above all others the soundest judgment, the purest patriotism, the most exalted courage.

30. Aware, however, how strongly the French are influenced by theatrical representations, no pains were spared by the Emperor to render the approaching ceremony in the Champ de Mai as imposing as possible. For above a month, workmen had been engaged in preparing for it; the most glowing descriptions of its probable magnificence had been frequently given in the public journals, and the preparations were on a scale which recalled the famous assembly on the same spot on the 14th July 1790, [*ante*, Chap. VI. § 46]. A cardinal, two archbishops, and several bishops, presided over the religious part of the ceremony; the Emperor appeared, surrounded by his chamberlains, his pages, and all the pomp of the empire: the marshals, the generals, the great officers of state, were there, attended by brilliant staffs and retinues, and all the circumstance of military and civil splendour: four thousand electors,

chosen by the electoral colleges throughout France, were assembled, deputations from all the regiments around Paris attended, and the presence of thirty thousand national guards of the metropolis added to the imposing aspect of the ceremony. The day was fine: above two hundred thousand spectators crowded round the benches, arranged in the form of an amphitheatre, where the persons appointed to take part in the ceremony were stationed; and the commencement of the votes of the electors in their primary assemblies, when announced, showed that the *Acte Additionnel* was approved by an immense majority of the electors; the numbers being fifteen hundred thousand to five thousand.* It is a striking proof of the vanity of all such references to the popular voice, that of the immense number of votes which appeared in the majority, certainly not one in a thousand knew what they were voting about; and not one in ten thousand, if they had, would, in all probability, have approved of the new constitution.

31. Napoleon addressed the electors in these words: "Gentlemen, and deputies of the army and navy in the Champ de Mai—Emperor, consul, soldier, I owe everything to the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the only object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens, I have sacrificed myself for the people, in the hope of seeing the promise realised, of thereby securing to France its natural frontiers, its honours, its rights. Indignation at beholding those sacred rights, the fruit of twenty-five years of victory, disregarded or lost—the cry of withered honour, the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to the throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the

rights, and the honour of the French people. Frenchmen! intravering amid the public joy the different provinces of the empire to arrive in my capital, I trusted I could reckon on a long peace; nations are bound by treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My whole thoughts were then turned to the means of founding our liberty on a constitution resting on the wishes and interests of the people. Therefore it is that I have convoked the assembly of the Champ de Mai. I soon learned, however, that the princes who resist all popular rights, and disregard the wishes and interests of so many nations, were resolved on war. They intend to enlarge the kingdom of the Low Countries, by giving it for a barrier all our frontier places in the north, and to reconcile all their differences by sharing among them Lorraine and Alsace. We must prepare for war! Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell your fellow-citizens that the circumstances are perilous; but that with the aid of union, energy, and perseverance, we shall emerge victorious out of this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinise our conduct; that a nation has lost all when it has lost its independence. Tell them that the stranger kings whom I have placed on their thrones, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns, and who, in the days of my prosperity, have courted my alliance and that of the French people, now direct all their strokes against my person. Did I not know it is against our country they are aimed, I would sacrifice myself to their hatred. But my wishes, my rights, are those of the people: my prosperity, my honour, my glory, can be no other than the prosperity, the honour, and the glory of France." At the conclusion of these eloquent words, Napoleon took the oath on the Gospels to observe the constitution, which was immediately taken by the officers of state, marshals, deputies, and soldiers present; and the eagles were, at the same time, delivered with extraordinary pomp to the regiments.

* The numbers were:—

	Ages.	Non.
At Departments, .	1,288,357	4207
Army, .	222,100	320
Navy, .	22,000	275
Total, .	1,532,457	4802

—*Moniteur*, 2d June 1815; and *THIBAudeau*, x. 534.

32. But in the midst of all this seeming unanimity and enthusiasm, opinion at Paris was extremely divided; a formidable opposition against the Emperor was organised in the bosom of the Chamber of Deputies, and some of his principal ministers were engaged in such secret correspondence with his enemies, that he was on the point of sending them to the scaffold. From the very outset of their sittings, the hostility of the Chamber of Deputies to the Emperor was unequivocally evinced, and mutual ill-humour appeared on both sides. When the choice of M. Lanjuinais, the old Girondist, to be president, was announced to the Emperor, instead of his brother Lucien, whom he had designed for that dignity, his first impulse was to refuse to confirm the appointment, and he coldly answered, "I will return my answer by one of my chamberlains." When this expression was repeated, it raised a perfect storm in the Chambers. To return an answer by a Chamberlain was a direct insult, it was said, to the national representatives. The Emperor was obliged to submit, and all the influence of the court failed in the appointment of the vice-presidents; M. Flauguergues, Dupont de l'Eure, Lafayette, and Grenier, all known for their extreme popular principles, were elected. Napoleon opened the Chamber of Deputies in person; his speech, though abundantly liberal, was coldly received. A great review of the forty-eight battalions of the national guard was still more unsatisfactory; hardly any cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were heard from the ranks, and it was followed by a procession of the *fédérés* of the suburbs, so hideous and disorderly, that it recalled the worst days of the Revolution, and excited no small apprehensions in the minds of those around the Emperor. Everything announced that the reign of lawyers, adventurers, and democracy was returning in the Chambers, and with it the ascendancy of Jacobins, massacre, and revolution in the metropolis. Napoleon was so disconcerted with the democratic spirit which had risen up in his absence, that he often said—"What these Bourbons

have done in a few months during my absence, years will be required to undo."

33. The spirit of the Chamber of Peers named by the Emperor was abundantly pliant; but that of the Deputies, daily more refractory, soon became so hostile, that the Emperor, to avoid the pain of witnessing its absurdities, was glad of an excuse for setting out for the army. A proposition to declare him the "saviour of the country," was almost unanimously rejected; in the midst of the most pressing external dangers, their attention was exclusively occupied with the means of propagating liberal principles, and rendering more popular the constitution. The *Acte Additionnel*, so recently sworn to with such solemnity, was already ridiculed as an unworthy compromise, which would not for a moment bear the lights of the age. Everything showed that the Chambers contemplated the speedy seizure of the supreme power. The answer of Napoleon to their address on the eve of his departure evinced the disquietude which filled his mind, and contained the words of true patriotic wisdom. "This night," said he, "I shall set out for the army; the movements of the enemy's corps render my presence indispensable. During my absence I shall learn with pleasure that a committee of the Chamber is meditating on the constitution. The constitution is our rallying-point; it should be the pole-star in moments of storm. Every political discussion which should tend, directly or indirectly, to diminish the confidence which we feel in our institutions, would be a misfortune for the state: we should find ourselves in the midst of shoals, without rudder or compass. The crisis in which we are engaged is a terrible one: let us not imitate the Greeks of the Lower Empire, who, pressed on all sides by barbarians, rendered themselves the laughing-stock of posterity, by occupying themselves with abstract discussions at the moment that the battering-ram was thundering at their gates."

34. To direct public affairs during his absence, the Emperor appointed a provisional government, consisting of four-

teen persons—viz., his brothers Joseph, who was the president, and Lucien; his eight ministers, Cambacérès, Davoust, Caulaincourt, Fouché, Carnot, Gaudin, Mollière, and Decrès; with Regnaud St Jean d'Angely, Boulay de la Meurthe, Desormont, and Merlin, who were admitted into the Council, though not holding office, on account of their talents for public speaking, and the consideration they enjoyed with the popular party, so powerful in the representative Chamber. In truth, however, Carnot and Fouché were the only persons in this large number who were really in communication with influential parties in the state; so that the power was substantially in their hands. And though both old regicides and republicans, they were very far indeed from being united now in regard to the course which should be pursued, and both had a cordial hatred and utter distrust of each other. Fouché regarded Carnot as an obstinate old mule, who would any day sacrifice himself and his party to the maintenance of a principle: Carnot, with more justice, looked on Fouché as a supple villain, who had never any principle at all, but was at all times ready to elevate himself on the shoulders of whatever party appeared likely to gain the ascendant. Yet was his influence such that Napoleon, though well aware of his treachery, did not venture to dismiss him from the ministry. Shortly before his departure, a secret despatch from Metternich to the minister of police came to the knowledge of the Emperor; and the messenger who conveyed it, in his terror, revealed various important details of the correspondence.

35. Napoleon was no sooner informed of it, than he ordered Fouché to be sent for, openly charged him before the Council with being a traitor, and declared he would have him shot next morning. But Carnot calmly replied, "You have it in your power to shoot Fouché, but to-morrow, at the hour he suffers, your power is annihilated." "How so?" cried Napoleon. "Yes, Sire," said Carnot; "this is not a time for dissembling. The men of the Revolution only allow you to reign, because

they believe that you will respect their liberties. If you destroy Fouché, whom they regard as one of their most powerful guarantees, to-morrow you will no longer have a shadow of power." The Council agreed with Carnot; the idea of a military execution was abandoned; and Fouché was not a man to let any legal evidence of his secret treasons exist—so that the affair blew over. Napoleon's suspicions, however, were not allayed, although he could not convict his minister in legal form, and his last words to him before leaving Paris were these: "Like all persons who are ready to die, we have nothing to conceal from each other: if I fall, the patriots fall with me; you will play your game ill if you betray me. With me, all you Revolutionists will perish under the Bourbons; I am your last dictator: reflect on that." It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which guilt acquires in revolutions, that this arch-intriguer, who, while directing the ministry of the interior under Napoleon, was on the one hand secretly corresponding, by means of his agents, with Metternich and the Allies, and on the other with d'Autichamp and the Vendéans, and who was at the same time rousing into fearful activity the old Jacobin party over all France, though known to be a traitor by all parties, could not be dispensed with by any.

36. Napoleon's plan of the campaign was in a great measure based on the fortification of Paris, which, by the indefatigable efforts of General Haxo and the engineers, had by this time acquired a considerable degree of consistency. No one knew better than the Emperor the value of such central fortifications; he felt that it was mainly owing to their want that all his efforts had proved abortive in the preceding year. Under Haxo's able direction, the whole heights to the north of Paris, from Montmartre to Chaumont, were strengthened with redoubts; the canal of Ourcq was finished, so as to cover the plain between La Villette and St Denis, and the latter town was retrenched and protected by the inundation of the Rouillon. To the west of Montmartre, which formed the most elevated point of the line, was

erected a series of intrenchments, which extended as far as the Seine at Clichy; and the space at the other extremity, between Vincennes and Charenton, was also fortified with redoubts. These works were nearly completed, and armed with seven hundred pieces of cannon; they rendered Paris almost impregnable, even to the greatest force, on the whole northern semicircle. But on the south it was still undefended, and there, accordingly, it was subsequently approached by the English and Prussian armies. Lyons also was strongly fortified with field intrenchments, mounting three hundred and fifty guns. Relying on the strength of these two important points to retard any decisive success on the part of the Allies, Napoleon resolved to act with the main body of his forces, which amounted to a hundred and thirty thousand men, with three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, on the offensive in Flanders, near the frontiers of which that formidable force was already collected between the Meuse and the Sambre.

37. Other lesser armies were stationed at other points on the frontier, with instructions to retire if outnumbered, and retard the enemy as much as possible. Suchet commanded two divisions, numbering twenty-two thousand combatants, on the frontiers of Savoy; a small corps of observation of ten thousand was placed at Befort, under Lecourbe; while Rapp, with three divisions, amounting to seventeen thousand, was stationed at Alsace, with his headquarters at Strasburg. Twenty thousand men were detained in distant and necessary inactivity on the frontiers of La Vendée and Brittany; while small divisions were at Marseilles, Toulouse, and Bordeaux, to overawe the Royalists in these cities. In all, not more than a hundred thousand men were arrayed in these lesser corps to resist not less than four hundred thousand enemies, preparing to invade France on the south and east; but they were more regarded as the nucleus of so many armies, numbering three times the present amount of combatants, which might be assembled before the distant allied hosts

could be brought together. Everything depended on the grand army under the immediate command of Napoleon.*

38. Wellington on his side had profoundly meditated on the plan of the approaching campaign, which, in common with all the allied generals, he conceived would be one of invasion on their part. After much reflection, he had resolved to enter France on the side of Flanders, between the Marne and the Oise; but in order to conceal this design from the enemy, he suggested that the Austrians and Russians should invade, in the first instance, by Befort and Hunningen, in order to attract the enemy's principal forces to that quarter; and, as soon as this was done, the British and Prussians united were to march direct upon Paris from Mons and Namur. He had eighty thousand effective men under his orders; Blücher a hundred and ten thousand; but of the large host clustered round the British standards, a considerable part were raw Belgian and Hanoverian levies, upon whom little reliance could be placed; and for the actual shock of war, Wellington could only depend on the British and King's German Legion, not more than forty-six thousand strong, and the old Hanoverians and Brunswickers, about ten thousand more. The British army was far from being equal, in composition or discipline, to that which crossed the Pyrenees—a large part of which was absent in Canada; and their place was supplied by a number of second battalions, and troops which had never seen service or acted together. But several of the most distinguished Peninsular regiments were there; the foot and horse Guards appeared in splendid array; twelve thousand noble cavalry, of whom eight thousand were British, seemed confident against the world in arms; a hundred and eighty guns, admirably equipped, were in the field; Picton, Hill, Clinton, Kempt, Pack, and many of his old comrades, surrounded Wellington; the spirit of the army was at the highest point, and the troops possessed that confidence in themselves and their leader,

* See Appendix, B, Chap. xcii.

which is the most important element toward military success. Blücher's army was of a less heterogeneous character; his troops, almost all veterans of one nation, and inspired with the strongest hatred against the French, were filled with a well-founded confidence in themselves and their gallant commander: and having acted together in two previous campaigns, they had acquired that most valuable quality in soldiers—a thorough knowledge of their duties, and a firm reliance, founded on experience, on each other.

39. Napoleon's plan of operations was suggested by the necessities of his situation, and the vast advantages likely to be gained by a decisive success in the outset. He determined to collect all his forces into one mass, and, boldly interposing between the British and Prussian armies, separate them from each other, and strike with the utmost vigour, first on the right hand and then on the left. It was thus that, with a force not exceeding sixty thousand men, he had so long kept at bay the united armies of Blücher and Schwartzberg, two hundred thousand strong, on the plains of Champagne: and what might not be expected, when he had a hundred and thirty thousand admirable troops, all veterans, and animated with the highest spirit, and not more than a hundred and ninety thousand in the field to combat? "The force of the two armies," says Napoleon, "could not be estimated by a mere comparison of the numbers; because the allied army was composed of troops more or less efficient, so that *one Englishman might be counted for one Frenchman, but two Dutchmen, Prussians, or soldiers of the Confederation*, were required to make up one

Frenchman; and their armies were under the command of two different generals; and formed of nations divided not less by their sentiments than their interests."

40. Soult was, on the 2d June, appointed major-general of the army, and he immediately took the command, and issued a proclamation,* which strangely contrasted with that which, not three months before, he had thundered forth as minister-at-war to the Bourbons. It left no further doubt that he had played false to the former government when he held the office of minister-at-war, and had purposely placed in the Emperor's way the regiments most likely to revolt. Napoleon left Paris at one o'clock in the morning of the 12th, breakfasted at Soissons, slept at Laon, and arrived at Avesnes on the 13th. He there found his army all concentrated between the Sambre and Philippeville, and the returns on the evening of the 14th gave a hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men present, under arms.† It was divided into five corps d'armée under d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Lobau, with four corps of reserve cavalry under Pajol, Excelmans, Kellerman, and Milhaud, with the Imperial Guard under Mortier. The camp was placed behind small hills, just a league from the frontier, in such a situation as to be screened from the enemy's view: and it contained three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.‡ The arrival of the Emperor raised the spirits of the soldiers, already elevated by their great strength, to the very highest pitch; and the following proclamation was on the same evening issued to the troops:—"Soldiers! This is the anniversary

* "All the efforts of an impious league can no longer separate the interests of the great people and of the hero whose brilliant triumphs have attracted the admiration of the universe. It is at the moment when the national will manifests itself with such energy, that cries of war are heard, and foreign armies advance to our frontiers. What are the hopes of this new coalition? Does it wish to extirpate France from the map of nations, to plunge twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen into a degrading servitude? The struggle in which we are engaged is not above the genius

of Napoleon, nor beyond our strength. Soldiers! Napoleon guides our steps—we fight for the independence of our beautiful country—we are invincible!"—*NAPOLEON'S MEMOIRS*. Book ix. pp. 85, 86.

† See Appendix, C, Chap. xciii.

‡ Clausewitz estimates Napoleon's force, at the opening of the campaign, at 129,000 men, Wellington's at 99,000, and Blücher's at 115,000.—See *CLAUSEWITZ*, viii. 27; and *Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 135. It is probable some abatement must be made from all these numbers, for stragglers, non-effective, &c.

of Marengo and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous; we gave credit to the oaths and protestations of princes whom we allowed to remain on their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim at the independence and the most sacred rights of France.* They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Are we not, then, the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, when fighting against those same Prussians now so arrogant, you were as one to two; at Montmirail, as one to three. Let those among you who have been in England recite the story of their prison-ships, and the evils they have suffered in them. The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Rhenish confederacy, groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of princes, enemies of justice and of the rights of nations. They know that the Coalition is insatiable; that after having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, six millions of Belgians, a million of Saxons, it will also devour the lesser states of Germany. Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. If they enter France, they will find in it their tomb! Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, perils to encounter; but with constancy the victory will be ours—the rights, the honours of the country will be reconquered. For every Frenchman who has a heart,

* That Wellington had such secret information is evident, if proof were requisite, from his despatch, 16th May 1815, where he gives a detail of the French army, which corresponds exactly with that given by Gourgaud.—See Gurwood, xii. 394. That letter concludes with these words—"From all that I have heard lately, I should doubt the regiments of infantry being all of twelve hundred men; I am certain, however, that *the person who gives me the intelligence* believes they are so." And in his letter to Prince Wrede, enclosing the accounts of the army, on the same day, he says, "I write you two words in order to send you the results of the intelligence which *I have just received from France through a source sufficiently certain*." And to the Prince Schwartzberg on the same day—"I send you a note drawn from the intelligence which I have received to-day of the strength of the enemy, and of their disposition. The greater part of the army is on this frontier, and I have positive news that

the moment has arrived to conquer or die."

41. Wellington and Blücher, at this critical period, were well informed from the outset in regard to the positions and strength of the enemy; but they were impressed with the idea that the war was to be on their part an offensive one, and that Napoleon would never venture to attack on their own ground two armies, each of strength little inferior to his own. Should he do so, they relied upon secret information to be forwarded to them from Paris of his intended movements; and Wellington fully expected that if any attack was made on him, it would be on his right by the road of Mons and Ath, for which reason the whole British cavalry had been quartered in that direction.* Even so far back as in May preceding, the general orders he issued to his troops proved that he expected to be attacked, if an invasion was attempted, on the right.† The most rigorous measures had been adopted by the French to prevent any intelligence crossing the frontier; but notwithstanding that, Wellington knew on the 6th June that Napoleon was expected to be in Laon on that day, and that the number of troops collected in Maubeuge and the adjoining towns was immense; and he had long been aware that arrangements had been made to bring the Imperial Guard from Paris to Maubeuge in forty-eight hours.‡ In consequence, orders had been given

they have made arrangements that the Guard may arrive at Maubeuge in the space of forty-eight hours."—WELLINGTON to SCHWARTZENBERG, 16th May 1815; Gurwood, xii. 397. And in his letter of 18th June he says—"I have accounts from Paris of the 10th, on which day Napoleon was still there; and I judge from his speech to the legislature, that his departure was not likely to be immediate."—GURWOOD, xii. 462.

† WELLINGTON to LORD HILL, 30th April 1815; Gurwood.

‡ "All accounts from the frontier agree in the notice of a collection of troops about Maubeuge. Buonaparte was expected to be at Laon on the 6th; and there were, on all parts of the road between Paris and the frontier, extraordinary preparations for the movement of troops in carriages. The number of the latter collected is immense in some of the towns."—WELLINGTON to SIR H. HARDINGE, Brussels, 10th June 1815; Gurwood, xii. 449.

to declare Antwerp, Ypres, Tournay, Ath, Mons, and Ghent in a state of siege, the moment that the enemy crossed the frontier. On the 10th he received intelligence, which proved to be premature, that the Emperor had arrived in Maubeuge on the preceding day : * but till he was in possession of more authentic accounts, he did not deem it advisable to take any steps to concentrate his army ; and when the French troops, above a hundred and twenty thousand strong, who were perfectly concentrated in a square of four miles, crossed the frontier in front of Fleurus on the morning of the 15th, Wellington's men yet lay in their cantonments, from the Scheldt to Brussels and Nivelles ; and Blücher's, scattered over the frontier from thence to Liege—a distance for both armies of seventy-five miles broad, by from twenty to twenty-five deep—were only on their march to the point of rendezvous.

42. It was not, however, from the want of authentic accounts of the approach of the enemy that the troops were not concentrated. On the 12th

* "I have received intelligence that Buonaparte arrived at Maubeuge yesterday, and I believe he has gone along the frontier towards Lille." — WELLINGTON to SIR H. HARDINGE, *Brussels*, 10th June 1815 ; Gunwood, xii. 457.

† "On the 12th June Lieutenant-Colonel Von Weesel, whose regiment, the 1st Hussars of the King's German Legion, formed an extensive line of outposts in front of Tournay, reported to Major-General Sir H. Vivian, to whose brigade the regiment belonged, that he had ascertained, from information on which he could rely, that the French army had assembled on the frontier, and was prepared to attack. Vivian repaired to the outposts to verify this information, and learned that the French army was concentrating, and that if the Allies did not advance, they would attack. Vivian communicated what he had seen and heard to Lord Hill and the Earl of Uxbridge, by whom the circumstances were made known to the Duke of Wellington. His Grace, however, did not, for the reason before stated, think the proper moment had arrived for making any alteration in the disposition of his forces." — *Stratford*, ii. 48, 49.

‡ "Blücher had already arranged the reunion of his corps, according to information he had previously received from a drummer of the Old Guard, who had deserted while on sentry. The presence of the Old Guard was a sign sure and sufficient to alarm the enemy." — *Journal Campagne* of 1815, p. 148.

§ "During the night of the 13th, the light reflected upon the sky by the fires of the

June, information was communicated to the Duke that the French army was assembled on the frontier, and prepared to attack.† The arrival of the Imperial Guard at Avesnes on the 13th, was made known to the Prussian commander on the 14th, by a drummer of that corps who had deserted.‡ During the night of the 13th the bright light in the heavens to the west revealed to the vigilant outposts of Ziethen the concentration of a vast force in their front, which circumstance they at once reported : and on the 14th, intelligence was received of the arrival of Napoleon and Jerome at headquarters, which was immediately forwarded both to Blücher and Wellington. Late on the evening of the same day, Ziethen reported to Blücher that "strong columns of all arms were assembling in his front, and that everything portended an attack on the following morning."§ Upon receipt of this intelligence, the Prussian marshal immediately despatched orders for the concentration of his army at Ligny, which were despatched at eleven at

French bivouacs, did not escape the vigilant observation of Ziethen's outposts, whence it was communicated to the rear that these fires appeared to be in the direction of Beaumont, and in the vicinity of Solre-sur-Sambre, and on the following day (14th) intelligence was obtained of the arrival of Napoleon and his brother Jerome. Ziethen immediately communicated this information to Prince Blücher and to the Duke of Wellington. Nothing, however, was as yet positively known concerning the real point of concentration, the probable strength of the enemy, or his intended offensive movements. Late in the day, Ziethen ascertained through his outposts, that strong French corps, composed of all arms, were assembling in his front, and that everything portended an attack on the following morning. Ziethen's communication of this intelligence reached Blücher between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the 14th ; and simultaneous orders were despatched at eleven o'clock for the march of Bulow's corps d'armée from Liège to Hamut, of Pirch's from Namur to Sombrefe, and of Thielman from Chimay to Namur ; while Ziethen was directed to await the advance of the enemy in his position upon the Sambre ; and in the event of his being attacked by superior numbers and compelled to retire, to effect his retreat as slowly as circumstances would permit, in the direction of Fleurus, so as to afford sufficient time for the concentration of the other three corps in the rear of the latter point." — *Stratford*, ii. 54.

night. Still no steps were taken by Wellington to collect his troops; and so ignorant were those nearest the enemy of the danger which was impending, that, on the morning of the 15th, when the firing began near Charleroi, the Belgian videttes, who formed the advanced posts, conceived it was the Prussian artillery practice to which they had become accustomed.* Ziethen immediately warned Blücher of the invasion; but, by a strange oversight, he did not send similar information to the Duke of Wellington, who only heard of it from the Prince of Orange at half-past four P.M. at Brussels, instead of half-past ten or eleven A.M., when it might have reached him, had it been sent direct. So little did he expect an immediate attack, that on that very day (the 15th), and at the moment when Napoleon with his vast and concentrated army was already far advanced across the frontier into the space between the British and Prussian cantonments, he was so far from making any immediate preparations for a defensive struggle, that he was calmly writing a long letter to the Emperor Alexander at Brussels, detailing his plan for a general offensive campaign against Napoleon from the Alps to the sea, in which the first attack was to be made by the Russians and Austrians; while he anticipated no greater task, in the outset at least, for the British and Prussian armies, than to reduce the strongholds of Mauberge and Givet immediately in their front.† And for that very

* Early on the morning of the 15th, the Belgian troops which rested upon the Charleroi road, were lying quietly in their cantonments, perfectly unconscious of the advance of the French army; when they heard a brisk cannonade at a distance in the direction of Charleroi; but, not having received the slightest intimation of the enemy's approach, they concluded that the firing proceeded from the Prussian artillery practice, which they had frequently heard before, and becoming accustomed to.—*Simonds*, ii. 73.

† I see with the greatest satisfaction that we are quite agreed on the general base of the plan of operations; that is to say, to limit our extension by the necessity of means of subsistence for armies so immense; that the army of Italy ought to co-operate with the others, but upon a different basis; and that the centre of the grand army of operation,

night, the 15th, he had himself accepted, and allowed his staff-generals at Brussels to accept, invitations to a great ball at the Duchess of Richmond's in that city, which they all attended. In fact, the Duke had positive orders *not* to commence hostilities, the plan of the Allies being that the invasion of France should commence, as in 1814, from the Upper Rhine, and that the Anglo-Belgian army should act only in co-operation.‡

43. Although, however, both the British and Prussian armies were still in cantonments over an extent, for the two together, of seventy-five miles broad by twenty-five in depth, yet every arrangement had been made which skill and experience could suggest to render them capable of concentrating, and becoming ready either for offensive or defensive operations, on the shortest possible warning. The troops were all warned to be ready to march at a moment's notice; and the position of their cantonments, spreading out like a fan, of which Brussels was the centre, was such as at once furnished them at the moment with the supplies of which they respectively stood in need, and at the same time facilitated their concentration within a very short period, not exceeding twenty-four hours. Wellington's left, under the Prince of Orange, was cantoned between Mons and Nivelles, with Braine-le-Comte and Nivelles for its rallying points; the right, under Hill, extended towards Ath.§ Blücher himself was at Namur, and his powerful

that which will extend from the sea as far as Switzerland, ought to support either the right or the left, according to circumstances. This centre will be composed of the whole of your Majesty's troops; the right of Marshal Blücher's army, and of that under my orders; the left, of that under the immediate orders of Prince Schwartzberg. As to what concerns us here, I believe we will be obliged at least to lay siege to Mauberge."—*WELLINGTON TO ALEXANDER at Vienna—Brussels*, 15th June 1815; *Gurwood*, xii. 472.

‡ The Duke of Wellington had precise orders *not* to commence hostilities. It was Napoleon who sought the battle of Waterloo; it is impossible to restrain the destinies of such a nature."—*CHATEAUBRIAND'S Memoirs*, vi. 440.

§ The detailed position of Wellington's army was as follows:—The left wing, under

army, a hundred and ten thousand strong, was cantoned from Liege to Nivelles, where it came in contact with the British left. It consisted of four corps—viz, those of Ziethen, Pirch, Thielman, and Bulow; whose respective rallying points were Fleurus, Namur, Cinoy, and Liege. But a considerable part of the British army was at Brussels; some were at Oudenarde on the Scheldt; and so little was an immediate attack anticipated in the direction of Charleroi, that the whole British cavalry was on the extreme right on the banks of that river, with headquarters at Ninove, between the army and the sea, with posts between that river and the Lys, for the benefit of the rich pastures which its meadows afforded. "Wellington," says

the Prince of Orange, consisting of Cooke's and Alten's British, and Cerponcher's and Chasse's Dutch-Belgian divisions, was cantoned between Mons and Nivelles, with Nivelles, Braine-le-Comte, and Enghien for its rallying point. The right wing, under Hill, consisting of Clinton's and Colville's British, and two Dutch-Belgian divisions, extended from Ath to Oudenarde, with Grammont and Oudenarde for its rallying points. The reserve, consisting of Pictou's and Cole's British divisions, and the Brunswick, Hanoverian, and Nassau contingents, were quartered in the neighbourhood of Brussels. The British and German cavalry was stationed at Grammont, Ninove; and the banks of the Dinder. The Dutch-Belgian horse were at Rosix and Mons; the Brunswick dragoons in the vicinity of Brussels.

When General Bourmont was presented to Blücher, the latter expressed in strong terms his contempt for the faithless soldier. To appease him, and recall his attention to Bourmont's principles, some of the officers in attendance pointed to the white cockade in his hat; but the Prussian commander replied with characteristic honour and rudeness—"Bücherli war das Volk für einen Zeitel ansteckt! Hundsfott bleibt Hundsfott."—(It is all one what a man sticks in his hat for a mark—a scoundrel remains a scoundrel).—*RAUSCHNIK, Blücher's Leben, 223; BRACON, l. 56.*

The following reason for the Duke's policy on this occasion is given in the Memoirs bearing Fouché's name, though they are known to have been arranged by M. Alphonse de Beauchamps from the papers of that arch-traitor:—"My agents with Metternich and Lord Wellington had promised marvels and mountains; the English generalissimo expected that I should at the very least give him the plan of the campaign. I knew for certain that the unexpected attack would take place on the 16th or 15th at

Jomini, "believed Napoleon to be still at Paris, and only learned the approach of his army on the passage of the Sambre. But his troops, which had not yet moved from their cantonments, extending from Oudenarde on the Scheldt to Nivelles, were warned and ready to start at the first signal." Late on the evening of the 14th, General Bourmont deserted to the headquarters of Blücher from Napoleon's camp, and confirmed the accounts previously received of the impending attack, which induced the Prussian general to issue immediate orders for the concentration of his army.* But no corresponding steps were taken on the part of the Duke of Wellington, who did not get that last intelligence till the afternoon of the 15th.†

latest. Napoleon intended to give battle on the 17th to the English army, after having marched right over the Prussians on the preceding day. He had the more reason to trust to the success of that plan, that Wellington, deceived by false reports, believed the opening of the campaign might be deferred till the beginning of July. The success of Napoleon, therefore, depended on a surprise; and I arranged my plans in conformity. On the very day of the departure of Napoleon, I despatched Madame D—, furnished with notes written in cipher, containing the whole plan of the campaign. But at the same time I privately despatched orders for such obstacles at the frontier where she was to pass, that she could not arrive at the headquarters of Wellington till after the event. This was the real explanation of the inconceivable security of the generalissimo, which at the time excited such universal astonishment." Extraordinary as this story is, it derives confirmation from the following statement by Sir Walter Scott, who had access to the best sources of information, which he obtained at Paris a few weeks after the battle:—"I have understood," says he, "on good authority, that a person bearing for Lord Wellington's information, a detailed and authentic account of Buonaparte's plan for the campaign, was actually despatched from Paris in time to have reached Brussels before the commencement of hostilities. This communication was intrusted to a female, who was furnished with a pass from Fouché himself, and who travelled with all despatch in order to accomplish her mission; but being stopped for two days on the frontiers of France, did not arrive till after the battle of the 16th. This fact, for such I believe it to be, seems to countenance the opinion that Fouché maintained a correspondence with the Allies; and may lead, on the other hand, to suspicion, that though he despatched the intelligence in question, he contrived

44. At daybreak on the 15th, the French army crossed the frontier, and moved on Charleroi. The Prussian troops which occupied that town evacuated it, after a sharp skirmish, and retired to Fleurus. The French forces passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Chatelet. It was evident that the enemy were taken unawares, and Napoleon conceived sanguine hopes of being able to separate the British and Prussian armies. With this view, Ney was despatched with the left wing, consisting of Reille's and d'Erlon's corps, and Kellerman's heavy cavalry, in all forty-six thousand strong, with a hundred and sixteen guns and five thousand horse, to QUATRE BRAS: an important position, situated at the point of intersection of

the roads of Brussels, Nivelles, Charleroi, and Namur, which Wellington had fixed on as the rallying point of his army, and whither they all, when put in motion, tended. By the possession of this decisive post, the French might have cut off the communication between the British and Prussian armies, and have been in a situation to fall with a preponderating force on either at pleasure. Meanwhile Napoleon himself, with seventy-two thousand men, marched towards Fleurus, right against the Prussian army, which was concentrating with all imaginable expedition, and falling back towards LIGNY. Zieten slowly retired, contesting every tenable position, towards the general rallying point in his rear; but his loss was very considerable, and amounted

so to manage that its arrival should be too late for the purpose which it was calculated to serve. At all events, the appearance of the French on the banks of the Sambre was at Brussels an unexpected piece of intelligence."

—*Paul's Letters, Miscellaneous Works*, v. 79.—

It is remarkable that Scott's sagacity had, in this instance, divined the very solution of the question which Fouché afterwards stated in his *Memoirs* as a fact. To the same purpose Grolman Damitz says:—"Wellington believed that Napoleon would attempt nothing before the 1st July, and that his first operations would be directed against the right of the British. He was in expectation of a despatch from Fouché, giving him a detail of the plan of the campaign; and till he received it, he gave no credit to the accounts of any intended disruption by the enemy."

—GROLMAN DAMITZ, i. 103; see also *Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 123. On the other hand,

Wellington says, "Before my arrival in Paris, in the month of July, I had never seen Fouché, nor had any communication what-

over with him, nor with any of those who

are connected with him."—WELLINGTON to

DEMOURGNE, Sept. 26, 1815; Crawwood, xii.

649. If this statement were inconsistent

with the former, the Duke's high character

for truth and accuracy would have rendered

it decisive of the point; but in reality it is

not so. It only proves that the English general

had had no communication with Fouché

or those whom he knew to be his agents. It

does not prove that he was not in expecta-

tion of information from Paris, from persons

whom he was not aware were agents of the

French minister; and the wary character of

the veteran police diplomatist renders no-

thing more probable than that Wellington's

correspondents at Paris were, unknown to

the English general, his secret agents. That

he had such correspondents, and believed

on the whole he would not soon be attacked,

is proved by the Duke himself; for on the

13th June he wrote to Lord Lynedoch:—

"We have accounts of Buonaparte joining

the army and attacking us; but I have ac-

counts from Paris of the 10th, on which day

he was still there; and I judge from his

speech to the Legislature that his departure

was not likely to be immediate. I think we are

now too strong for him here."—GURWOOD, xii.

462. On the night of the day on which this

letter was written, Napoleon slept at Avesnes

in his own camp on the Flemish frontier;

and on the following evening, being the

14th, he issued to his troops the proclama-

tion already given, immediately before the

frontiers were crossed. The statement of

the expected female spy given by Scott and

Fouché is perhaps confirmed by an expres-

sion of Wellington's, which proves he did

expect such a secret emissary; for in his

letter of 14th May 1815, he said, address-

ing a M. Henoul, evidently a spy—"I beg

you will come here, in order that I may con-

fer with you as soon as possible, and I send you

some money for travelling expenses. If it is

possible, I think you would do well to bring

with you the lady in question."—WELLING-

TON to M. d'HANOU, *Brussels*, 14th May

1815; GURWOOD, xii. 388. Nay, so strongly

was the Duke impressed with the idea that

no immediate attack was in contemplation,

that on the 15th June, the very day on

which the French, at four in the morning,

crossed the frontier, and burst into the midst

of the allied cantonments, he was calmly

engaged in writing a long and able letter to

the Emperor Alexander at Vienna, on the

general plan of the campaign, already ex-

tracted, which was based on a general inva-

sion of France by the Russians, Prussians,

Austrians, and English, in three armies,

operating from Flanders to the Swiss fron-

tier, which concluded with these words:

"Marshal Blücher thinks that the position

of Orléans will be of no utility to him; but I

believe we will have means sufficient for all

during the day to twelve hundred men. A sharp action took place at Charleroi, and bloody skirmishes at Gossillies and Gilly; but, though the Prussians fought bravely, they could not much retard the advance of their numerous assailants. It was in the afternoon of the 15th, at half-past four, that Wellington received this intelligence at Brussels: orders were despatched, upon the receipt of later and fuller accounts, at half-past seven, to the troops in every direction to concentrate at Quatre Bras; and after they had been sent off, he dressed and went with characteristic calmness and *sang-froid* to the ball at the Duchess of Richmond's, where his manner was so undisturbed, that no one discovered that any intelligence of importance had arrived. Many brave

men were there assembled amidst the scenes of festivity, and surrounded by the smiles of beauty, who were ere long locked in the arms of death.*

45. Blücher's army, with the exception of the fourth corps under Bulow, which, being stationed on the extreme left, between Liege and Hannut, had not yet come up, was concentrated on the forenoon of the 16th on the heights between Brye and Sombrefe, with the villages of St Amand and Ligny strongly occupied in its front. This position, though liable to many objections,† had some advantages; for the villages in front afforded shelter to the troops; and the artillery, placed on the semi-circular convex ridge between them, commanded the whole field of battle; while the slope behind, surmounted

that it will be necessary for us to do."—WELLINGTON, à L'EMPEREUR ALEXANDER, *Brussels*, 16th June 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 470, 472. Nothing could be more proper than to make these general arrangements for future offensive movements; but they afford demonstration that an immediate desperate defensive struggle was at that time not contemplated. At the moment that this letter was written, Napoleon was far advanced across the frontier, and had passed Charleroi, in his attack on the Prussian cantonments; and in the course of the same evening intelligence of this arrived, and orders to collect the troops with all possible expedition were issued by the Duke.—See GURWOOD, xii. 471, 472. A great military writer, accordingly, states it as a point concerning which there can be no doubt, that both the allied generals were surprised in the outset of the Waterloo campaign:—"The enemy," says Jomini, "were so ill informed of our movements, that their armies were not yet collected. Blücher had one of his corps at Charleroi, another at Namur, the third at Dinant, and finally, the fourth at Liege. Wellington's army had not yet started from the cantonments it occupied, from the Scheldt to Nivelles."—JOMINI, *Life of Napoleon*, iv. 625. To the same purport it is stated by a gallant British officer, himself personally engaged in the outposts when the irruption of Napoleon began:—"It is a historical fact which cannot be denied, that at daybreak on the morning of the 15th June 1815, the allied army under the command of the Duke of Wellington was suddenly attacked in its cantonments by the French, headed by Napoleon, who by this unexpected movement obtained the military advantage of encountering separately the Prussian army on the afternoon of the 16th at Fricourt, and the English army on the morning of the 18th at Waterloo, before these two forces could successfully combine against him, neither did it meet on the 15th, after the

two great battles alluded to had been fought. Napoleon, by sovereign authority, wielded with admirable skill, prevented the intelligence of his movements from preceding his attack upon the cantonments of the Allies."—SIR FRANCIS HEAD, *Memorandum on Waterloo*. *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxii. 202, 203. The opinion of a most able military writer, General Clausewitz, is strongly expressed to the same effect.—See CLAUSEWITZ, viii. 62, 63; and *Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 128.

"There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her beauty and her chivalry; and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;

A thousand hearts beat happily, and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake
again.

And all went merry as a marriage bell:
But hush! hark!—a deep sound strikes
like a rising knell."

Child's Parody, Canto III.

† "The position of the Prussians was full of difficulties in its front, which covered the rivulet of Ligny; the left extended to the environs of Sombrefe and Tongrin; the right, behind Saint Amand. This large borough, formed of three distinct villages (which bear the name of Saint Amand, le Château, Saint Amand la Haie, and Saint Amand le Hameau), projected the right wing, of which the flank rested on Wagnelle; the second line and the reserves were between Sombrefe and Brye. Thus six large villages, of which four were difficult of approach on account of the rivulet, covered, like so many bastions, the line of the enemy; their reserves and second line, placed in columns of attack by battalions, between Sombrefe and Brye, were able to maintain all the points."—JOMINI, *Campaign of 1815*, p. 168.

by the windmill of Bussy, formed a strong *point-d'appui* in case of disaster. It was attended, however, by this inconvenience, that the whole Prussian force was exposed to the view of the French, while part of their army was concealed from the Prussians—an advantage of which Napoleon skilfully availed himself in the battle which followed. Although the fourth corps under Bulow, which was on the extreme left at Liege, had not yet come up, the Prussian field-marshal had assembled eighty-four thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were cavalry, with two hundred and twenty-four guns. The four brigades of Ziethen's corps, formed in the first line, defended Ligny and St Amand; those of Pirch were in the second, between Sombreffe and Brye, and were successively brought up to support the front. The left, under Thielman, which had only arrived at nine o'clock in the morning, extended towards Tongrue. Blucher was well aware of the disadvantages, in a military point of view, with which the position of Ligny was attended, especially when defended by three-fourths only of his whole force: but his object in holding it was to secure his communication with Wellington, by whom he confidently expected to be supported before the conflict was seriously engaged. He had had a conference that morning at eleven with the English general at the windmill of Brye, from whom he had received promises of aid by an attack in flank on the French army at four o'clock.

46. Napoleon's force was less numerous: it consisted of seventy-three thousand men, of whom twelve thousand were cavalry, with two hundred and forty-eight guns. The Emperor's orders to Ney had been to move early in the morning, and occupy Quatre Bras before the English army was assembled, and, having left a strong detachment there, advance with half his forces on Brye, so as to fall on the rear of the Prussians and complete their destruction. The attack in front was not to commence till Ney's guns in the rear showed that he had reached his destined point; and Napoleon waited im-

patiently, with his army ready drawn up, till three o'clock in the afternoon, expecting the much-wished-for signal. But not a sound was heard in that direction, while the loud and increasing cannonade on the side of Quatre Bras, which was only three miles and a half distant, told clearly that a desperate combat was going on there. There was now not a moment then to lose if the Prussian army was to be attacked before the fourth corps under Bulow came up; and the Emperor at half-past three o'clock gave the signal for attack.

47. The better to conceal his real designs, Napoleon made great demonstrations against St Amand on his left; but meanwhile he collected his principal force, concealed from the enemy, opposite the Prussian centre at Ligny, which was to be the real point of attack; while, on his right, Grouchy, with Excelmans' and Pajol's corps of cavalry, was directed merely to hold in check the Prussian left. St Amand was carried, after a vigorous resistance, by the French corps under Vandamme, assisted by a division of Reille's corps; and no sooner was the enemy's attention fixed on that quarter, whither reinforcements were directed by Blucher, who retook the village only to be again driven out by the French, than Napoleon's centre, consisting of the 4th corps, fifteen thousand strong, commanded by Gerard, issued from behind the heights by which it was concealed, crossed the streamlet of Ligny, and, pushing up the opposite bank, commenced a furious assault on the village of the same name. But if the attack was vehement, the resistance was not less obstinate: three times Ligny was taken by the impetuous assault of the French grenadiers, and three times the Prussians, with invincible resolution, returned to the charge, and with desperate valour regained the post at the point of the bayonet. Intermingled with the incessant discharge of musketry in the village, came forth alternately the war-cries of the opposite sides; and at every instant when the fire slackened, the loud shouts of "*En avant, Vive*

l'Empereur!" or "Vorwärts, hurrah!" were heard above the roar of the artillery, which thundered from the opposite heights. Volumes of dark smoke, intermingled with flames, issued from the old castle of Ligny, and added to the awful character of the scene. Each army had behind its own side of the village immense masses of men, with which the combat was constantly fed; and at length the struggle became so desperate, that neither party could completely, by bringing up fresh columns, expel the enemy. Still they fought hand to hand in the streets and houses with unconquerable resolution; while the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, directed on the two sides against the village, spread death equally among friend and foe. At six o'clock, after two hours' furious combat, nothing was yet decided; and Blücher, by directing in person a fresh corps against St Amand la Haye, had retaken part of the village called St Amand la Haye, and an important height adjoining, commanding a large part of the field of battle. So impressed was the veteran field-marshal with the importance of this last attack, that he galloped to the front and said to the leading column, "Now, my children! show yourselves; don't let the great nation lord it over you: forward, in God's name, forward!" So far the Prussian general was successful; but an attack which he directed against Wagnelle, on his extreme right, was repulsed with great slaughter.

48. Napoleon, however, no sooner saw this advantage than he ordered up fresh columns, and vigorously attacked St Amand la Haye, both in front and flank. By degrees Blücher's reserves began to be engaged, and his position became very critical; for the attack of the French centre continued with unparalleled vigour, and neither Bülow's corps had come up on the one flank, nor the much-wished-for British succour on the other. Both parties, almost equally exhausted, despatched the most urgent orders to their other corps or Allies to join them; that of Napoleon at this juncture was so pressing, that he declared to Ney that the fate

of France depended on his instantly obeying it,* and he at the same time ordered d'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, forming that marshal's reserve, forthwith to defile towards Ligny. Ney, however, so far from being in a condition to make the prescribed movement, was himself with difficulty contending against defeat at Quatre Bras. Meanwhile the fight continued with unparalleled vigour both in Ligny and St Amand. Every house, as at Saragossa, became the theatre of a separate and desperate conflict; the troops fought no longer in combined order, but personally, or in detached groups; and when ammunition failed, the bayonet or butt-end of the musket, nay, even the stones of the fallen houses, and the yet burning rafters of the roofs, supplied the rage of the combatants. The entire village was concealed in smoke, from whence were heard, above the rattle of musketry, the yells and cries of the combatants, the crash of falling roofs, and smashing of doors and windows. Presently the French artillery of the Guard was brought up, and opened a terrible fire on the village. The Prussian reserve batteries came also into play; and so furious was the cannonade, that it seemed as if, by an awful earthquake, the valley had been rent asunder, and Ligny had become the crater of a burning volcano.

49. At seven o'clock d'Erlon's corps, which had been stationed by Ney in reserve two leagues from Quatre Bras, withdrawn thence by the positive orders of the Emperor, made its appearance on the extreme Prussian right, beyond St Amand. They were at first taken for Prussians, and excited no small alarm in the French army; but no sooner was the mistake discovered,

* "At this moment, Marshal, the armies are warmly engaged. His majesty commands me to direct you instantly to envelop the right of the enemy and fall on his rear: his army is lost if you act vigorously; the fate of France is in your hands. Do not lose a moment in making the prescribed movement, and march direct on the heights of Brye and St Amand, to contribute to the victory which will probably prove decisive."—*Report to Napoleon, 16th June 1815, a quarter past three*: CAMBRIDGE, II. 451, 452.

than fear gave place to confidence, and Napoleon, now entirely relieved, brought forward his Guards and reserves for a decisive attack on the centre. The Hameau de St Amand, a group of houses forming a salient angle between St Amand la Haye and Wagnelle, had been carried by storm by the Prussians of Tippielskirchen's brigade, and the French made the utmost efforts to make themselves masters of it, as it was the key of that part of the position. Four times also had St Amand la Haye yielded to their impetuous assaults, and four times the loud hurrah of the Prussians told that they had regained the post. So vehement did the contest become at this point, that when the fire of the Prussians in the village began to slacken from having expended their ammunition, the 11th hussars, who were stationed in its rear, rushed into the midst of them and supplied them with their own cartridges; an act of devotion to which many of themselves fell sacrifices. Blücher's anxiety to retain this post, as well as Ligny, till the arrival of Wellington on the right or Dülw on the left, was extreme: and he incessantly fed the contest in the villages with fresh troops, until at length his last reserves were engaged. "Forward, my lads! we must do something before the English join us," exclaimed the veteran field-marshal, as he cheered on his men to join the deadly strife: but, meanwhile, the expending of his last reserves did not escape the eagle eye of the French Emperor. "They are lost!" said he to Gérard, as he cast his eyes on the vacant ground behind Ligny: "they have no reserve remaining." Immediately the formidable infantry and cavalry of the Guard were ordered forward for the decisive charge, and directed upon the Prussian line immediately to the right of Ligny, so as to turn that important post.

50. Milhaud's terrible cuirassiers advanced at the gallop, shaking their sabres in the air; the artillery of the Guard under Drouot moved up, pouring forth with extraordinary rapidity its dreadful fire; and in the rear of

all, the dense columns of the Old Guard were seen moving forward, with a swift pace and unbroken array. This attack, supported by the appearance of d'Erlon's column in the distance, and the opportune arrival of Lobau's, who coming up at this instant was posted in reserve on the right of Fleurus, proved decisive. Milhaud, with twenty squadrons of cuirassiers, charged home on the right flank of the 21st Prussian regiment, which, albeit wearied and sorely weakened by the contest, was yet coming up with an undaunted front to meet the advancing columns, and utterly overthrew it. The fugitives spread the alarm far in the rear. The few battalions of infantry posted behind Ligny began to retire; the bloodstained street of the village fell into the enemy's hands; and in the confusion of a retreat, commenced just as darkness overspread the field, the troops naturally fell into some degree of disorder. The cannon, in retiring through the narrow lanes behind Ligny, got entangled, and twenty-one pieces fell into the enemy's hands. The veteran Blücher himself, charging at the head of a body of cavalry to retard the enemy's pursuit, had his horse shot under him, and he fell beneath it. "Now," said he to his aide-de-camp Nostitz, "I am lost." But that faithful officer stood by his side, and succeeded in the end in saving him. "Why have you saved my life," said Blücher to him, "to bring me into this strait?" The Prussian horse, overpowered by the French cuirassiers, were driven back, and the victorious French rode straight over the Prussian marshal as he lay entangled below his dying steed. A second charge of Prussian horse repulsed the cuirassiers; but they, too, in the dark passed the marshal without seeing him, and it was not till they were returning that he was recognised, and with some difficulty extricated from the dead animal, and mounted on a stray dragoon horse. The loss of the French in the battle was six thousand nine hundred men; while the Prussians were weakened by twelve thousand, and lost four standards and twenty-one pieces of cannon. But ten

thousand more, almost entirely composed of the levies from the Prussian provinces on the Rhine, who were in secret inclined to Napoleon, dispersed after the action, and were lost to the allied cause.*

51. While this desperate conflict was raging on the left of the allied position, an encounter, on a less extensive scale, but equally desperate and more successful to the Allies, took place between Wellington and Ney at Quatre Bras. At midnight on the 15th, the drums beat and the trumpets sounded in every quarter of Brussels: at daylight the troops assembled at their several rallying points, and were rapidly marched off to meet the enemy. The Highland regiments, the 42d, 79th, and 92d, which had their rallying point in the Park and Place Royal, were particularly remarked for the earliness of their muster, the discipline and precision of their movements, and the air, at once grave and undaunted, with which they marched out of the town. Quatre Bras was the point of union assigned to the whole army; but as its distance from Brussels was not above eighteen miles, and other corps of the army,

particularly the English cavalry and artillery, had, some twenty-five, some thirty miles to march, they arrived at different times; and Picton's division, with the Brunswickers, were first of those who came up from behind on the ground. A brigade of the Belgian troops had been assailed the evening before by Ney's advanced guard at Frasnes, and retreated to Quatre Bras, where ten thousand of their countrymen were assembled under the Prince of Orange. Had Ney attacked early and with vigour, he would probably have made himself master of this important point before the British troops arrived from Brussels. But he moved with such circumspection, that it was not till noon that he advanced from Gosselies,† where he had passed the night, and it was half-past two before he had collected any considerable force in front of Quatre Bras, by which time Picton's division and the Brunswickers were near the field. But their whole force, with the Belgians, did not exceed at that time twenty thousand, all infantry,‡ with twenty-eight guns; and Ney had in all more than double the number of troops, § of whom five

* The Prussian loss in the battle, according to their official account, was:—

	Officers.	Men.
Killed,	86	3441
Wounded,	306	8265
	372	11,706

and 16 guns.—*Die Grosse Chronik*, iii. 207, 208.

† Ney's orders were in these terms:—"The intention of his Majesty is that you attack all that is before you; that after having vigorously pressed it, you will fall back upon us, that we may unite in surrounding the corps of the enemy between Sombref and Brye. If this corps were routed, then his Majesty would manoeuvre in your direction, in order to facilitate equally your operations." *At the bivouac before Fleurus, at 2 o'clock p.m. of the 16th.*—JOMINI, *Campaign of 1815*, p. 168.

‡ Allied forces at the beginning of the action.

18,090 Infantry.
2,004 Cavalry (Belgians).

French at do. to field.

15,750 Infantry.
1,865 Cavalry.

20,094 and 28 guns.

17,615 and 38 guns.

Kellerman came up about five o'clock, and when this was done the French had 5165 cavalry, and 50 guns.

§ French forces under Ney originally:—

Second corps (Reille),
First corps (d'Erion),

Infantry.	Guns.
23,420 and	46
18,420	46

Infantry,

41,840

Cuirassiers,

Light horse,

Cavalry and guns,

4,948 24

Total,

46,788 116

—Gouraud, p. 47. Only half of this force, however, fought at Quatre Bras, the corps of d'Erion being sent off to Ligny.

thousand were cavalry, with a hundred and sixteen pieces of cannon.

52. It was well for the British corps that the French marshal did not concentrate his whole army together, and commence his attack with his united force; for if so, they must inevitably have been crushed. But Napoleon's orders to reserve a large body in hand to strike the decisive blow against the Prussians at Ligny, led him to leave d'Erlon with nineteen thousand men in reserve near Gosselies, to be at hand to support the Emperor at Ligny. In effect, the approach of that corps, as already mentioned, had a material influence on the battle at that place, though they did not actually take part in it. Ney himself, with eighteen thousand foot, eighteen hundred and fifty cavalry, and forty-six guns, commenced the attack at Quatre Bras. The Belgians were soon overthrown; but, as they were retiring from the field, a broad line of red uniforms, to the inexpressible joy of the Prince of Orange, was seen on the road from Brussels; and soon after, Picton's division and the Duke of Brunswick's men came up in haste and covered with dust. Instantly forming with great precision when they got in sight of the enemy, along the Namur road, the British division in front, and the Hanoverian brigade in a second line, they prepared to receive their attack. The Allies were now equal in number to the French, both being somewhat above twenty thousand; but the former had not above twenty-eight guns, and no horse, except some squadrons of Brunswick hussars, which gave the enemy at first a decided advantage. The Belgians, indeed, had two thousand cavalry on the field; but they never could be brought to face the enemy, and, when led forward to the charge, fled with such precipitation, in an early period of the action, that they swept the Duke of Wellington and his staff with them through Quatre Bras, and were not again seen on the field. The Duke now ordered part of the Brunswickers to move up on his right, between the Charleroi road and the Bois de Bossu, whilst he caused Kempt and Pack

to advance, bringing up their right shoulders, so as to occupy the ground between that road and the wood of Piermont. Two heavy French masses, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced to meet them; the skirmishers drew off as the adverse lines approached; gradually the French fire slackened, and their columns began to waver; then, uniting with a mighty shout, the British rushed on with lowered bayonets, and drove their opponents back in confusion to their original position.

53. Upon this the French cavalry rode with the utmost gallantry close up to the British infantry, now wholly denuded of horsemen, and assailed them with such rapidity that the sabres were upon more than one regiment before they had time to form square. The 42d, in particular, were charged in the middle of a field of tall rye; two companies had not fallen back into the square when the lancers were upon them, and they were driven back upon it, followed by some of the horse, and were almost cut to pieces, with their brave colonel, Sir Robert Macara, who was killed on the spot. The French horsemen, however, paid dear for their success; for a well directed volley from the remainder of the regiment stretched many of them on the plain, and the men, closing rapidly in, bayoneted such as had penetrated into the square. Meanwhile Pack's brigade, consisting of the Royals, 42d, 44th, and 92d, which here upheld their noble character, succeeded, after an arduous conflict, in repulsing the enemy on the left of the high-road. The third of these regiments being suddenly assailed by lancers in rear, when engaged in front, and having no time to form square,* performed the astonishing feat of receiving the cavalry

* The colonel of the 44th, Hammerton, when he heard the rush of horsemen in his rear, calmly called out, "Rear rank, right-about face—Present—Fire." The effect of the volley *in time*, at twenty paces' distance, was very great; but some of the boldest of the lancers reached the bayonets, and one struck Ensign Christie severely in the face; but that heroic officer, amidst all the agony of the wound, preserved the colours by throwing himself on his face.—SHEPHERD, i. 119, 121.

in line, and defeating it by a single well-directed discharge of the rear rank, who faced about for that purpose. At the same time the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th, forming Kempt's brigade, maintained their ground on the left; and although the French troops, both cavalry and infantry, fought with the utmost fury, and repeatedly rode up to the very bayonets of the soldiers, calling out, "Down with the English!—no quarter!—no quarter!" and the enemy's cannon with unresisted fire made dreadful havoc in the British squares; yet little ground was gained, and Quatre Bras was still in the hands of the allied troops, though the enemy's horse repeatedly rode up to its streets.

54. In no action of the war did the British combat to greater disadvantage, or with more desperate valour, than here, from half-past two, when the battle commenced, till three o'clock, when Wellington in person arrived. He had just galloped across from Brye, where he had had a conference, as already mentioned, with Blücher, on their joint operations, and expressed his doubts to the Prussian general on the nature of the ground he had chosen for the battle. Confident in his great superiority, especially in cavalry and artillery, Ney pushed his advantage to the utmost. Anxious to fulfil the instructions he had received, and repulse the British before their reinforcements arrived, so as to be able to fall with the bulk of his forces on the Prussians when engaged with the Emperor at Ligny, he made the attack with all his accustomed vigour. Foy's division assailed Quatre Bras; Bacheluz the village of Piermont; while on the extreme French left, the wood of Bossu was carried, after a bloody combat, by Jérôme. In consequence of the British having few cannon, and, after the flight of the Belgian horse, no cavalry, the whole weight of the conflict fell on the infantry, who had no resources but to throw themselves with all possible rapidity into squares. The opportune arrival of Kellerman, with his division of cavalry, nineteen hundred strong, on the field at this time,

which raised his horse to above five thousand, enabled Ney to employ that arm with fatal effect. The 42d and 44th, now formed in square, were charged so frequently to the very bayonets of the soldiers, that nothing but their extreme steadiness saved them from destruction. The 28th was assailed suddenly on three faces at once, by cuirassiers and lancers. "28th, remember Egypt!" exclaimed Picton, who was in the inside;* and motionless the men stood with their muskets in their hands. Not a voice was heard in the square but that of the colonel, who called aloud, "Ready!" The high corn concealed the horsemen from the foot-soldiers; but soon a hollow rush was heard, the corn-blades bent suddenly forward, and the lances of the enemy appeared within twenty paces. The word "Fire!" was then given by the colonel;† each front of the squares poured in a deadly volley, and the proud horsemen were instantly scattered in every direction: a rolling fire from the rear ranks completed their defeat.

55. Notwithstanding their heroic resistance, however, the combat, from the want of cavalry and the scanty artillery on the side of the British, was for long unequal. The Bois de Bossu, a post of great moment, as it entirely covered the English right flank, had been at length lost; and the squares in the open fields, sorely reduced by the grape-shot of the batteries, could hardly close up with sufficient rapidity to withstand the repeated and desperate charges of Kellerman's horse. The men were becoming impatient under the dreadful fire of cannon to which, from being necessarily stationary through the want of cavalry, they were exposed, and repeatedly asked, "When shall we be at them?" The heroic resistance of the 42d and 44th, now sorely reduced, was watched with intense anxiety by Picton, who, despairing of getting the Belgian horse, which had fled from the field, to face the enemy, and having no other cavalry at his disposal, resolved on the bold measure of charging the enemy's cuirassiers and

* See Chap. XXIV. § 31.

† Sir Philip Boscawen.

lancers with infantry. For this purpose, he formed the Royals and 28th into column, and, placing himself with Kempt at their head, followed by the 32d, plunged headlong, with loud shouts, into the midst of the enemy's cavalry. They were immediately charged on all sides by lancers and cuirassiers; but, although entirely enveloped by their furious assailants, they repelled every attack by the precision of their fire; and effectually took the pressure off the 42d and 44th. Viewed from a distance, the British squares could not be seen amidst the surging multitude of horsemen by which they were surrounded, until their places were made apparent by a sudden volley, which, like the explosion of a bomb, scattered the assailing squadrons in every direction. But still the conflict was very doubtful; and the Belgian infantry, seven thousand five hundred strong, were so panic-struck that they abandoned the field, leaving the British, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, not above twelve thousand in all, to withstand double that number of French, including five thousand admirable horse.

56. Despite all their gallantry, the situation of the British had now become very critical, when the two infantry brigades of the 3d division, under Lieutenant-General Count Alten, most opportunely arrived on the field about six o'clock, accompanied by two batteries of foot-artillery. This reinforcement, which added five thousand five hundred admirable soldiers and twelve guns to the British ranks, in some degree restored the equality of the opposite forces, as Ney had twenty thousand men and fifty guns; but his five thousand horse still gave him a vast advantage in that arm. Halket's brigade, which headed the reinforcement, was immediately directed towards the French left, between the wood of Bossu and the Charleroi road, while Kielmansegge's brigade, which followed, received orders to strengthen the extreme British left, where the troops which had so long fought with the cavalry were much reduced in numbers, and nearly exhausted by fatigue.

Ney, upon perceiving this accession to the allied forces, despatched a peremptory order to d'Erlon, to join him with his whole corps without a moment's delay—a step which exercised, as will appear in the sequel, a most important, perhaps decisive, influence on the fate of the campaign. At the same time, he strongly reinforced his troops in the wood of Bossu, and, by a redoubled discharge from all his guns, prepared a fresh attack. The 42d and 44th were now formed into one square, and, with the 30th, which also got into the same formation, again repelled a formidable attack of French lancers. But the 69th was not equally fortunate; for, before the square could be completed, Kellerman's dragoons attacked and broke it, taking its colours; and, sweeping on, again assailed Picton's wearied bands, which only repelled their assaults by their unvarying steadiness in square. The resistance was most vigorous at every point; but the Allies, destitute of horse, were threatened with being turned on either flank; and Ney, deeming success secure, despatched the taken colours of the 69th as a harbinger of victory to the Emperor.

57. At length, at half-past six, two brigades of Guards, under Maitland and Byng, arrived with some other troops, which raised the Allies in the field to twenty-eight thousand men and sixty-eight guns. The men were covered with dust and dropping with sweat, after a toilsome march of eighteen miles from Enghien. They were immediately ordered by Wellington to retake the wood of Bossu, which they did in the most gallant style; but as soon as they attempted to debouch on the other side, their advance was checked by a tremendous fire of round-shot and canister from the French batteries; and they were driven back into the cover of the trees with great slaughter. A vehement charge of French horse on the disordered Guards, which followed, was repulsed by a volley from the men under cover of the ditch of the wood. Encouraged by this success, they held the wood, and every effort of the enemy to expel them from it was defeated with heavy loss.

Such, however, was the fatigue of the Guards with this obstinate conflict, that many fainted among the trees from absolute exhaustion, when in the act of cheering on their more robust comrades. This desperate struggle continued for nearly three hours, without any decided advantage being gained on either side; but, as night approached, it was evident that the enemy's attacks were growing weaker, while the successive arrival of the remainder of Cooke's Guards inspired fresh ardour in the wearied British.

58. Still none of the cavalry had appeared, nor did the first brigade of British horse arrive on the ground till late in the evening; the greater part not till midnight, after the conflict had entirely ceased. Meanwhile Ney, with Reille's corps and the cuirassiers, was making the most desperate efforts to force the English from their position. But such was the rapidity and precision of the British fire, that all his efforts proved ineffectual; and towards seven, when Alten and the Guards, and a troop of horse-artillery, had come up, it became evident that the weight of force had inclined to the British side. The French marshal, however, accustomed to victory, and trusting to the support of d'Erlon's corps, which he every moment expected to arrive on the field, continued his attacks with the utmost impetuosity. But the withdrawing of that powerful reserve, which would probably have changed the fortune of the day, without benefiting Napoleon, proved fatal to Ney. His last attacks were all repulsed with great loss; and at length, stung to the quick by their failure, finding that d'Erlon had not come up, he sent a positive order for him to retrace his steps from Ligny, where he had produced an impression on the flank of the Prussians; but he did not arrive till after it was dark, and when the battle was already lost. Wellington, seeing the pressure on his wings and centre relieved, ordered a general advance; and the line, with loud shouts, moved forward to the position of the French, who retired with precipitation. Ney at nightfall retreated

to Frasnès, a mile from the field of battle; and Wellington's men, wearied alike with marching and fighting, lay on the ground on which they had fought at Quatre Bras, surrounded by the dead and the dying.

59. In this bloody combat, the British and Hanoverians had three hundred and fifty killed, two thousand three hundred and eighty wounded, and a hundred and seventy-two made prisoners. The loss of the Belgians and Brunswickers was thirteen hundred more—in all, five thousand two hundred men. The French loss amounted to four thousand one hundred and forty; and the fact of the repulsed army sustaining a smaller loss than the victorious one, is easily explained by the circumstance, that during the greater part of the day the British infantry, without cavalry, and but little artillery, combated against the French, who had fifty guns and five thousand admirable horsemen in their ranks. Among the killed was the gallant Duke of Brunswick,* who nobly fell while rallying his men, when they were suffering dreadfully under the fire of the French artillery. No guns and few prisoners were taken on either side; for the French having commenced the combat with giving no quarter, and evinced unparalleled exasperation during the whole day, the British troops were driven into a sanguinary species of combat, alike foreign to their previous habits and present inclinations.

60. During the night of the 16th, Wellington received intelligence of the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, and that they were retreating in great confusion in the direction of Wavre. Although, however, the troops of the Rhenish provinces, to the number of nearly ten thousand, left their colours and fled to Liège and Aix-la-Chapelle before they halted, yet not a man was missing from the provinces of Old Prussia, and several fresh troops joined from that of Munster. Among these steady bands the spirit of the men was neither tamed nor weakened. Un-

* "This noble chief had exhibited the utmost coolness during this trying day."—*SMITH*, i. 114, 116.

broken confidence was placed in the aged chief who had so often led them to victory; and above all, in the energy with which he had been known on many former occasions to repair disaster. Nor was this confidence misplaced. Blücher, on this trying occasion, proved himself worthy of heading the vanguard of the mighty host which combated for the independence of Europe. Placing full reliance on the resources of his own mind, and on the stern resolution of his men, he directed his whole energies to the one great object—the concentration of the whole forces in both armies to crush Napoleon. His line of retreat was directed by Tilly and Gentinne to Wavre, in order to be still in communication with the English forces. The reserve parks were brought up, in order to be ready for another battle; while Thielman's corps, which covered the movement, was to march upon Gembloux, where, having formed a junction with Bulow, who was coming up from Hannut, the two united were to fall back upon Wavre, where, upon the evening of the 17th, the whole Prussian army was actually concentrated; the battering train was withdrawn from Liège to Maestricht; and everything which skill or prudence could suggest was done to put the army in the most efficient state. "We have lost one battle," said Gneisenau: "we must gain another." Despatches were sent off to Wellington, announcing Blücher's readiness "to co-operate in a general engagement on the following day in front of Waterloo, not with two corps only, but with his whole army, provided, if the French did not attack them on the 18th, they should attack them on the 19th;" and a noble proclamation was issued to his troops, which concluded with the prophetic words—"I shall immediately lead you anew against the enemy; we shall beat him, for it is our duty to do so."

61. The English general at once saw that he could not maintain his position at Quatre Bras, when his left flank was uncovered by the retreat of the Prussians, and also, that by retiring to Waterloo, he would be so near Blücher that they would be able to aid each

other in case of attack. Accordingly, at ten o'clock next morning, the British army, which was by that time in great part concentrated, sixty thousand strong, at Quatre Bras, retreated through Genappe to WATERLOO. Napoleon, according to his usual custom, rode over the ghastly field of battle at Ligny on the morning after the conflict, and observed with satisfaction the great proportion which the Prussian dead, lying around that village, bore to the loss of the French. From that, after directing Grouchy, under whose orders he placed Vandamme's and Gerard's corps, with one of Lobau's divisions, and Exelmans' corps of heavy cavalry, with one of Pajol's light-horse divisions, he moved with his staff and Guards, and the two remaining divisions of Lobau's corps to Quatre Bras, from which Wellington had recently before retired on his road to Waterloo. His instructions to Grouchy were "to follow up the Prussians and complete their defeat." So rudely, however, had the French been handled on the field of battle on the preceding day, that no attempt was made by them to disturb the retreat of either army, excepting by a large body of lancers, which, about four o'clock, in the afternoon, charged the English cavalry who were covering the retreat between Genappe and Waterloo. The day was oppressively hot, and the atmosphere close with the sulphurous clouds which bespeak an approaching thunderstorm. Not a drop of rain, however, had yet fallen, when, on the discharge of the first gun from the British horse-artillery on the right, the concussion seemed to rebound like an electric shock to the heavily charged mass above; a tremendous clap of thunder followed, and the rain instantly fell in such torrents, as in a few minutes to flood the ground, and for a period stop all movements on both sides.* When the weather cleared

* "Eripunt subito nubes ocelumque, diem-
qua,
Teurorum ex oculis, ponto nox incubat
atra.
Intonere poli, et crebris micat ignibus
æther:
Præsentemque viris intentant omnia mor-
tem." *Æneid*, l. 88.

up, the English heavy cavalry, under Lord Uxbridge and Ponsonby, retired through Genappe, leaving the 7th hussars in that town to check the enemy. The French lancers in the first instance drove that regiment, supported by a few other squadrons which covered the rear, through the street; as, in spite of the gallantry of that distinguished corps, its light horses and the sabres of the riders were unequally matched, in a close charge, with the lancers of France. This was in an especial manner the case in the narrow chaussée of Genappe, where the conflict took place, and where the lances, like the spears of the Macedonian phalanx, presented an impenetrable front. Major Hodge of the 7th, who bravely led his corps, and the commander of the lancers, were both killed in close fight, combating at the head of their men.

62. Lord Uxbridge, now the Marquis of Anglesea, no sooner perceived this, than he charged in person at the head of the first Life-Guards. These magnificent troops, albeit unprotected by armour, bore down upon the French horsemen with such vigour, as they were ascending the slope on the other side of Genappe, that the shock was irresistible, and in a few minutes the lancers were totally defeated, and driven with great slaughter headlong through the town. No farther serious attempt was made by the enemy to disquiet the retreat, which was conducted with perfect regularity and the utmost skill by the English general. Wellington retired with his whole troops to the front of the forest of Soignies, where he took up his position on either side of the high-road from Charleroi to Brussels, in front of the village of Waterloo, on ground which he had already selected and had surveyed as the theatre of a decisive battle. Napoleon followed with the great bulk of his forces, and arranged them nearly opposite to the English, on both sides of the high-road leading from Charleroi to Brussels, with headquarters at La Belle Alliance. Thirty-two thousand had been detached under Grouchy to observe the Prussians who were retiring towards Wavre, and the troops which had assembled at night-

fall amounted to about eighty thousand men. Wellington was not equal in point of numerical amount, his whole force being only sixty-seven thousand six hundred men; but he was still more inferior in artillery and in the quality of part of his troops. His cannon amounted to only one hundred and fifty-six pieces, while the French had two hundred and forty-eight; and the British, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, in number about fifty-one thousand, could be alone relied on for the shock of war—the remainder being composed of Belgians, for the most part disaffected or recently raised Nassau levies, upon whom little dependence could be placed in any serious conflict.*

63. Though the campaign had only as yet lasted two days, yet its result in the first instance had been eminently favourable to the French troops, and had worthily rewarded the skill and daring of their chief. With a force inferior upon the whole by fully seventy thousand men to his opponents taken together, he had succeeded in combating at Ligny with advantage, at Quatre Bras with superiority of force; and nothing but the extraordinary and unforeseen circumstance of d'Erlon's corps, nineteen thousand strong, having been marched at the decisive moment first from Quatre Bras to Ligny, and again from Ligny to Quatre Bras, without taking a part in either action, had prevented him from gaining in the very first day of the campaign what might have proved decisive success against both his opponents. Had d'Erlon's corps been thrown on the flank of Blücher when his last resources were exhausted, and Napoleon's Guard charged, the Prussian army would have sustained an irreparable defeat, possibly as disastrous as that of Jena. Had the same force been hurled against Pack's and Kempt's heroic brigades, when enveloped by Kellerman's cuirassiers at Quatre Bras, the English divisions engaged would have been destroyed before Alten's men or the Guards came up, or driven to an eccentric retreat, highly dangerous to themselves in presence of such a superiority on the ene-

* See Appendix D, Chap. xciv.

my's part in cavalry and artillery, and probably fatal to the future communication of Blücher and Wellington. So great were the advantages gained by the admirably conceived irruption of the French Emperor into the space *between* the cantonments of the two allied armies, at the head of his own force, fully concentrated, when each of theirs had a long distance to go over before their troops could be drawn together. And such the dangers incurred by the allied commanders, and especially Wellington, in delaying the concentration of their forces, after those of the enemy had been all accumulated at a single point.

64. But the advantage, well-nigh decisive, thus gained by Napoleon in the very threshold of the war, was lost by the stubborn and heroic resistance with which he was encountered at Ligny and Quatre Bras by the Prussians and English, joined to the extraordinary circumstance which led to both his armies being deprived of the powerful succour of d'Erlon's corps, at the time when it was most required. And the skilful conduct of the allied generals in making a parallel retreat, as from the circumference of a circle still inclining towards its centre—Wellington to the front of the wood of Soignies, Blücher to the neighbourhood of Wavre—at once restored to them the advantage which the French Emperor had gained at the opening of the campaign. They were both now concentrated, and in a situation not only to give battle with their

whole forces in a single field, but to aid each other in the most efficacious way if attacked separately by the bulk of his forces. That was the decisive circumstance. They had now regained, by their vigour and firmness, after the campaign began, the advantage of which, by his superior diligence in concentrating his troops, and rapidity in directing their movements, he had at first deprived them. If fully engaged in front now with either army, Napoleon was exposed to a flank attack from the whole weight of the other, entirely concentrated, not more than ten miles distant. Prudence in such circumstances would have counselled retreat to the French general, satisfied with the advantages already gained. But that was not the characteristic of the Emperor's mind, nor was it, perhaps, consistent with the necessities of his situation. Daring, hazardous advance, staking all on a single throw, had always been his policy, and it had so often proved successful in circumstances yet more hazardous, that he had the utmost confidence in its not failing him on the present occasion. And in truth his circumstances, political as well as military, at home and abroad, were now such that he had probably no alternative; and with all Europe advancing against him, and a divided nation in his rear, his only chance of salvation was in a great stroke, which might paralyse the alliance by driving the English from its ranks.

CHAPTER XCIV.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

1. NEVER was a more melancholy night passed by soldiers than that which followed the halt of the two armies in their respective positions on

the evening of the 17th. The whole of that day had been dark and cloudy; and towards evening the rain fell in torrents, inasmuch that, in traversing

the road from Quatre Bras to Waterloo, the soldiers were often ankle-deep in water. When the troops arrived at their ground, the passage of the artillery, horse, and waggons, over the drenched surface, had so completely cut it up, that it was generally reduced to a state of mud, interspersed in every hollow with large pools of water. Cheerless and dripping as was the condition of the soldiers who had to lie down for the night in such a situation, it was preferable to that of those battalions who were stationed in the rye-fields, where the grain was for the most part three or four feet high, and soaking wet from top to bottom. The ground occupied by the French troops was not less drenched and uncomfortable. But how melancholy soever may have been their physical situation, not one feeling of despondency pervaded the breasts either of the British or French soldiers. Such was the interest of the moment, the magnitude of the stake at issue, and the intensity of the feelings in either army, that the soldiers were almost insensible to physical suffering.* Every man in both armies was aware that the retreat was stopped, and that a decisive battle would be fought on the following day. The great contest of two-and-twenty years' duration was now to be brought to a final issue: retreat after disaster would be difficult, if not impossible, to the British army, through the narrow defiles of the forest of Soignies. Overthrow was ruin to the French. They had no reserves ready to fall back upon: Paris would be the prize of the conqueror. The two great commanders, who had severally vanquished every other antagonist, were now for the first time to be brought into collision; the conqueror

of Europe was to measure swords with the deliverer of Spain.

2. Nor were sanguine hopes and well-founded grounds of confidence wanting to the troops of either army. The French relied with reason on the extraordinary military talents of their Emperor, on his long and glorious career; and on the almost unbroken series of triumphs which had carried their standards to almost every capital in continental Europe. Nor had recent disasters weakened this undoubting trust, for the men who now stood side by side were almost all veterans tried in a hundred combats: the English prisons had restored the conquerors of continental Europe to his standard; and for the first time since the Russian retreat, the soldiers of Austerlitz and Wagram were again assembled round his eagles. The British soldiers had not all the same mutual dependence from tried experience; for a large part of them were second battalions who had never seen a shot fired in war. But they were not on that account the less confident. They relied on the talent and firmness of their chief, who, they knew, had never been conquered, and whose resources the veterans in their ranks told them would prove equal to any emergency. They looked back with animated pride to the unbroken career of victory which had attended the British arms since they first landed in Portugal, and anticipated the keystone to their arch of fame from the approaching conflict with Napoleon in person. They were sanguine as to the result; but, come what might, they were resolute not to be conquered. Never were two armies of such fame, under leaders of such renown, and animated by such heroic feelings, brought into contact in modern Europe, and never were interests so momentous at issue in the strife.

3. The field of Waterloo, rendered immortal by the battle which was fought on the following day, extends about two miles in length from the old chateau, walled garden, and enclosures of Hougomont on the right, to the extremity of the hamlet of La Haye on the left. The great chaussée from Brussels

* "Anxious, they see the dreadful day is come
That must decide the destiny of Rome:
This single vast concern employs the host,
And private fears are in the public lost.
Should earth be rent, should darkness
ouch the sun,
Should swelling seas above the mountains
run,
Should universal nature's end draw near,
Who could have leisure for himself to fear?"

LUCAS, *Pharsalia*, book vii.

to Charleroi runs through the centre of the position, which is situated somewhat less than three quarters of a mile to the south of the village of Waterloo, and three hundred yards in front of the farm-house of Mont St Jean. This road, after passing through the centre of the British line, goes through La Belle Alliance and the hamlet of Rosomme, where Napoleon spent the night. The position occupied by the British army followed very nearly the crest of a range of gentle eminences, cutting the high-road at right angles, two hundred yards behind the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, which adjoins the highway, and formed the centre of the position. An unpaved country road ran along this summit, forming nearly the line occupied by the British troops, and which proved of great use, especially in moving the artillery during the course of the battle. Their position had this great advantage, that the infantry could rest on the reverse of the crest of the ridge, in a situation in some measure screened at least from the point-blank fire of the French artillery; while their own guns on the crest swept the whole slope, or natural glacis, which descended to the valley in their front.

4. Napoleon's troops occupied a corresponding line of ridges, nearly parallel, on the opposite side of the valley, stretching on either side of the hamlet of La Belle Alliance. The summit of these ridges afforded a splendid position for the French artillery to fire upon the English guns; but their attacking columns, in descending the one hill and mounting the other, would of necessity be exposed to a very severe cannonade from the opposite batteries. The French army had an open country to retreat over in case of disaster; while the British, if defeated, would in all probability lose a considerable part of their artillery in the defiles of the forest of Soignies. Still even for a retreat, the position had its advantages, for the intricacies of that wood afforded an admirable defensive position for a broken array of foot-soldiers. The French right rested on the village

of Planchenoit, which being of considerable extent, and beset with stone enclosures, afforded a very strong defensive position to resist the Prussians, in case they should so far recover from the disaster of the preceding day, as to be able to assume offensive operations and menace the extreme French right. The whole field of battle between the two armies was unenclosed, and the declivities and hollows extremely gentle; but the rugged hedge of La Haye Sainte, which ran for half a mile to the left of the village of the same name on the crest of the ridge, afforded great support to that part of the British line, and the thick wood which surrounded the orchard and garden of Hougomont was impervious to artillery, and proved of essential service in impeding the attack of the French columns.

5. Wellington had stationed part of Hill's corps, consisting of seven thousand men, at Hall, six miles on the right, in order to cover the great road from Mons to Brussels, in which direction he expected the enemy's attack would have been made; and he despatched letters to Louis XVIII. at Ghent, early on the morning of the 18th, recommending him, in the event of the enemy attempting to turn him by that town, to retire to Antwerp. Orders were at the same time sent to the governor of that fortress to open the inundations on the side of the Tête de Flandre, and to the person in charge of the magazines in the rear, to remove them to Antwerp. These precautionary measures, with the long trains of wounded which were brought in from Quatre Bras, and the exaggerated reports of the disaster sustained at Ligny, produced such consternation at Brussels, that all the English who could get away were preparing for departure. The road to Antwerp was already covered with fugitives of all descriptions; and the partisans of Napoleon joyfully looked forward to his entering on the following day. Wellington, however, was resolved to stand firm. His whole army, with the exception of the part of Hill's corps, consisting of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands' corps of

Belgians, and Sir Charles Colville's division of British, which were stationed near Hall, was now assembled; and Blücher, with whom he had again communicated during the night, had engaged to support him, as already mentioned, not merely with two corps, as he had requested, but with his whole army. He promised to be on the ground by one o'clock; and his line of march was to be in two columns, by St Lambert and Ohain upon Planchenoit, so as to fall perpendicularly on the French flank after the combat was fully engaged.

6. The morning of the 18th opened with a drizzling rain; but the clouds were lighter than on the preceding day, and the sun occasionally broke in fleeting glimpses through the hazy atmosphere. Eagerly the men in both armies started from their dripping beds; at once they awoke to a rapid consciousness; but numbers were so stiff that it was with difficulty they could rise out of the water in which they had passed the night. But the sight which presented itself when they arose, soon riveted every eye, and moved every heart even in the most unthinking breasts in those vast arrays. Never was a nobler spectacle witnessed than both armies now exhibited; its magnificence struck even the Peninsular and Imperial veterans with a feeling of awe. The troops gazed on each other with respect mingled with surprise. A stern joy was felt in hearts on both sides at the noble aspect of their antagonists.* On the French side, eleven columns deployed simultaneously to take up their ground; like huge serpents clad in glittering scales, they wound slowly over the opposite hills, amidst an incessant clang of trumpets

* Tasso anticipated this feeling in the following noble lines of his "Jerusalem Delivered:"—

"Horror itself in that fair sight seem'd fair,
And pleasure flew amid ad dread and fear;
The trumpets shrill that thunder'd in the air
Were music mild and sweet to every ear;
The faithful camp, though less, yet seem'd

more rare

In that strange noise, more warlike, shrill,
and clear,

In notes more sweet; the pagan trumpets
jar:

Those sung, their armours shin'd; those
glister'd far."

TASSO, *Ger. Lib.*, xx. 39.

and rolling of drums, from the bands of a hundred and fourteen battalions and a hundred and twelve squadrons, which played the Marseillaise, the "Chant du Départ," the "Veillons au Salut de l'Empire," and other popular French airs. Soon order appeared to arise out of chaos: four of the columns formed the first line, four the second, three the third. The formidable forces of France were seen in splendid array; and the British soldiers contemplated with admiration their noble antagonists:—

"A numerous host; in strength each armed
band

A legion; led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior, single as in chief, expert
When to advance or stand, or turn the
away

Of battle: open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war. No thought of
flight,

None of retreat; no unbecoming deed
That argued fear. Each on himself relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory."†

7. Two hundred and fifty guns, stationed along the crest of the ridge in front, with matches lighted and equipments complete, gave an awful presage of the approaching conflict. The infantry in the first and second lines, flanked by dense masses of cavalry, stood in perfect order; four-and-twenty squadrons of cuirassiers, behind either extremity of the second, were already resplendent in the fitful rays of the sun; the grenadiers and lancers of the Guard, in the third line, were conspicuous from their brilliant uniforms and dazzling arms; while in the rear of all, the four-and-twenty battalions of the Guard, dark and massy, occupied each side of the road near La Belle Alliance, as if prepared to terminate the contest. The British army, though little less numerous, did not present so imposing a spectacle to either host, from their being in great part concealed by the swell of the ridge on which they stood. They were drawn up in two lines, but the infantry chiefly in quarter-distance columns, with the cavalry in rear, and artillery in front skilfully disposed along the summit of the ascent. No clang of trumpets or rolling of drums was heard from their ranks; *silently*, like the

† MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, vi. 230.

Greeks of old, the men took up their ground, thinking only of standing by each other, and doing their duty; and hardly any sound was heard from the vast array but the rolling of the guns and occasional word of command from the officers.* *Napoléon* had been afraid that the English would retreat during the night, and expressed the utmost joy when their squares appeared in steady array next morning, evidently with the design of giving battle. He anticipated the speedy overthrow of the English oligarchy, and resurrection of France, more great and powerful

than ever. "I have them, these English!" said he. "They exceed us by a quarter of their forces: but, nevertheless, nine chances out of ten are in our favour." "Sire," replied Soult, "I know these English: they will die on the ground on which they stand before they lose it."

8. The British army on the ground amounted to sixty-seven thousand six hundred men,† of whom twelve thousand five hundred were cavalry; the French to eighty thousand:‡ but the superiority of the latter in artillery, and the quality of all the troops,§ ex-

* "Thus, by their leaders' care, each martial band
Moves into ranks, and stretches o'er the land;
With shouts the Trojans, rushing from afar,
Proclaim their motions and provoke the war:
So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,

To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
With noise and order, through the midway sky;
To Pigy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war descends upon their wing.
But silent, breathing rage, resolved and skilled,
By mutual aids, to fix a doubtful field,
Swift marched the Greeks."

Pope's Homer, iii. 1-8.

† Rank and file of the English army that fought at Waterloo, according to *Siborne*, exclusive of those detached at Hall:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.	Guns.
British,	15,881	5,843	2,967	23,991	78
King's German Legion,	3,301	1,991	520	5,838	19
Hanoverians,	10,258	497	465	11,220	12
Brunswickers,	4,586	866	510	5,962	16
Nassau men,	2,880			2,880	
Belgians,	13,402	3,205	1,117	17,724	82
	49,608	12,402	5,615	67,665	156

—*SIBORNE*, ii. 376.

Siborne makes the effective strength of the French at Waterloo as follows:—

Infantry,	48,950
Cavalry,	15,765
Artillery,	7,732

with 216 guns.—*SIBORNE*, i. 461.

‡ See Appendix E, Chap. xciv.

§ The comparative numbers of the two armies having been the subject of vehement dispute between the British and Continental writers, and being withal a matter upon which it is extremely difficult to arrive at a satisfactory result, it seems proper to observe that the statement in the text is founded on the following grounds:—

I. The British force is accurately known from the morning state of the very day of the battle; it amounted on the field, after deducting the troops absent at Hall, to 67,665 men, and, including officers, &c., 69,686.—See Appendix F, Chap. xciv.

II. The loss of the French official returns after the battle renders it impossible to arrive at the French force otherwise than by approximation. But, taking the data which they themselves have given, it is possible to arrive very near the truth:—

1. *Napoléon*, in Book ix. *Mém.*, gives the French force which crossed the Sambre, as 122,404 men and 350 guns.
Gourgaud states the loss at Ligny, p. 65, at 6,800
At Quatre Bras, p. 1, at 4,140

10,940

Grouchy had with him (*Fragm. Hist.* 27), 31,870 42,810 men and 93 guns.

80,994 252

Total at Waterloo,

III. *Napoléon* stated in his account of the battle, within two days after it was fought:—"We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000; we supposed that the Prus-

cept the British, King's German Legion, and Brunswickers, was still greater. Napoleon had two hundred and fifty guns, Wellington a hundred and fifty-six, of which half were English; and of the French array no less than fifteen thousand eight hundred were splendid horse. The allied army was drawn up in the following order:—The right, under Hill, extended behind Hougomont towards Braine la Leude; the chateau, garden, and wood of Hougomont were strongly occupied by General Byng's brigade of Guards, as was the farm of La Haye Sainte by a battalion of the King's German Legion; Picton's division, with Perponcher's Belgian division, Best's Hanoverian brigade, and Vivian's and Vandeleur's horse stood on the left of La Haye Sainte, along the line of the rugged hedge: Alten's, Cooke's, and Clinton's divisions were in the right wing, with Chassé's Belgians; the German and Hanoverian brigades of Ompteda and Kilmansegg being in the centre. The cavalry, except Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades, were all in the second line: Ponsonby on the left, and Somerset, Dornberg, Arentschildt, and Grant, on the right of La Haye Sainte. The reserves consisted of Collaert's Dutch-Belgian cavalry division, the Brunswick corps under Olfermann, and Lambert's British brigade. The left was uncovered except by a deep ditch impassable for artillery, which, however, proved such an impediment, that no serious attack was made on that extremity. The artillery was arranged along the whole front of the position, and swept the gentle slope which descended from it to the low ground which separated the two armies, wholly unbroken by enclosures or impediments of any kind. Great pains had been taken to separate the Belgian troops from each other, and mingle them in detached bodies through the British

and Hanoverians; for their bad conduct at Quatre Bras had rendered it more than doubtful whether they could be prevented from joining the enemy. The French artillery was in like manner placed along the summit of their ridge, in a semi-circular form, directly fronting the British guns, at the distance of from a half to three-quarters of a mile; and their army was divided into the eleven columns already mentioned. D'Erlon, with the first corps, was on the French right of the chaussée of La Belle Alliance: Reille, with the second, on the left: Jerome's division being on the extreme left, in front of Hougomont. Lobau, with the sixth corps, except one division absent under Grouchy, was in the second line. The cavalry, both light and heavy, was behind the infantry: Milhaud on the right, Subervie and Domont in the centre; Kellerman on the left. The Guards were in the rear beside the great road. "Never," says Napoleon, "had the troops been animated with such spirit, or taken up their ground with such precision. The earth seemed proud of being trodden by such combatants."

9. The village clock of Nivelles was striking eleven when the first gun was fired from the French centre, immediately followed by a quick rattle of musketry from the left, as the weighty column commanded by Jerome, six thousand strong, approached the enclosures of Hougomont, which was defended by the light companies of both brigades of the Guards, under Colonel Macdonell and Lord Saltoun, and a Nassau battalion and Hanoverian rifle company in the wood and orchard. Byng's brigade of Guards was in support on the heights behind the buildings. The English light troops fought stoutly in the wood, and, slowly falling back, contested every tree, every bush, every sapling, until the fire became so

slan corps, which might be in line to the right, might be 15,000. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men—ours less numerous."—*Bulletin of Waterloo*; Goldsmith, vii. 301. When it is recollected that this is the language of a defeated general, fresh from the field of battle, it affords the strongest indication that his force was at the very least 80,000; and this acquires additional force from the circumstance, that his estimate of the British force (80,000) was including those detached at Hall (7000), who took no part in the action, not very far from correct. See a very able article on Waterloo, in *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1841, p. 509.

warm that almost every branch was cut through by numerous, some as many as twenty, shot.* Thirty British guns opened their fire upon the wood; Napoleon immediately advanced Reille's and Kellerman's batteries to reply, and supported Jerome by Foy's division. Gradually, in spite of the utmost efforts of its defenders, the wood around the chateau was carried by the assailants; but the garden and chateau, defended by a high brick wall, in which a double tier of loopholes had been struck out, presented an invincible resistance. Six companies of English Guards, under Colonel Woodford and Lord Saltoun, soon after regained the orchard, which they held for the rest of the day. Napoleon upon this ordered a battery of howitzers to play upon the building, which soon set it on fire; the flames burst forth with unquenchable fury, and the chateau was in part consumed. But the second and third Foot-Guards, under Colonel Woodford and Colonel Hepburn—who were all ultimately introduced into the post, their place in the rear being taken by the Brunswick infantry—with the light companies, under Colonel Macdonell and Lord Saltoun, still held the courtyard and remainder of the building with unconquerable resolution. The first of these brave officers, when a vehement onset had burst open the gate of the courtyard, and a party of the French, great part of whom were in the end slain or taken, had rushed in, actually, by a great exertion of personal strength, drove the survivors out, and closed it in the face of the French bayonets!

10. This assault, how vehement soever, was but a feint to conceal the real point of attack, which was in the left centre, and was intrusted to Marshal Ney, with d'Erlon's corps, nineteen thousand strong, who had not at all been yet engaged in the campaign. They were arranged in four massy columns, supported by the fire of eighty pieces of cannon, placed on the oppo-

site heights, which played over their heads as they advanced up the slope on the British side. Already the corps had moved to the front, when the Emperor perceived on his extreme right, in the direction of St Lambert, a dark mass in the openings of the wood. All glasses were immediately turned in that direction—"I think," said Soult, "it is five or six thousand men, probably part of Grouchy's army." Napoleon thought otherwise: he never doubted they were Prussians. Three thousand horse, consisting of Domont's and Subervie's light cavalry divisions, were detached to observe this corps, and an order was soon after despatched to Grouchy to hasten to the field of action. Meanwhile, the cannonade had grown extremely warm along the whole line; nearly four hundred guns on the two sides kept up an incessant fire; the tirailleurs along the front were warmly engaged; and in the midst of it, Ney received orders to direct his attack on the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, and the line on its left, in order to force back the British left, and interpose between it and the Prussians, who still remained stationary in the wood. It was now noon. Ney pushed forward his batteries to the most advanced heights, on his own side of the valley, and his troops in the four columns advanced to the attack. The divisions of Durutte, Alix, and Marcognet, forming part of d'Erlon's men, were on the right, and moved against the British left, stationed along the ledge of La Haye Sainte; Donzelot's division, which was very strong, formed the attacking column in the centre, and marched against the farm of the same name; and powerful bodies of cavalry advanced on the flank or rear of either column, to take advantage of any opening which might be effected.

11. Wellington no sooner perceived the formidable attack preparing against his left centre, than he drew up the fine brigade of horse, under Sir William Ponsonby, consisting of the 1st Royals, Scots Greys, and Inniskillens, close in the rear of Picton's division, and placed Vivian's and Vandeleur's light brigades of cavalry on the extreme British left.

* The Author counted twenty-two shot-marks in one tree, not six inches in diameter, at the south-east corner of the orchard, shortly after the battle.

Ponsonby's brigade of heavy dragoons was stationed behind the hedge of La Haye Sainte, in such a situation as to be concealed from an enemy advancing up the slope in their front. Durutte's division, forming the right column of d'Erlon's corps, commenced the attack by driving the Nassauers from the farm-house of Papelotte; but the latter being reinforced, regained the post, which they continued to maintain, and the action on that side degenerated into a sharp fusillade. Meanwhile the other columns of attack moved steadily on against the English line, covered by the tremendous fire of their guns. The brigade of Belgians of Perponcher's division formed the first line of infantry; they, however, speedily gave way before the enemy were within half musket-shot, at the mere sight of the formidable mass of the French columns. Upon this d'Erlon's men, sustaining with resolution the heavy fire which the British cannon and infantry opened upon their front, still pressed up the slope till they were within twenty yards of the English line. Such was the indignation felt in the British ranks at this conduct of the Belgians, that they could with difficulty be prevented from giving them a volley as they hurried through to the rear. Arrived in front of the red-coats, however, the French, consisting of Alix and Marcognet's divisions, halted, and a murderous fire commenced, which soon fearfully thinned the nearest British division, which began to yield. Picton, upon this, ordered Pack's brigade to advance, consisting of the 42d, 44th, 92d, and Royal Scots; and these noble veterans, as on the brow of the Mont Rave at Toulouse, advanced with a loud shout, and poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that the French columns broke and recoiled in disorder. At this instant, the rush of horse was heard, and Ponsonby's brigade, bursting through or leaping over the hedge which had concealed them from the enemy, dashed through the intervals of the infantry, who opened to let them pass, and fell headlong on the wavering column. The shock was irresistible; in a few seconds the whole mass was pierced through,

ridden over, and dispersed; the soldiers in despair fell on their faces on the ground and called for quarter. In five minutes two thousand prisoners and two eagles were taken—one by the Greys and the other by the Royals—and the column was utterly destroyed.*

12. Transported with ardour, the victorious horse, supported by Vandeleur's brigade of light cavalry, consisting of the 11th, 12th, and 16th dragoons on their left, charged on against a second column of d'Erlon's men, which quickly was ridden down, and a thousand more prisoners were taken. The Highland foot-soldiers, vehemently excited, breaking their ranks, and catching hold of the stirrups of the Scots Greys, joined in the charge, shouting "Scotland for ever!"† and collected the prisoners made during the fiery onset. Unsatisfied even by this second triumph, these gallant horsemen, amidst loud shouts, rode up the opposite height; and, having reached its summit, turned sharp to the left, and dashed through d'Erlon's batteries, which had sent such a storm of shot through their ranks before the charge began. Taken thus suddenly in flank, the gunners could neither wheel round their pieces nor make any resistance, and they were speedily cut to pieces, the traces cut, and the horses hamstring or killed.

13. So forcibly was Napoleon struck by this charge, that he said to Lacoste, the Belgian guide, who stood beside him, "*Ces terribles chevaux gris—comme ils travaillent!*"‡ He instantly

* On the eagle of the 45th Regiment, taken by Serjeant Ewart of the Greys, were inscribed the words "*Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, and Friedland.*" Ewart was most properly made an officer. He took the eagle after a most desperate struggle.—*SHOESB.* ii. 36.

† See Appendix. G. Chap. xciv., where a very curious account is given by Mr James Armour, rough-rider to the Scots Greys, of this memorable charge, in which he bore a most gallant and distinguished part. It was furnished to the Author by Mr Armour himself, and few narratives ever bore so clearly the signet-mark of truth.

‡ Why are these words, with "*Blenheim and Waterloo,*" in both of which battles they took part, not engraven on the helmet of

ordered Jaquenot's light cavalry, consisting of chasseurs and lancers from the second line, to charge the victorious British; and these fresh troops, easily overthrew the English horsemen, now much disordered and entirely blown by their unparalleled efforts, as they were retiring from the theatre of their triumphs. In the hurried retreat to their own position, General Ponsonby was killed, great numbers of his men were cut down or dispersed, and the brigade hardly brought back a fifth of its numbers.* But the lancers in their turn shared the fate of their gallant opponents; Vandeleur, whose brigade had been retarded in its advance by an unavoidable circuit, fell upon them in flank when streaming in pursuit up the English slope, and drove them back with great slaughter into the hollow. By the help of this timely succour, the heavy brigade, by small detachments, regained their own lines, though grievously weakened. But never, perhaps, had a charge of an equal body of horse achieved greater success; for, besides destroying two columns five thousand strong, and taking three thousand prisoners, we have the authority of the great military historian of Napoleon for the fact, that they carried, cut the traces, and rendered useless for the remainder of the day, no less than forty pieces of cannon.†

14. While this fierce conflict was going on in the British left centre, Napoleon directed a vigorous charge

every officer and man in the Scots Greys? They can never have so glorious a motto.—See ALISON's *Marlborough*, Chap. ii. § 53.

* Great part, however, rejoined their colours next day. The total loss of the brigade, from the 15th to the 19th June, was 613; and they were, at the opening of the campaign, 1188 sabres, besides officers—or about 1250 men.—*United Service Journal*, October 1843, p. 290.

† "By this charge some battalions were cut to pieces; the eighty guns of Ney were seized, or rather the English dragoons, after sabring the drivers, cut the traces and hamstringing the horses, and rendered them totally useless."—JOMINI, *Vie de Napoleon*, iv. 634, 635. I am inclined to think, however, that only forty guns were seized and their traces cut in this charge—which corresponds with Muffling's account, who says the guns rendered useless by this charge were five batteries, or forty pieces.

of horse and foot against the centre itself. Heavy columns of horse and foot mounted the slope above La Haye Sainte, and the infantry forming the left column of d'Erlon's corps entirely enveloped La Haye Sainte, and began to advance beyond it towards Wellington's tree. There, however, the British general had ordered the 79th Highlanders, forming the right of Kempt's brigade, with the 28th and 32d, to advance; and these steady veterans cheered loudly, fired, and, moving steadily forward, forced back the column. Then it was that the heroic Picton, as he was waving his troops on with his sword, and had just pronounced the words, "Charge! charge! hurrah!" was pierced through the head with a musket-ball, and fell dead. Kempt immediately took the command. Wellington at this instant ordered a battalion of the German Legion to move up on their right flank, while on their left a Hanoverian one of Kilmansegge's brigade was also advancing upon La Haye Sainte. They were driving the column in disorder down the hill before them, when Milhaud's cuirassiers fell upon the Hanoverian battalion before it could form square, and it was almost destroyed. But Wellington soon had his revenge. He instantly moved forward the heavy brigade of Lord Edward Somerset, consisting of the Life-Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards; and these splendid troops, overflowing with strength, but in the finest order as on the parade ground, led by Lord Anglesca in person, bore down with the utmost vigour on the French cuirassiers, when they too were sounding the charge against the British and shouting *Vive l'Empereur!* The encounter was dreadful: for a few seconds, the shock of horse against horse, the ring of swords on helmets and cuirasses, was heard even above the roar of the cannon. But at length the vigour and nerve of the English, albeit without armour, prevailed over their steel-clad antagonists. The cuirassiers were fairly ridden over by the weight of man and horse; and a considerable number, driven headlong over a pre-

cipice into a gravel-pit, were killed by the fall.* Others, trodden under foot, and crushed by the wheels of some artillery and waggons which at the moment were coming up, perished miserably. Somerset's brigade pursued their success down to the foot of the slope, and then regained their position, not without heavy loss from the French batteries.

15. During this terrible strife, Wellington remained at his position at the foot of his tree, calmly observing the progress of the enemy, occasionally directing the advance of a line, or the formation of a square, when the circumstances appeared critical. So heavy was the fire of cannon-shot to which he was exposed, that nearly all his suite were in the course of the action killed or wounded by his side; and he was obliged, in the close of the day, to the casual assistance of a Piedmontese officer,† who stood near, to carry the most necessary orders. "That's good practice," said he, as the cannon-shot struck the branches above his head; "they did not fire so well in Spain." At length, however, all the attacks of infantry in the centre were repulsed; but Napoleon, still persisting in the effort to carry that part of the field, and force the British right centre, brought up his whole light cavalry to the attack, and supported them by the cuirassiers in the second line. Such

was the ardour of the French horse, however, and their impatience under the fire of the British guns, that many of the reserve brigades were brought up or advanced without orders, and soon nearly the whole cavalry was engaged. Their attacks were directed on both sides of the great road by La Haye Sainte. The assault continued also fiercely round Hougoumont, now entirely surrounded by multitudes of foot and horse, though still held by the Guards and Nassauers, supported by the Brunswick infantry on the heights in their rear. A formidable flank attack was made at this time by Racheluz with his division, who endeavoured to turn that important post by interposing with his whole force between it and the remainder of the British line which stretched towards La Haye Sainte. It was, however, defeated by the admirably served fire of Captain Cleson's battery, of foot-artillery, which literally crushed the head of the French column as often as it came within range.

16. A heavy column of cavalry shortly after approached the British right centre, which Somerset's brigade, with their reduced numbers, were unable to check. The Marquis of Anglesca upon this put himself at the head of Tripp's Belgian carabineers; but, though headed by that officer with his accustomed gallantry, not a man followed; and they finally fled with such vehemence as well-nigh to sweep away two squadrons of the 3d hussars, King's German Legion, which were advancing in support. The 3d, however, soon recovered their order, and, led by Anglesca, charged the cuirassiers with such vigour that they broke entirely through them. But being attacked on either flank after their success by fresh regiments of horse, they suffered dreadfully, and were forced to seek refuge behind the squares. So great was the pressure here, that Wellington was obliged to bring up General Chassé's brigade of Dutch troops, and his whole reserve from Brain-la-Leude, where they had been stationed to avoid being outflanked on that side. As they approached, a regiment of Hanoverian cavalry, the

* "Forthwith the spurred courser forward hies;

With their rests put were their lances long;

From either side a squadron brave out flies,

And boldly made a fierce encounter strong;

The raised dust to overspread begun

Their shining arms, and far more shining

run.

Of breaking spears, of ringing helm and

shield.

A dreadful rumour roar'd on every side;

There lay a horse, another through the

field.

Ran masterless, dismounted was his guide:

Here one lay dead, there did another yield,

Some sigh'd, some sobb'd, some pray'd,

and some cried:

Fierce was the fight, and longer still it

lasted.

Fierce and fever, still themselves they

wasted."

Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* vii. 105.

† Major Count de Sales, afterwards the

Sardinian ambassador at Paris.



Cumberland hussars, a thousand strong, which was ordered to charge the French horse in that quarter, being received by a sharp fire on crossing the ridge, turned about and fled, never drawing bridle till they reached Brussels, where their unexpected entry created the utmost alarm. Adam's light infantry brigade, however, consisting of the 52d, 71st, and 2d and 3d battalions of the 95th, with a brigade of the King's German Legion, and Chassé's Dutchmen in support, stood firm, and, bringing up their right shoulders, with their batteries in front, not only opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of the enemy, but regained the orchard of Hougoumont, which had been carried in the earlier part of the day.

17. After this, the British centre continued, for nearly three hours, to be the theatre of the most extraordinary conflict which had occurred during the whole Revolutionary war. Wellington had, after the last charges, withdrawn his cavalry from the active operations of the field, wisely reserving it for the close of the day, and trusting to the fire of the guns in front of his line, and the steadiness of the squares behind, to withstand the enemy's assaults. The French horse, above twelve thousand strong, in part clad in glittering armour, rode up the slope in front of the English line, and, with loud cries and unparalleled enthusiasm, dashed through the guns, and threw themselves on the squares. So vast was the mass of horse thus brought against the British right centre, that at length seventy-seven squadrons were engaged in the attack, and they filled up the whole open space between La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont. The first line was composed of cuirassiers, in burnished steel; in the second were the red lancers of the Guard, in brilliant uniform; in the third, the chasseurs of the Guard, in rich furred costumes of green and gold, with black bear-skin shakos on their heads. Never had a more sublime military spectacle been witnessed: no force on earth seemed capable of resisting them. Napoleon rode through the lines, both of infantry and cavalry, before they mounted the

British slope, and harangued the men before they left his side of the hollow. In doing so he was frequently exposed to danger; and General Devaux, who commanded the artillery of the Guard, was killed by his side. On no former occasion had the French soldiers been known to exhibit such enthusiasm. To support the grand charge of horse in the centre, Donzelat's division of Ney's corps, in two columns, advanced against Wellington's right centre at La Haye Sainte, while Reille's men assailed Hougoumont on the right; and the whole French guns which could be brought to bear upon the menaced part of the line, a hundred and twenty in number, were pushed as far forward as possible, and sent a storm of shot and shells over the head of the horsemen, through the British squares. These were now all withdrawn, by Wellington's orders, as much as possible behind the reverse slope of the ridge, for the men were fast dropping under the terrible fire of the French batteries, and the guns alone remained in front. The charge of the cavalry on the batteries in the centre was irresistible. Disregarding the terrible fire of the British guns, which, discharging grape and canister point-blank, made frightful chasms in their ranks, the cuirassiers rode slowly forward, carried the guns amidst vehement cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and, dashing on, swept round the squares within pistol-shot, often coming to the very muzzles of the British muskets.

18. But vain were all attempts to break that heroic infantry, which seemed rooted in the earth. Lying down to avoid the driving shot which swept over the field, the men, in silence, beheld their ranks torn by bombs and ricochet-shot without once moving; but no sooner did the cuirassiers appear, than the whole, instantly starting up, threw in such a volley, that half of the horsemen were stretched on the plain, and the remainder recoiled in disorder out of the frightful strife. The British guns, which stood in front, forty in number, repeatedly fell into the hands of the cavalry, whose valour, always great, was now roused to the most

enthusiastic pitch of daring.* The artillerymen took refuge in the nearest squares: the cuirassiers rode round them, anxiously looking for an opening, sometimes with desperate valour striving to make it at the sword's point, until the rolling fire of the infantry repelled the charge; and as soon as the horsemen turned about, the gunners issued forth, quickly reloaded their pieces, and sent a destructive storm of grape after the retiring squadrons. Then, and not till then, the British cavalry were let loose in pursuit, and hurled the assailing columns in confusion to the bottom of the slope, from whence they themselves were fain soon to regain the shelter of the friendly squares, to shun the onset of the fresh French reserves in the rear. During this unparalleled struggle, several British generals and the Prince of Orange repeatedly threw themselves into the steady squares. "Stand fast, 95th!" said Wellington; "we must not be beaten. What would they say of us in England?" "Never fear, sir," they replied; "we know our duty."

19. By the disaster which has been mentioned, Ney had lost great part of his artillery, two of his columns of attack were totally destroyed, and another was repulsed in disorder. Napoleon, however, ere long moved forward the batteries in the rear to his support, the centre columns advanced, and Donzelat's division speedily enveloped La Haye Sainte, and pushed up the slope behind it into the very centre of the British position. The brave Hanoverians of the King's German Legion, who formed its garrison, three hundred and eighty in number, long maintained their ground against the surging multitude. But their ammunition

* By Wellington's orders, the gunners, after discharging their pieces when the cavalry were close upon them, unlimbered the near wheel of each gun, and retired rapidly, rolling the wheel with them into the nearest square. Speedily the French horsemen came up, and threw ropes prepared for the purpose, like the South American lasso, over the gun; but they could not make it move along on one wheel; and, when striving to drag along their prize, the deadly volley of the square stretched half of those thus engaged on the ground, and sent the rest headlong down the slope.

being at length exhausted, and all communication with the British line, of which that farm-house was the advanced post, cut off, the gates were forced open, and in the retreat, which had become unavoidable, to the British line in their rear, great numbers fell, bravely combating to the last. Encouraged by this success, which he thought would prove decisive, Napoleon ordered a renewal of the attack on the British centre and right: Ney's columns pressed on round La Haye Sainte, to pierce the centre of the allied position, while Reille's corps advanced against Hougoumont. But the steadiness of the Allies again repulsed them. The only success they gained was in the centre near La Haye Sainte, where a battalion of Ompteda's brigade of the King's German Legion, having been imprudently ordered by the Prince of Orange to deploy and attack a French column, was charged in flank by a regiment of cuirassiers, and destroyed almost to the last man. Amongst the slain was the gallant Ompteda himself!

20. While this desperate conflict raged in front of Mont St Jean and around La Haye Sainte, Blücher's troops, pressing on with unparalleled ardour, did their utmost to clear the defiles through the forests behind Frischermont; but such were the difficulties of the passage, owing to the horrible state of the roads, that it was not till half-past four that Bulow, who led the advanced guard, was able to deploy from the woods. Long all their efforts were unavailing. The deep and miry roads between Wavres and St Lambert had caused so many stoppages and breaks, that the column was stretched over miles. The guns often sank axle-deep; and such was the exhaustion of the horses, that they were unable to drag them out. The men, wearied as they were, upon this were harnessed; and, as at the passage of the St Bernard, their efforts were stimulated by the sounding of the charge—"We cannot get on!" they exclaimed. "But you *must* get on," was the loyal-hearted Blücher's reply. "I have pledged my word to Wellington, and you will not make me break it. Courage! my children!

Yet a few hours' effort, and you will gain a glorious victory." This noble conduct in the end met with its reward. The difficulties were, by strenuous efforts, at length overcome. Blücher's advanced column, headed by Bulow, sixteen thousand strong, then appeared, in the rear of the French right, and, marching in echelon, the centre in front, fell perpendicularly on their flank.

21. General Domont, who commanded the cavalry in that quarter, was soon driven back, but he retired in excellent order; and Napoleon, seeing the progress of the Prussians, detached Count Lobau with the two divisions of his corps, the third being absent under Grouchy, amounting to seven thousand infantry, to arrest their advance. Lobau's men in their turn drove back the Prussians; but Bulow, rallying on his two other divisions, which had now come up, again returned to the charge. The artillery cleared the wood, and arranged themselves on its skirts; sixty Prussian guns opened their fire; and their balls fell on the chaussée of Charleroi, in the very line of the French communications. Planchenoit, the bulwark of the French right flank, was carried. Napoleon upon this detached first Duhesme with two divisions of infantry, and twenty-four guns of the Young Guard, who retook that important post: the Prussians again carried it; and at last Morand, with four battalions of the Old Guard and sixteen guns, was pushed forward to support Lobau and regain the village. These redoubted veterans restored the combat. Planchenoit was recaptured; Bulow was driven back into the wood; the balls ceased to fall on the chaussée, and the French flank appeared to be sufficiently secured. At six o'clock, Blücher received despatches from Thielman, that he was attacked by a superior force, and hard pressed at Wavre; but the field-marshal's masterly mind at once perceived that it was at Waterloo, not Wavre, that the contest was to be decided; and, without suffering himself to be a moment distracted, even by disaster in his rear, he continued to urge on every man and gun

in the direction of the tremendous cannonade which resounded from Waterloo.

22. But although Napoleon's flank was thus protected for the time, yet, as he had intelligence that another corps of Prussians, under Ziethen, was coming up by Ohain on his right, and as, notwithstanding repeated orders sent to him, no advices had been received of Grouchy to oppose these, he resolved to make a grand effort with his Middle and Old Guard, supported by the whole remaining cuirassiers and cavalry, and Reille's and d'Erlon's corps on either flank, against the British centre, in hopes of piercing it through, and destroying Wellington before the bulk of the Prussian forces came up. At the same time he determined, even in the middle of the battle, to undertake the perilous attempt of a new formation of his troops, turning on the pivot of the centre, with the right drawn in part back so as to make head against the new enemy that was approaching. With this view he moved Domont's light cavalry, Lobau's two divisions, and the eleven battalions of the Guard, back from the second line, and formed them at right angles to the extremity of the original line of the French army. At the same time he caused Dürutte's division of d'Erlon's corps to wheel round upon its left, at right angles to their former position, and unite with Domont's cavalry and Lobau's infantry, who again communicated with the Imperial Guard at Planchenoit. The French army, by these dispositions, came to form two sides of a right-angled triangle, facing outwards, just as the Russians had done in the latter part of the battle of Eylau. Reille's corps and three of d'Erlon's divisions faced the British: one of d'Erlon's divisions, Domont's light horse, Lobau's two divisions, and eleven battalions of the Guard, faced the Prussians; while the remaining twelve battalions of the Guard were formed into two columns of attack, directed against the British centre, near the chaussée of La Belle Alliance. The cavalry on the heights who saw this movement, and beheld at the same time

the retreat of Bulow's corps, now deemed the battle gained, and loudly cheered: it was thought that the final charge of the Old Guard, then arranged as if for immediate action, would, as on all former occasions, decide the victory. This confidence, however, was far from being shared by the French troops actually engaged; some of them retreated without orders, and anxiety and distrust generally prevailed. Nor was Napoleon without disquietude: he had no reserve left except the Guard; and, to Ney's urgent request for more troops, he answered hastily, "Où voulez-vous que j'en prenne? voulez-vous que j'en fasse?"*

23. Uneasiness also, in at least an equal degree, prevailed in the British line. Halket's brigade had sustained eleven charges of horse; the two brigades of heavy cavalry had suffered dreadfully; many of the regiments were reduced to mere skeletons; Picton's Highland brigade could not muster six hundred bayonets; multitudes of wounded had crawled to the rear; and the waggon-drivers and Belgian fugitives, crowding along the road through the forest of Soignies, spread the report that all was lost. When Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades of horse, which had not been as yet seriously engaged, were, towards the close of the action, brought from the left to the rear of the right centre, on which the principal weight of the contest had fallen, they were strongly impressed with the wreck and devastation of so many strong corps which there met their eyes. "Where is your brigade?" said the former of these officers to Lord Edward Somerset, who rode up to receive him. "There," replied Lord Edward, pointing to a cluster of horsemen, scarce a hundred in number, who were drawn up still in regular array around three standards. Ponsonby's brigade was reduced to a single squadron; those two brigades, which went into action two thousand strong, could now hardly muster two hundred sabres.†

* "Where do you suppose I can find them? would you have me make them?"

† A large part, however, were wounded, or sent to the rear with the wounded, and re-joined their colours next day.

The infantry in all the British squares still stood firm; but the diminished fronts, and frequent order "close up!" which was mechanically obeyed as on parade, told how fearfully their ranks were thinned. One general officer was compelled to state that his brigade was reduced to a third of its numbers, and that the survivors were so exhausted with fatigue, that a temporary relief was indispensable: "Tell him," said the Duke, "what he asks is impossible: he and I, and every Englishman on the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy." "Enough," returned the general: "I, and every man under my command, will share his fate."‡ Wellington, however, though calm, was anxious: all his orders were given with his usual quick decided manner; but he repeatedly looked at his watch, and expressed afterwards the satisfaction he felt as one hour of daylight after another slipped away, and the position was still maintained.

24. The Imperial Guard, which, after the detachment to Planchenoit, still consisted of eight battalions of the Middle and four of the Old Guard, with the exception of two of the Old Guard which were kept in reserve, was divided into two columns. One was drawn up near the enclosure of Hougomont, supported by cuirassiers, and consisted of four battalions of the Middle and two of the Old Guard. The second, consisting of the four battalions of the Middle Guard, was stationed near La Belle Alliance. They were both directed to converge to the decisive point on the British right centre, about midway between La Haye Sainte and the nearest enclosures of Hougomont. Reille was ordered to bring all his troops to aid this grand attack, and form its left wing, while d'Erlon did the same on the right. The former arranged, accordingly, the whole infantry and cavalry which remained of his corps in columns of attack, and advanced up the hill in a slanting direction, beside the orchard of Hougo-

‡ He still felt, however, and expressed to all the troops whom he addressed, confidence in the final result. "Hard pounding this, gentlemen," said he; "but we shall see who will pound the longest."—*Paul's Letters*, 149.

mont. The second column of the Middle Guard, marshalled by Napoleon, was headed for the attack by Ney in person; and received directions, after moving down the *chaussée* of Charleroi to the bottom of the descent, to incline to the left, and leaving La Haye Sainte to the right, mount the slope also in a slanting direction, converging towards the same point whither the other column was directing its steps.* The artillery of the Guard did not, as in former battles, precede the columns, but took a position on either flank of the heights from which they descended, and opened a dreadful fire on the British batteries. The reason of this was, that in moving up the hill, their fire would have been misdirected over the heads of the British, and lost. Napoleon went with the second column of the Middle Guard as far as the place where it left the hollow of the high-road, and spoke a few words—the last he ever addressed to his soldiers—to each battalion in passing. The men moved on with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* so loud as to be heard along the whole British line above the roar of artillery, and it was universally thought the Emperor himself was heading the attack.

25. But, meanwhile, Wellington had not been idle. Hill, who commanded the British right, gradually brought up all his troops into action, or close in the rear of the columns engaged. Sir Frederick Adam's brigade, and General Maitland's brigade of Guards, with Chassé's Dutch troops, yet fresh, were ordered to wheel to the left, with their guns in front, towards the edge of the ridge; and the whole batteries in that quarter inclined inwards, so as to expose the enemy's columns coming up to a concentric fire. The central point, where the attack seemed likely to fall, was strengthened by nine nine-pounders, under Captain Bolton; sixty pieces in all, including those on the flanks, were brought to bear on the

attacking columns of the enemy. The troops on either side of the central battery of nine-pounders were drawn up four deep, in the form of an interior angle; the Guards forming one side, flanked on their left by Halket's brigade, consisting of the 73d, 30th, 33d, and 69th—while Adam's brigade, consisting of the 52d, 71st, and second and third battalions of the 95th, composed the other side on the right towards Hougomont. There were also two Nassau battalions in the first line; while the light cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandeleur, with Dornberg's dragoons, and the remains of Ponsonby's and Somerset's, were brought up behind the line at the back of La Haye Sainte, and stationed close in the rear, so as to be ready to make the most of any advantage which might occur, or assail the head of the French column if it forced its way through the infantry in front.

26. Napoleon, according to his usual custom, supported the attack of the Guard by a flank one from other troops; and they advanced in échelon, Donzelot's division of d'Erlon's corps leading the assault, and the Middle Guard following in succession. The French troops ascended the slope, as usual, with great gallantry, preceded by a cloud of *tirailleurs*; and they were met by Ompteda's brigade of the King's German Legion and some Hanoverian and Nassau troops in column, the 95th and 4th regiments and some other British corps being in line. But the Nassau men having evinced some hesitation as the dense column approached, the skeleton remains of the Scots Greys and 3d King's German Legion, with Vivian's brigade, were stationed close in their rear, in order to give a greater appearance of consistence to this part of the line. The British guns, however, placed there were so disabled that they were unable to keep up anything like an effective fire on the enemy; and, in consequence, the French column pushing forward, covered by a cloud of *tirailleurs* on either flank, opened so heavy a discharge on the 27th, that in a few minutes half its numbers were struck down; while their guns opened

* The Guard was arranged thus:—"The Emperor disposed them thus, as battalions on the field, leaving two of them in columns closed at the flanks; an arrangement which combined the advantages of open order and close order."—GOURGAUD, 91.

grape with such effect on Kilmansegge's Hanoverians at a hundred yards' distance, that the square, which still held its ground with great resolution, soon dwindled to a mere clump of men. The Prince of Orange, seeing the danger, gallantly advanced at the head of two Nassau battalions; but he was struck down by a wound in the shoulder, and the Nassau troops, overwhelmed by the severity of the fire, recoiled in disorder. Wellington then moved up five Brunswick battalions; but they too were assailed by so fierce a fire from the head of the French column, that they fell back in confusion. Wellington upon this instantly hastened in person to the spot, and by the electrifying influence of his voice and gestures succeeded in rallying the Germans, who re-formed, and opened so heavy a fire on the French column that its advance was checked. At the same time the retreat of the Nassau men was stopped by the 10th hussars; and being encouraged by the close line of horse in their rear, they again stood their ground, and resumed their fire. At this instant, the Hanoverians and King's German Legion on the left, led by Kilmansegge, dashed forward in double-quick time, with drums beating; the Brunswickers again advanced; the Nassau men caught the generous flame, and, loudly cheered by the hussars who followed in close support, returned to the charge. By their united efforts, Donzelet's column was, after a fierce struggle, forced back, and the allied line advanced to the ground it had previously occupied on the crest of the ridge.

27. It was a quarter past seven when the first column of the Guard, consisting of four strong battalions of the Middle Guard, which advanced from the Charleroi road, moved forward to the attack. The veterans of Wagram and Austerlitz were there;* no force on earth seemed capable of resisting them; they had decided almost every former battle. The sun was low in the heavens when this formidable body

began to ascend the slope. The shadow of the mass before its level rays augmented its awful impression. The huge caps of the grenadiers seemed a dark forest, slowly rolling on like "Binnam wood to Dunsinane;" and though it occasionally rocked under the terrible fire of the British artillery, yet the shock was quickly recovered. The ranks closed as gaps were made; and through the smoke and fire of the tirailleurs, the sable plumes of the grenadiers were seen unceasingly approaching. The British felt that the decisive moment had arrived; their honour, their country, was at stake; a few paces more, and Europe was enslaved. The French were inspired with the utmost confidence. Ney marched at their head: Drouot was beside him, to whom the marshal repeatedly said, they were about to gain a glorious victory. General Friant, who commanded the grenadiers of the Guard, was struck down by Ney's side. The marshal's own horse was shot under him; but, bravely advancing on foot with his drawn sabre in his hand, he sought death from the enemy's volleys. The impulse of this massy column was at first irresistible. The guns on the sides tore its flank without checking its advance.† The lofty bearskins of the grenadiers, as they crowned the summit of the ridge amidst the smoke, gave them the appearance of giants. Meanwhile the fire of the tirailleurs on the flank of the attacking column was so biting, that many of Adam's gunners were driven from their pieces. The head of the French column had reached the crest of the ridge, and the Imperial Guard came up to within forty paces of the English Foot-Guards, in the very apex of the interior angle in which they were

* No one was admitted into the Guard, Young or Old, until he had served twelve campaigns.

† "When the Imperial Guard, led by Ney, about half-past seven o'clock, made their appearance from a corn-field in close columns of grand divisions, nearly opposite, and within fifty yards from the muzzles of the guns, orders were given to load with canister-shot, and literally five rounds were fired with this species of shot before they showed the least symptom of retiring. At the twenty-ninth round, their left gave way."—*Letter of an Artillery Officer, given in* MAXWELL, iii. 491.

formed; while the loud roll of the drums, and louder cheers of the men, told that they deemed the victory gained, and Napoleon's throne re-established.

28. The British soldiers were lying down in a ditch three feet deep behind the rough road which there goes along the summit of the ridge. "*Up, Guards, and at them!*" cried the Duke, who had repaired to the spot, addressing Maitland, who commanded the household troops; and the whole on both sides of the angle into which the French were advancing, springing up, moved forward a few paces, and poured in a volley so close and well directed, that nearly the whole first two ranks of the Imperial Guard fell at once. A rapid and well-sustained fusillade ensued, which the French, crowded in column, in vain strove to answer with effect. The feeble fire of their leading files was returned by a sustained stream of musketry; while Adam's artillerymen, who worked their guns with extraordinary rapidity, firing grape and canister within fifty paces on their flank, at length staggered the column, which gave ground, and began to recoil down the slope. The word "*Charge!*" was now given to the English Guards; the men, loudly cheering, moved on in double-quick time; the French, shattered and embarrassed, rolled back in confusion, and, leaving a long train of killed and wounded on their track, sought shelter at the bottom of the slope; while the British, checking their pursuit when half-way down the slope, again resumed their position behind the crest of the ridge, though in some disorder from the vehemence of their onset.

29. The second column of the Guard, which had been formed near Hougomont, now advanced to the attack, consisting of four battalions of the Middle, and two of the Old Guard;* in all, four thousand strong, supported by Reille's column, which advanced from the side of Hougomont. The dense body moved up the hill with a slow

* The 1st and 2d battalions of the 4th regiment of chasseurs; the 1st and 2d battalions of the 4th regiment of grenadiers; and the 1st and 2d battalions of the 1st regiment of chasseurs.

but steady step. Without taking their muskets from their shoulders, the men, preceded by a cloud of tirailleurs, marched unshrinkingly, and with loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* into the cross-fire of the English batteries. For a moment a feeling of anxiety, not of fear, pervaded the British ranks. At the sound of their cheers, which were loud and long, the Belgians of d'Auburne's brigade, which were posted in the rear of Maitland's men, panic-struck, gave way, and fell back in the utmost confusion on Vandeleur's horse, which were drawn up close behind them. Vandeleur, however, rapidly closed his ranks and hindered them from getting through; and at that instant Wellington came up and rallied them in person. Soon the effects of his admirable dispositions became conspicuous. The discharges of the artillery on the flank of the column were so severe, that the French pushed forward a body of horse in order to silence them; and in this they partially succeeded. Wellington instantly ordered Cox's squadron of the 23d to descend the hill in the rear of Adam's men, and charge them. Cox first attacked the body of cuirassiers, who, though checked by the guns, were again preparing to advance, and routed them. Continuing to advance, he assailed in flank, and was repulsed by a column of infantry directly in rear of the Guard. But the effect of this well-timed movement was very great. The French battalions, now completely uncovered, showed their long flank to Adam's guns, which opened on them a fire so terrible that the head of the body, constantly pushed on by the mass in rear, for long seemed never to advance, but melted away as it came into the scene of carnage.

30. With dauntless intrepidity, however, the Guard advanced through the storm; and at length, the mass behind strongly pressing on over the dead and wounded in front, the huge body reached the top of the hill, directly in front of the right of Maitland's brigade, and Bolton's battery, now commanded by Napier, which kept up upon them a dreadful fire of grape and canister. Instantly the Guards advanced to the

crest of the ridge; the French cheered, fired, and moved on. The British in silence threw in a terrible volley, on receiving which the two front ranks of the Imperial Guard went down like grass before the scythe. Wellington at this decisive instant ordered Adam's brigade to advance against the flank of the column; and soon after directed Vivian with his brigade to descend in the rear of Adam's men, between the Guard and Hougomont, and Vandeleur to follow him. The effect of this attack at once in front and in flank was decisive: Napoleon in his official account ascribed to it the loss of the battle.* The 52d, led on by Colborne, who had anticipated Wellington's orders, swiftly converging inwards, threw in so terrible a volley on their left flank, that the Imperial Guard swerved in disorder to the right. By this brilliant advance of Adam's brigade, the column of the Guard was entirely separated from Reille's, who was moving up in echelon near Hougomont to support it. The broken remains of the former, closely pursued by Adam at the point of the bayonet, were hurled back on the other side, and all rallying was rendered impossible.† The cry "Tout est perdu—la Garde est repoussée!"‡ arose in the French ranks; and the enormous mass, driven headlong down the hill towards the Charleroi road, carried away in its slanting course d'Erlon's columns, which were on its right flank, and spread disorder through the whole of Napoleon's centre.

* Napoleon says in his despatch, written the day after the battle: "About half-past eight o'clock, the four battalions of the Middle Guard, who had been despatched to the plains beyond Mont St Jean to support the cuirassiers, being annoyed by its grape-shot, marched with the bayonet to carry the battery. At the close of day, a charge made upon their flank by some English squadrons threw them into disorder. The fugitives re-passed the ravine; the neighbouring regiments, seeing some troops of the Guard disbanded, imagined that it was the Old Guard, and recoiled. The cry, 'All is lost—the Guards are repulsed!' is heard. A panic terror is suddenly diffused throughout the battle-field."—NAPOLÉON, *Bulletin of the Battle of Mont St Jean*, 21st June 1815: *Mémorial*, 22d June; and GÖTTSCHEW'S *Collection*, vii. 268.

† The loss sustained by the French Guard on this occasion was enormous. "In the

31. From morning till night on this eventful day, the British squares had stood as if rooted in the earth, enduring every loss and repelling every attack with unparalleled fortitude. But the instant of victory had now arrived; the last hour of Napoleon's empire had struck. At the very moment that the last column of the Middle Guard was recoiling in disorder down the hill, with their flanks reeling under the fire of the Guards and Adam's men, Wellington beheld Blücher's standards in the wood beyond Ohain; and the fire of guns from thence to Frischermont showed that Ziethen had come up, and that the Prussians in great strength, and in good earnest, were now about to take a part in the fight. He instantly ordered a general advance in the formation in which they stood—the British in line, four deep, the Germans and Belgians in column or square; and himself, with his hat in his hand raised high in air, rode to the front and waved on the troops. Like an electric shock, the heart-stirring order was communicated along the line. Confidence immediately revived; wounds and dead comrades were forgotten; one only feeling, that of exultation, filled every breast. The remnants of colours were everywhere raised aloft and waved by joyous hands; trumpets and drums sent forth their heart-stirring sounds; the ranks rapidly filled with the strugglers; such even of the wounded as could walk hurried to the front to share in the glorious triumph. With

midst of the wreck of the Anglo-Dutch army, surrounded by their fire, they experienced the same fate as the redoubtable and victorious English column at Fontenoy. General Mallet, who commanded the third regiment of chasseurs, Majors Cardinal, Angelet, Agnès, the greater number of commanders of companies, full dead; almost all the officers were wounded. Of the thousand men composing the third regiment of chasseurs, more than seven hundred were left upon the field. The first battalion of the third grenadiers, the battalions of the fourth regiments of chasseurs and grenadiers, had more than a thousand of their men disabled. The valiant and unfortunate remnant retired in order to the foot of the height. They had lost their numerical strength, but not their courage."—*Victoires et Conquêtes*, xxiv. 321.

‡ "All is lost—the Guard is repulsed."

bounding steps the whole line pressed forward as one man at the command of their chief; and the last rays of the sun glanced on forty thousand men, who, with a shout which caused the very earth to shake, streamed over the summit of the hill.

32. The French, who had believed that the British infantry were wholly destroyed, from not having seen them for so long a period on the crest of the ridge, were thunderstruck when they beheld this immense body advance majestically in line, driving before them the last column of the Imperial Guard who had made the attack.* At the same time, Bulow's and Ziethen's corps of Prussians, of whom six-and-thirty thousand had already come up, emerged entirely from the wood, and advanced with a swift step and in the finest order, in the double-necked column then peculiar to their country, to join in the attack. A hundred guns, arranged in the form of an amphitheatre on the skirts of the wood, opened a tremendous fire over their heads, and the balls soon began to fall in the midst of the French army, on the chaussée of La Belle Alliance. Despair now seized upon the French soldiers; they saw at once that all was lost, and horse, foot, and cannon, breaking their ranks, fled tumultuously towards the rear; while the British cavalry, still four thousand strong, poured in every direction down the slope, cutting down

those who attempted to resist, and driving before them the mass of fugitives who strove to keep their ranks.

33. Still, however, the Old Guard stood firm; for the two battalions of that far-famed body forming the rear of the last attacking column, had not reached the terrible fire which had proved fatal to those in their front, and, instead of moving in disorder to the right before Adam's men, had detached themselves and retired in good order to their comrades in the rear. The two battalions also, which, as already mentioned, had been left in reserve, in perfect array of squares, fresh and unscathed, supported by a strong body of cuirassiers on either flank, with artillery in the interstices, presented not only a formidable body to cover the rallying of the Middle Guard, but formed the head of a column which might have succeeded, like that of Desaix, at Marengo, in restoring the battle, and converting incipient defeat into ultimate victory. But now the effects of Wellington's admirable foresight, in having marched forward Vivian and Vandeleur's brigades at the time of the advance of Adam's infantry on the flank of the Middle Guard, became conspicuous. Vivian reached the bottom of the hollow at the time when the second column of the Guard was recoiling in disorder down the hill; and Napoleon, after rallying in person the broken battalions of the Middle Guard who had constituted the first column of attack, which he formed in three squares, on a height commanding the Charleroi road, pushed forward the only remaining light horse at his disposal to check the brigade; but they were quickly overthrown. Upon this the dauntless cuirassiers advanced and formed in line in front and on flank of the Old Guard; but, wearied with their previous efforts, and discouraged by the repulse of the Middle Guard, they were in no condition to withstand the vehement onset of the British hussars.

34. Vivian charged in échelons of regiments, the 10th, headed by himself leading; and with that regiment

* "We have seen on the day of our disaster, these children of Albion ranged in square battalions in the plain between the wood of Hougomont and the village of Mont St Jean; the cavalry which supported them was cut in pieces; the fire of their artillery was silenced; death was before them, and death was in their ranks—shame was in their rear. In this terrible juncture, the musketry of the Imperial Guard fired close to them, and the cavalry of the victorious French could not break the line of the immovable British infantry. One would have been tempted to believe that they had taken root in the ground, had not the battalions majestically given way some minutes before sunset, when the arrival of the Prussian army made Wellington aware that, thanks to numbers, thanks to the *vis inertia*, and, as a reward for his skill in the disposition of his brave army on the battle-field, he had gained the most decisive victory of our time."—*For*, i. 323, 324.

he dispersed and drove in the cavalry posted in the front and on the left of the squares of the Old Guard. No sooner was this done, than that gallant officer, galloping to his left, led on the 18th also in person against the cavalry of de Lorte, which was on the right of that veteran body, the 1st German Legion following. In a few minutes, the dazzling helmets of the cuirassiers and spears of the lancers were seen scattered in disorder, and flying in every direction. At the same time, the 2d King's German Legion, which Wellington had moved up to support Vivian, successfully charged a body of cuirassiers on the right of the 10th; and though this corps was in its turn assailed by fresh cuirassiers, and thrown into disorder, it quickly rallied, and soon drove the French horse off that part of the field. The squares of the Guard were by this laid bare, and the artillery in the intervals opened a heavy fire on the British horse; but Vivian, dashing on, captured the guns, twenty-four in number, before any foot-soldier on his left arrived; and at this moment, seeing the Osnaburg red-coats coming up, he ventured to attack the squares. Such was the vehemence of the men, that a squadron of the 10th re-formed after taking the artillery, and charged one of the squares with unparalleled vehemence. That attack, however, after a short struggle, was repulsed by the steady fire of these veteran grenadiers. The square, nevertheless, fell back after the shock, still keeping up a rolling fire on its oppo-

nents, who never ceased to cut at them till they were lost in the refractory crowd of fugitives. About this time, Vandeleur's brigade, coming up, charged upon Vivian's right, defeated a body of French infantry who were formed in square, and endeavouring to restore the battle in that quarter. They captured a battery of guns, which was the last that maintained the cannonade on the French left; and then, pushing on rather in advance of Vivian, headed the pursuit.*

35. Meanwhile Wellington, who led the advance of the infantry, galloped to the head of Adam's brigade, which was moving on four deep in line, pursuing the broken remains of the second column of the Middle Guard, which had now swerved to the hollow on the French left of the chaussée of Charleroi. At the same time, the Osnaburg Hanoverian battalion of landwehr, under Colonel Halket, which had closely followed the unbroken column of the two battalions of the Old Guard who had joined in the last attack, and were now retiring in good order towards the Charleroi road, came up with these undaunted antagonists. The English general, who observed the confusion of the body of fugitives which was crowding off to the rear, around the rallied squares of the Middle Guard, and the beautiful order in which Vivian's brigade was advancing on his left, ordered Adam's brigade to attack them. "Go on, Colborne," said his Grace—"go on; they won't stand: don't give them time to rally." On approaching the Guard,

* Gourgaud ascribes the loss of the battle to this happy charge of Vivian's brigade on the flank of the Old Guard, after the repulse of the Middle. "The sun," says Gourgaud, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, "was set—nothing was despaired of, when two brigades of the enemy's cavalry, who had not yet charged, penetrated between La Haye Sainte and the corps of General Reille. They might have been stopped by the four squares of the Guard; but, seeing the great disorder which prevailed towards the right, they turned. These three thousand cavalry prevented all rallying. The Emperor ordered his four squadrons of service to charge—these squadrons were too few in number; it would have required the whole division of cavalry reserves of the Guard: and by that fatality which attended this disastrous day, this division of two thousand grenadiers on horseback and

dragoons, all picked men, were engaged on the plain without the Emperor's order. All was now over; there was no longer means of rallying the troops; the four squadrons were overthrown, the confusion only increased."—GOURGAUD, *Campagne de 1815*, 92, 93.

In the preceding account of the repulse of the Imperial Guard at Waterloo, I have, in addition to the authorities quoted in the margin, availed myself of the information of three gallant officers who combated at the spot: Colonel Warrington of the 10th Hussars, who was engaged in the charges on the Old Guard; Captain Ross of the 72d, the fire of whose company, with that of the Guards, brought down their leading files; and Captain Wilson of the artillery, who was with the nine guns in the apex of the triangle directly in their front.

they were received with a heavy fire from its veteran ranks, and the shot flew fast round the Duke. "This is no place for you," said Sir Colin Campbell, who observed the danger of the English general; "you had better move."—"I will," replied the Duke, "when I have seen those fellows off." This soon happened. The Guard, impressed with the steady advance of Adam's brigade, moved to the rear, but now slowly and in good order; while the column opposed to the Osnaburg battalion also retired. A battery of six guns having severely galled the flank of this battalion as it advanced in pursuit of the Old Guard, a rush was made upon them by the flank company, by whom they were quickly carried. About the same time, the main body of the British line, which was still considerably in rear, came up to the front of the original French position, where the guns whose execution had been so severely felt by the Allies were placed. In the general confusion they could not be drawn off; their horses had almost all been killed or hamstrung during Ponsonby's charge; and soon loud shouts from the left announced that the whole of d'Erlon's batteries had fallen into the hands of the British!

36. Napoleon witnessed this terrible reverse with feelings which it is impossible to describe; but he still preserved his calm demeanour, till the Old Guard recoiled in disorder, with the British cavalry mingled with their bayonets. He then became as pale as death, and observed to the guide, "*ils sont mêlés ensemble*." There was not a moment, however, to lose; for the English horsemen, sweeping up the French side of the slope in great masses, already threatened to envelop him on either flank; and the rapid advance of Bulow, who had now carried Planche-vert, after a violent struggle, would very soon cut off his retreat. He instantly ordered the four squadrons in attendance on his person to charge the British horse, who were thundering in close pursuit; but they were quickly overthrown; and being driven back on the squares of the Guard, who were

* They are mingled together.

now in full retreat, augmented the general confusion. The Emperor then ascended a small elevation, and there himself directed the fire of four pieces of cannon, which were worked to the last, and one of the discharges of which carried off Lord Uxbridge's leg, while he was close by Wellington's side. The rapid approach of the English and Prussians, however, soon rendered this post untenable. Napoleon then placed himself in front of the "*Grenadiers à Cheval*," one of the steadiest regiments of his Guard; and that noble regiment, impressed with its charge, continued to retreat leisurely at a foot's pace, without breaking its ranks amidst the frightful confusion, till the Emperor was beyond the reach of danger. Turning then to Bertrand, he said, "*Tout à présent est fini! Sauvons nous*;"† and setting spurs to his horse, fled across the fields in great haste, attended only by a few followers. The Emperor was already several miles from the field of battle, when the Guard, still in that extremity reluctant to flee, formed themselves in squares, and strove to stem the tide of disorder. It was then that the celebrated words are said to have been used by some of their number when called on to surrender, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders!" But it was all in vain. The British cavalry, led by Vivian and Vandeleur, who now headed the pursuit, charged upon their flanks; Adam and Halket continued steadily advancing upon them; the mass of fugitives overwhelmed their front, and prevented their firing. In a few minutes they were pierced through in every direction, cut down or made prisoners, with their generals, Duhamel, Lobau, and Cambronne. After the Guard was broken, all resistance ceased. Vandeleur's horse, which headed the pursuit, and which had attacked and carried the last French battery that fired on the left, now became so enveloped in the torrent of fugitives, that they were swept along beyond their comrades into the middle of the French army, while their arms, weary with striking, could hardly wield their sabres.

† All is now over; let us save ourselves.

37. Meanwhile a desperate conflict was raging in and around Planchenoit, where Bulow's left wing, aided by part of Pirch's corps, was assailing the steady battalions of Morand's Old Guards, which still held that important post. The church and churchyard were strongly occupied by these noble veterans, who, by the rapidity and precision of their fire, long held at bay the superior masses of the Prussians, who, stimulated alike by past defeat and present victory, poured in on all sides to complete their destruction. Every attack in front was successfully repelled; and it was not till the increasing number of their assailants enabled them to press them at the same time on both flanks, that the Old Guard, still in good order, began to retire. The chassours, under General Pelet, covered the retreat; and, though dreadfully thinned by the fire which fell upon them from all sides, still presented an unbroken front to the enemy. On quitting the enclosures of Planchenoit, this band of heroes, now reduced to two hundred and fifty men, found itself surrounded by large masses of Prussian infantry and cavalry, who had very nearly penetrated to the eagle, in the centre of their ranks. Then Pelet, who commanded, halted his men upon a little rising ground, and called out—"A moi, chassours! Sauvons l'aigle, ou mourons autour d'elle."* The men quickly formed round their undaunted leader, and, closing their ranks, succeeded, with levelled bayonets, in making their way with their eagle untouched, through their enemies, and reached the main line of retreat, though not a fourth part survived the glorious conflict.

38. Blucher now, assembling all his superior officers, gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The whole French army became one mass of inextricable confusion. The chaussée was like the scene of an immense shipwreck, covered with a vast mass of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and articles of every kind. All the efforts of the Guard to stem the flight, or ar-

rest the progress of the victors, were fruitless. They were swept away by the torrent which streamed in resistless force over the whole plain. Never had such a rout been witnessed in modern war. Wellington rode constantly with the advanced posts, regardless of the balls, from friends and foes, which were falling around them. When urged by some of the officers in attendance not to expose himself so much, he replied, "Never mind, let them fire away: the battle's gained!" A noble sentiment, coming from such a man at such a moment. Before the pursuit ceased, a little beyond La Belle Alliance, from the inability of the British, through absolute exhaustion, to continue it, a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, three hundred and fifty caissons, and six thousand prisoners, had been captured; and of the vast French army, that morning so brilliant, not two companies were to be found together.

39. Blucher and Wellington, by a singular chance, met near a hamlet called the Maison du Roi beyond La Belle Alliance, on the road leading to Genappe, and mutually saluted each other as victors. After cordially shaking hands, the English general represented to the Prussian that his men were so exhausted with fighting the whole day, that they were hardly able to continue the pursuit. "Leave that to me," replied Blucher; "I will send every man and horse after the enemy." And in effect Ziethen continued the pursuit without intermission during the whole night. Seven times the wearied French, ready to drop down, tried to form bivouacs: seven times they were roused by the dreadful sound of the Prussian trumpet, and obliged to continue their flight without intermission.† Such was their fatigue that the greater part of the foot-soldiers threw away their arms; and the cavalry, utterly dispersing, rode every man for his life across the country. The dejection was universal and extreme. At Genappe some resistance was attempted, and a brisk fire of musketry was kept up for a few

* "Hither, chassours! Let us save the eagle, or die round it."

† "Die Franzosen so aus sieben bivouacs nacheinander aufgejagt wurden."—GROTMAN DÄMMER, I. 323.

minutes from behind a barricade of overturned cannon and carriages. But a few shots from the Prussian horse-artillery soon dispersed the enemy, and the town was taken amidst loud cheers, and with it Napoleon's travelling carriage, private papers, hat, and sword. It was in a field near Quatre Bras that the Emperor first drew bridle, and rested for a few minutes to take a slight refreshment, the only one that he had tasted since the morning. Immediately remounting, he rode all night, and reached Charleroi at six in the morning. The fugitives were already pouring over the bridges, and after stopping an hour he resumed his flight to Philipville: The torrent—horse, foot, and artillery, all intermingled—continued to defile over the bridge at Charleroi during the whole day; but scarcely forty thousand passed the Sambre, and they carried with them only twenty-seven guns. The whole remainder of their artillery fell into the hands of the British on the field of battle, or of the Prussians in the pursuit.

40. "Such," said Napoleon, "was the battle of Mont St Jean: glorious to the French arms, yet how fatal!" The loss of the Allies in it was immense.

* Viz. :—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Miscing.	Total.
British,	1,417	4,923	582	6,892
King's German Legion,	362	1,009	218	1,589
Hanoverians,	294	1,098	210	1,602
Brunswickers,	154	456	50	660
Nassau,	254	389		643
Belgians,	466	2,054	1,627	3,994
Total,	2,947	9,829	2,687	15,363
Prussian loss,	1,255	4,387	1,386	6,928

Grand total allied armies,

	4,172	14,216	4,093	22,378
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—SIBBOLD, ii. 502, 519; and *Die Grosse Chron.* iii. 337.

† "I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me and contemplate the loss I have sustained, particularly in your brother (Sir Thomas Gordon). The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as any to you, and to his friends."—WELLINGTON to LORD ASHERDEEN, 19th June 1815; GAWOOD, xii. 428.

‡ The loss of the Belgians during this short campaign was very severe—it amounted to 4938 men killed and wounded; and the Brunswickers lost in the same period 1806 men. The total loss of Wellington's army during the campaign from the 15th to the 19th June was as follows, giving a clear proof upon whom the weight of the contest fell:—

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
British and King's German Legion,	729	11,889	12,618
Hanoverians,	117	1,919	2,036
Belgians,	144	8,894	4,038
Brunswickers,	59	1,440	1,505
Nassau,	24	619	643
	1073	10,217	20,290

—FLORIO, iv. 78, 79, App.; and *Die Grosse Chron.* iii. 336, 337.

That of the British, King's German Legion, and Hanoverians alone amounted to ten thousand, of whom two thousand and twenty-three were killed. The loss at Waterloo alone, on the part of the whole troops engaged, was above twenty-two thousand.* The field of battle next day presented a scene of matchless horror, exceeding even that immortalised in the *Iliad*:—

"In dust the vanquished and the victor lies,
With copious slaughter—all the fields are red,
And heaped with growing mountains of the dead.
So fought each host, with thirst of glory fired,
And crowds on crowds triumphantly expired." *Pope's Homer*, iv. 627.

The total loss of Wellington's army, from the 15th to the 19th, was twenty thousand two hundred and ninety, including that of the Belgian and German auxiliaries, but exclusive of the Prussians, who lost seven thousand more at Waterloo alone. The magnitude of the chasms in his ranks, on this occasion, excited the most mournful feelings in the breast of the English general, and obliterated for a time all exultation at his triumph.† The Prussian loss on the 16th and 18th,‡ includ-

ing the action at Wavre on the latter of these days, was thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty. Of the French army, it is sufficient to say that it was weakened on the field by at least forty thousand at Waterloo alone; but, in effect, it was totally destroyed, and scarcely any of the men who fought there ever again appeared in arms. After they had passed the Sambre and regained their own country, the troops became utterly desperate; the infantry dispersing in the villages, the cavalry and artillery selling their horses, and making the best of their way to their respective homes.

41. While this terrible battle was raging at Waterloo, Marshal Grouchy, with his corps, was actively engaged with Thielman in the neighbourhood of Wavre. Napoleon's orders, verbally communicated to that marshal when he received the command, were to follow the Prussians, to attack them, and never lose sight of them. In pursuance of these orders, Grouchy, who had reached Gembloux on the evening of the 17th, early on the morning of the 18th began to press upon the rear-guard of Thielman's corps, which was opposed to him; and, after an obstinate resistance, the Prussians were driven back in the direction of Wavre. At noon, the cannonade at Waterloo was distinctly heard in Grouchy's army: Count Gerard strongly urged the marshal to abandon the pursuit of the Prussians, and move towards Waterloo, where it was evident the decisive struggle was going forward. But Grouchy was too well aware of the implicit obedience to orders which the Emperor exacted, to

adopt these suggestions; and he had just received instructions from Soult, dated ten o'clock on the 18th of June, *to continue his movement on Wavre.** He persisted, accordingly, implicitly to obey his orders, and continued the attack on Wavre, where Thielman's corps was posted on the left bank of the Dyle, occupying both the town of that name and the bridges of Bierge and Linale, till seven o'clock, when a second despatch from Soult, dated one o'clock afternoon, enjoined him to manoeuvre on St Lambert, where Bulow's columns had begun to appear.† He immediately did so. Vandamme at the head of his corps continued the assault on Wavre and Bierge without success; but Fajol, with his light cavalry, followed by Gerard's corps, amounting to more than twelve thousand men, forced the passage of the Dyle at the bridge of Linale, won the opposite heights after severe fighting, repulsed the rear-guard of Ziethen, and turned Thielman's right flank, as they had been directed.

42. The defence of Wavre by Thielman, on this occasion, was one of the most skilful and glorious events of the war, fruitful as it was in heroic deeds on both sides. The Prussian force, in consequence of the losses sustained at Ligny, and of six battalions and a battery by a mistake of their commanders having followed the march of the other corps of the Prussians, and not appeared at all on the field till the contest was over at night, was only fifteen thousand two hundred, and they were assailed by above thirty thousand French. The contest began with a violent cannonade across the Dyle,

* "The Emperor desires me to inform you that at this moment he is about to attack the English army, which has taken a position in front of the forest of Solignies. His Majesty desires that you should direct your movements upon Wavre, in order to approach us, and conduct our operations in concert, driving before you all the Prussian corps who have taken that direction, or who might stop at Wavre, where you should endeavour to arrive as soon as possible."—Soult to Grouchy, 18th June 1815, ten o'clock; Grouchy, p. 31.

† Even in this second despatch, however, dated from the field of Waterloo, he was so far from disapproving of Grouchy's movement on Wavre hitherto, that he expressly

approved it, and only enjoined him for the first time a direction towards Waterloo.

"You have written at two o'clock this morning that you would march against Sort, at Wallam; then your intention was to proceed to Corbair, or to Wavre; this movement is conformable to the orders which you have received. However, the Emperor desires me to tell you that you ought still to manoeuvre in our direction; it is for you to observe our position and act accordingly, and to establish our communications so as to be always ready to fall upon any hostile troops which may seek to harass our right."

—From the field of Waterloo, the 18th, an hour after midnight.—Grouchy, p. 34; and Siborne, i. 406.

which was kept up with great spirit on both sides for above an hour, when an attempt was made on the Prussian left to force the bridges of Wavre. Vandamme, who was under Grouchy's orders, devoted his whole corps to this assault, and he was opposed only by four Prussian battalions; but such was their skill and resolution, that they repulsed during the day no less than thirteen different assaults by such immensely superior forces. The way in which they did this was very peculiar, and highly interesting. The streets of Wavre lay parallel to the river, and at right angles to those leading up from the bridges. The advanced guard of the Prussians was placed in the houses in front, next the river, and, though driven from the lower, continued to fight with desperate bravery in the upper storeys. The reserves were arranged under cover in the cross streets. Whenever the French columns made their way across through the fire from the houses, these reserves suddenly rushed forward from their covers, and, while those farthest back stopped the advance of the front, the others opened such a fire on the flank of the column, as always drove it back with heavy loss across the bridges. After fighting in this manner from four o'clock till midnight, the bridges were still in the hands of the Prussians, and the contending troops lay on the opposite banks.

43. On the following morning, Thielman, who had now heard of the glorious victory on the preceding day, attacked Grouchy at daybreak, but was vigorously repulsed; and Grouchy was preparing to follow up his success and march upon Brussels, when the fatal news arrived of the rout at Waterloo on the preceding day, with orders from the Emperor for Grouchy to retreat upon Namur, and effect a junction there with the remainder of the army. He faithfully obeyed his instructions, and fell back instantly on Namur, which town he reached upon the 20th, having had a narrow escape from being intercepted by Pirch's corps. This corps had been detached by Blücher from the field of Waterloo on the night of

the 18th, to turn his left flank, and cut him off from the Sambre; and he only failed in doing so, from an injudicious halt he made on the 19th at Millory. As it was, Pirch arrived at Namur just as the rear-guard of Grouchy was leaving that town. But the French rear-guard, consisting of Teste's division, though driven from the fortified suburb, yet made good the ramparts with the most determined courage, until the main body had defiled over the bridge across the Sambre, and finally withdrew in safety. From this Grouchy marched without farther interruption by Dinant and Rheims to Soissons, where his troops rejoined the main body of the French army with thirty-two thousand men and a hundred and eight guns in excellent order on the 26th, having more than repaired his losses by the stragglers whom he picked up during the retreat. It augments the admiration which all must feel at the noble conduct of Marshal Blücher and General Gneisenau on the eventful day of Waterloo, that when they adopted the resolution to unite their whole force, except Thielman's corps, to beat on the decisive point at Waterloo, they were aware of the difficulties in which that general was involved at Wavre. They resolved, however, with equal spirit and generalship, to sacrifice all minor objects, and even endanger their communications, in order to achieve the destruction of Napoleon's great army at Waterloo.

44. The campaign of Waterloo having been the immediate cause of the overthrow of Napoleon, it has been made, as may well be believed, the subject of unbounded discussion and criticism, both on the Continent and in Great Britain, and equally on the part of the allied writers as the French. The latter have, as was very natural, strained every nerve to palliate their defeat, partly by exaggerating the forces of their opponents, partly by diminishing their own, and partly by misrepresenting the nature of Marshal Grouchy's operations, and unduly magnifying the effect which would have followed from his having disobeyed his orders, and

come up to the field of battle before the conclusion of the fight. The allied military historians, on the other hand, and particularly the Prussians, have perhaps endeavoured to claim for themselves a larger share than was really due to them in the honours of the conflict, and to underrate what should in fairness be ascribed to the unconquerable firmness of the British troops. The English writers also have not been a whit behind their continental brethren in exaggeration; and, by seeking to ascribe everything to their own countrymen, and somewhat unduly keeping out of view the necessary effect of the Prussian co-operation, have gone far to make the continental readers distrust what really is authentic and undoubted in the exploits of the British troops on that glorious day. A few observations, couched in the spirit, so far as attainable, of historic impartiality, will, it is hoped, tend at least to show where the truth really lies amidst these conflicting statements.

45. (I.) In the first place, it is evident, whatever the English writers may say to the contrary, that both Blücher and the Duke of Wellington were unexpectedly assailed by Napoleon's invasion of Belgium on the 15th of June; and that he gained in the outset a great, and what had well-nigh proved a decisive advantage, by that circumstance. It has been already seen, from the Duke's despatches, that on the 9th of June—that is, six days before the invasion took place—he was aware that Napoleon was collecting a great force on the frontier, and he, of course, could not doubt but that hostilities might soon be expected; and that successive intelligence was transmitted daily, down to the night of the 14th, that an attack might daily, and at last hourly, be expected, [*ante*, Chap. XCIII. § 41]. Had he and Blücher not been misled by false information, or waiting for intelligence on which they could more implicitly rely, the two armies would immediately have been concentrated, and placed in such a situation that they might mutually, if attacked, lend each other the necessary assistance. Their united force was fully one hundred and

ninety thousand effective men; while Napoleon's was not more than one hundred and twenty-five, or, at the utmost, one hundred and thirty thousand. They never would, if aware of the pending invasion, have allowed Blücher to be attacked unawares and isolated at Ligny, whilst deprived of the aid of one of his corps; and have suffered three divisions of British infantry, unsupported by either any adequate cavalry or artillery, to be exposed to the onset of a superior force of French, composed of all the three arms, at Quatre Bras.

46. (II.) It is in vain to say that they could not provide for their troops if they had been concentrated, and that it was necessary to watch every road which led to Brussels. Men do not eat more when drawn together than when scattered over a hundred miles of country; and although it is much more troublesome to collect provisions for them in the former situation than in the latter, yet that is no sufficient reason for keeping them in cantonments in presence of a powerful and concentrated enemy. Marlborough and Eugene had long ago maintained armies of one hundred thousand men for successive entire campaigns in Flanders; and Blücher and Wellington had no difficulty in feeding one hundred and fifty thousand, drawn close together, after the war did commence. Both the allied generals were too consummate commanders not to know, that it is not by a cordon of troops scattered over seventy-five miles, that the attack of one hundred and twenty-five thousand French, all concentrated, is to be arrested. If the British army had from the first been assembled at Quatre Bras, and Blücher near Ligny, with a hundred and ninety thousand men between them, how could Napoleon have reached Brussels but by fighting his way through both united, or in close co-operation? Napoleon would never have ventured to pass such a force on any road, however unguarded. In truth, the conduct of the British and Prussian generals on this occasion would be inexplicable, if it were not evidently explained, and therefore the ground of criticism removed, by the deceit practised on them

in France, which has already been referred to.*

47. (III.) It is often said that Wellington was obliged to leave his troops scattered in cantonments down to the very moment of attack; because he did not know by which road he was to be attacked; and if he had concentrated his army when the French accumulated their forces in his front, he could not have guarded every part of the frontier intrusted to him, and the enemy might have penetrated unawares to Brussels by some unprotected route. Without stopping to inquire whether a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, with three hundred and fifty guns, can in this manner slip unobserved past two armies mustering between them a hundred and ninety thousand combatants directly in their front, it seems sufficient to observe, that the advance of an enemy into a hostile territory is never so effectually prevented as by a concentrated mass lying on its flank. No experienced general will hazard an advance into an enemy's country, leaving an equal or superior force in a concentrated position on his side or rear. Marlborough's army, in August 1705, occupied the ground on which Blücher fought on the 18th June 1815, and the French were at Soignies and Waterloo, so that he was between them and Paris; but the English general wisely kept his face to them, and never thought of hazarding an incursion into the French territory. Vendôme, after the battle of Oudenarde, lay in the neighbourhood of Ghent, while Eugene and Marlborough were besieging Lille, on the direct road to Paris; but his position there effectually protected the French capital from insult. Kray, in 1800, for six weeks arrested the march of Moreau

* How did Kray arrest for six weeks the advance of Moreau in Bavaria in 1800?—By accumulating his army under the cannon of Ulm. How did Dumourier stop the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792?—By concentrating his army in the camp of Ste. Ménéhould.—See ante, chap. x. § 24; and chap. xxi. § 20. How did Berthier bring France to the brink of ruin in 1800, when the Archduke Charles invaded Bavaria?—By scattering his troops over an extent of eighty miles. How did Napoleon set matters to rights?—By instantly concentrating them.—See ante, chap. lvi. § 25.

through Bavaria by keeping his army within the walls of Ulm, though the French general repeatedly passed him, and levied contributions to the very frontiers of Austria. Napoleon was not the man to push on to Brussels, if a hundred and ninety thousand Allies had been concentrated at Quatre Bras and Ligny, on the line of his communications. It was the desperate state of his affairs at the close of the campaign of 1814 in France, which alone prompted the march towards St Dizier and the Rhine, leaving Blücher and Schwartzemberg between him and the capital; and he lost his throne in consequence. He would have had little reason to congratulate himself on his campaign, if he had passed the Allies and occupied Brussels, and they had passed him and taken Paris.

48. (IV.) It follows from these considerations that, in the outset of the Waterloo campaign, Napoleon, by the secrecy and rapidity of his movements, gained the advantage of Wellington and Blücher. Being superior by nearly seventy thousand troops to those at the command of the French Emperor, it was their interest never to have fought at a disadvantage, and not to have made a final stand till their two great armies were in a situation mutually to assist and support each other. There seems no reason why this might not have been done by their mutually converging from the frontier, as soon as the invasion commenced, to Waterloo, without abandoning Brussels. This, in truth, was exactly what they *did* do on the 17th, when Wellington retired to Waterloo, and Blücher to near Wavre, which kept them in communication with each other, when both were concentrated and ready to fight, and produced the decisive success which followed. But even if it had been necessary to evacuate that capital before the union was effected, prudence suggests that it would have been better to have done so, even with all its moral consequences, than to have exposed either army to the chance of serious defeat, in consequence of being singly assailed by greatly superior forces. Nevertheless, Napoleon so managed matters in

the outset of the campaign, that, though inferior upon the whole by sixty thousand men to the allied armies taken together, he was superior to either at the points of attack at Ligny and Quatre Bras. But for the extraordinary circumstance, which was not to be reckoned on, of d'Erlon's corps, twenty-four thousand strong, being marched and countermarched the whole of the 16th without firing a shot either at Quatre Bras or Ligny, he would have gained, on the very first day of the campaign, a victory over both the English and Prussian forces. This is the clearest proof that in the beginning he gained the advantage, and it had well-nigh proved a decisive one, of both his opponents.

49. (V.) Napoleon gained this success by the admirable secrecy and rapidity of his movements, which led to the sudden and unforeseen irruption which he made by Charleroi into the heart of his enemy's cantonments; and his plan of detaching part of his force only against the British on his left, and reserving its weight to assail the Prussians on his right, was undoubtedly judicious. But this advantage was speedily lost, and became the forerunner of disaster, by the unaccountable manner in which he followed it up, by *striking at once* against both the British and Prussians, without any adequate central reserve, on which both wings, on an emergency, might rely. His army on the whole being considerably inferior in number to those of his adversaries united, his evident policy was, to have observed the one party, and struck with the weight of his force against the other. This, accordingly, was what he did in substance on the 18th at Wavre and Waterloo. But on the 16th he commenced an attack in person on Blücher at Ligny with seventy-two thousand men, while he detached Ney with forty-six thousand to occupy Quatre Bras—with instructions, it is true, to make only a brisk attack at that point—and then move on as rapidly as possible against Blücher's rear at Ligny. But the consequences of thus *simultaneously* commencing the offensive with *two wings*,

without any centre to support them, were soon apparent. The Emperor, to achieve victory at Ligny, was obliged to summon up half of Ney's force under d'Erlon to menace the Prussian right; while Ney, stubbornly resisted at Quatre Bras, found himself compelled in the evening to recall the same corps, before it had fired a shot against the Prussians, to avert entire defeat from the increasing forces of Wellington. It was to this extraordinary circumstance that the loss of the campaign to Napoleon is in a great degree to be ascribed.

50. (VI.) Neither commander was to blame for these contradictory orders, when the plan was once fixed on: for Napoleon had need of the countenance of d'Erlon, to support his grand attack on Blücher's centre; and Ney could only avoid defeat at Quatre Bras by the instantaneous return of the very same force to arrest the increasing masses of the British. But the root of the evil lay in the *plan*, which by a natural consequence entailed these evils; for if Ney had been directed only to observe the British, d'Erlon could have operated on Blücher's right as fatally as Blücher himself did on Napoleon's two days after; and if the Prussians had been only observed on the right, Ney would, with double their strength, have with ease crushed the British at Quatre Bras. Either result would have altered the issue of the campaign, and probably of the war; for we have the authority of Napoleon himself for the assertion, that if the British had been defeated, he would have had little difficulty with the whole remainder of the Allies, who were preparing to invade the French territory.* And herein we have cause to admire both the firmness and wisdom of Wellington, who so soon arrested the advantage which Napoleon's surprise had, in the outset, given him; and, by the tenacity of his resistance at Quatre Bras, at once rendered the vice of that great man's subsequent plan of attack

* "If the English army had been defeated at Waterloo, what would have awaited all the multitude of Russians, Austrians, Prussians, or Spaniards, who were crowding to the Rhine, the Alps, or the Pyrenees?"—Napoleon's *Memoirs*, book ix. p. 203.

apparent, neutralised his triumph at Ligny, and compensated it by reasserting the old superiority of the British troops against fearful odds in the first conflict of the campaign.

51. (VII.) Neither Napoleon nor Ney exerted their wonted vigour when the attack on the 16th actually took place. Had Napoleon closed up his troops during the night of the 15th, and advanced to the attack of the Prussians at Ligny by five o'clock on the morning of the 16th (which he could surely have done, seeing that his advanced posts on the evening of the 15th were but from two to three miles distant from Ligny), he would have found that position occupied by Ziethen's corps alone. Pirch's corps being six miles in the rear at Marly, where it had bivouacked, and Thielman's fifteen miles in the rear at Namur, he might then have overwhelmed Ziethen's and Pirch's corps in detail, and Thielman on coming up would have shared the same fate. Instead of this, he did not advance towards Fleurus until between *eleven and twelve o'clock* on the morning of the 16th, by which time Ziethen's, Pirch's, and Thielman's corps were all concentrated at Ligny, and did not attack them seriously until *nearly three o'clock in the afternoon*, by which time they had leisure to occupy the position fully. So much for Napoleon's movements on the right. Ney on the left committed the same error. Had he assembled his troops during the night of the 15th, and attacked early on the morning of the 16th, he would with ease have carried the post of Quatre Bras before the arrival of any of the British reserve from Brussels. Instead of doing so, he did not seriously commence the attack until between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, which gave time for Wellington to bring up the English divisions from Brussels.

52. (VIII.) On the morning of the 17th the whole front of Napoleon was clear of any enemy as far as Gembloux, where the rear-guard of the Prussians under Thielman was. On the other hand, Wellington lay at Quatre Bras with his *left flank entirely exposed and*

uncovered by the retreat of the Prussians, and he did not withdraw the main body of the troops from this position *until between ten and eleven o'clock a.m.* Napoleon, therefore, might easily have marched at daybreak on the 17th from Ligny, with the Guards and the 6th (Lobau's) corps, who were comparatively fresh (the former having been only engaged at the termination of the battle of Ligny, the latter, who came up at its close, having never fired a shot), upon the left flank of the British and the defile of Genappe in their rear. He would have arrived there before them, and might thus have enveloped their left flank and rear, whilst Ney with his two corps (now united) assailed their front. Instead of this, Napoleon did not move at all until nearly noon, when he directed the Guards and 6th Corps to assemble at Martois on the road to Quatre Bras, and move from thence upon that point; and they did not reach Quatre Bras until two o'clock in the afternoon, by which time Wellington had withdrawn his whole infantry and artillery in safety through the defile of Genappe, and was in full retreat for Waterloo.

53. (IX.) Blucher acted a gallant and heroic, rather than a prudent part, in giving battle when one of his corps had not yet come up; and when the co-operation of Wellington was, on that day, from the tardy concentration of his troops, uncertain, if not nearly hopeless. The superiority of the Allies upon the whole was such, that it was their part to trust nothing to chance; and to avoid giving battle till they were in such a state of proximity to each other, as to be able to calculate on success as a matter of certainty. But the veteran field-marshal could not bring himself to do that. His mighty soul recoiled from the idea of retreating before an enemy whom he had so often conquered, after he had collected an equality of force; and he gave battle in consequence, unsupported, with nearly equal numbers, at Ligny. But the result proved that in so doing he had miscalculated the relative prowess of the two armies which were now in presence of each other. He was misled

by the facility with which, in the former campaigns, the new levies of Prussia had repeatedly overthrown the French forces; forgetting that it was a crowd of dispirited conscripts who were then clustered round the standards of Napoleon; and that it was a very different contest they had now to maintain with the bronzed veterans whom the peace had recently restored to his standards. By resisting as he did, with three-fourths only of his force, and apart from the British, he incurred a great risk for no adequate advantage.

54. (X.) In justice, however, to the Prussian general, it must be recollected that he gave battle at Ligny in firm reliance on the effective co-operation of Wellington's army, sixty thousand strong at least, in the latter part of the day. He had been promised by Wellington in person, that he would be on the French flank at four o'clock. It was to gain time for their co-operation that he prolonged, with such desperate resolution, the murderous strife in the villages, and all but gave his life to hold his ground. In a word, Blücher did at Ligny, on the 16th, what Wellington did on the 18th at Waterloo; and for the same reason, that he hourly expected a decisive attack from a friendly force on the enemy's flank. And this shows how much the English general's delay in concentrating his army, disconcerted in the outset the plan of the campaign. Wellington's orders to collect his troops, issued at half-past seven P.M. from Brussels, on the evening of the 15th, produced sixty thousand combatants of all arms at Quatre Bras at nine A.M. on the morning of the 17th—that is, thirty-eight hours afterwards. Issued at eleven P.M. on the 14th, they would have mustered a similar array at Quatre Bras at one P.M. on the 16th; and he might with an overwhelming force have driven Ney back on the Emperor's communications, and done to Napoleon what Blücher afterwards did by his incomparable cross-march to Planchenoit from Wavre. The campaign would thus have been secured, and Napoleon overthrown in the very first encounter,

without risk to either party. And yet—strange destiny of mortals, or their subjection to a higher power!—such a result, how conformable soever to the rules of war, and the dictates of wisdom, could never have produced the decisive results which the course actually followed did—the result of misinformation on the part of one general, and heroic but imprudent valour on the other. Napoleon would merely have been hurled back with defeat into the French territory, and not led to perdition on a path at first strewn with flowers.

55. (XI.) It follows from the same principles, that as clearly as Napoleon gained the advantage of the allied generals in the outset, they gained the advantage of him in the close of the campaign. His favourite military manœuvre of interposing between his adversaries, and striking with a superior force first on the right hand and then on the left, was now met and conquered by the method of resistance obviously suited to it,—viz. the concentric retreat of the two allied armies into such close proximity that, in the event of a general battle, they could mutually support and assist each other. As Quatre Bras and Ligny, indeed, were five, and Waterloo and Wavre ten miles distant, the headquarters of the two armies were not brought nearer by this movement—rather the reverse, but it *really* was a concentric retreat, because the main bodies of the respective armies were brought much nearer to each other. In the former case the two armies were scattered over a space seventy-five miles broad, in the latter they were brought in concentrated masses within ten miles of each other, and therefore into a situation where they could mutually co-operate in case of attack. Napoleon committed an obvious military error, when, with the Prussian army repulsed only, but still unbroken on his flank, he hazarded all on the desperate chance of defeating the British army before its arrival on the ridge of Waterloo. Wellington acted with true military skill when he resolved to give battle in front of the forest of Soignes, with a promise from

Blucher that he would assist him by mid-day with his whole army. That was precisely retreating upon Napoleon the brilliant attack of Ney on the flank of the allied armies, by which he had gained the battle of Bautzen, [*ante*, Chap. XXV. § 71]. In resisting his furious onset, it is hard to say whether we have most cause to admire the ardent spirit and quick determination which prompted Blucher, so soon after his own defeat, to strain every nerve in order to bring up his troops to the decisive point at Waterloo; or the incomparable constancy and unshaken determination which led Wellington, amidst a sea of carnage, to maintain his ground immovable; till the glancing of the Prussian standards announced the assurance of decisive victory. Prudence should have counselled Napoleon to have retreated, rather than incur the desperate hazard of being assailed, either in the moment of victory or defeat, by fifty thousand fresh troops. A just appreciation of the advantages of their situation, equally with their own heroic spirit, prompted Wellington and Blucher to act as they did on this memorable field. And it is very remarkable that their success would probably have been comparatively incomplete, had it not been for the advantage gained by Napoleon on the 16th over the Prussians at Ligny; for it was that which led Napoleon to believe that the Prussian army was put entirely *hors de combat*, at least for some days, and that he might with safety, even to the eleventh hour, hurl his whole forces, with almost desperate energy, against the British legions in front of Waterloo.

56. (XII.) It is impossible to estimate too highly the military ability of the Duke of Wellington, alike in his selection of the field of battle, in the disposition which he gave to his troops, and the admirable firmness with which he maintained his ground till the promised succour arrived. The slightest inspection of the field of Waterloo must be sufficient to convince every observer that it was in a singular manner adapted for a great defensive stand—being furnished with a gentle slope along its whole front, which, like a regular glacis,

exposed the attacking columns to a fire from the summit every step that they advanced; having the farm-houses and enclosures of La Haye Sainte and Hougomont, like so many outworks, to retard the enemy's advance; and the reverse of the hill affording a gentle slope and hollow to the other side, where the troops, invisible to those who stood on the opposite ridge where the French army bivouacked, might be at once in a great measure sheltered from the fire of the enemy's artillery, and at the same time ready to repel the assault of his columns, if, after braving the fire of the British, they reached the summit of the ridge. The forest behind, it is true, presented great, perhaps insurmountable, difficulties to drawing off the artillery and caissons in the event of defeat; but Wellington had no reason to dread that. Even if worsted on the field, the advance of the Prussians must have rendered it impossible for the Emperor to have followed up his advantage. And we have the authority of the first military writer in Europe for the assertion, that even in the view of a defeat, the choice of the field of Waterloo, with the forest in its rear, was in the circumstances judicious.*

57. (XIII.) But the advantages of his position, great as they were, would have been as nothing, without the in-

* "We have placed among the number of qualities requisite for a position, that of offering an easy retreat. This brings us to the discussion of a question raised by the battle of Waterloo:—An army backed by a forest, when there is a good road behind the centre and each of the wings, would it be exposed, as Napoleon pretends, in the event of its losing the battle? For my part I believe, on the contrary, that such a position would be more favourable to a retreat than would be ground entirely open; for the defeated army cannot traverse a plain without being exposed to the greatest danger. Doubtless, if the retreat degenerated into a complete rout, a party of the artillery remaining in battery before the forest would probably be lost; but the infantry, the cavalry, and the surplus of the artillery, would retire as well as across a plain. If, on the contrary, the retreat was in order, nothing could better protect them than a forest, it being always understood that there exist at least two good roads behind the line, and that no lateral movement has permitted the enemy to forestall the army at the issue of the forest, as happened at Hohenlinden."—*Journ. des Sav. de la Guerre*, 378, 379.

vincible tenacity, heroic courage, and admirable steadiness with which Wellington maintained his ground against greatly superior forces during the terrible conflict, and gained time, at the moment when the fate of Europe quivered in the balance, for the Prussian corps, led with equal determination, and guided by equal skill, to come up and effect a decisive overthrow. Constancy less immovable, moral courage less unconquerable, would have led to the abandonment of the field when the Prussian troops had not arrived at one o'clock, the hour appointed, and the great superiority of the enemy in effective troops had become apparent; and thus postponed to an indefinite period, perhaps for ever, Napoleon's final destruction. But this constancy would have failed in obtaining its reward, had not the Prussian field-marshal, with equal resolution and discernment, disregarded the danger in his rear at Wavre, and forwarded every man and gun, amidst incredible difficulties, to the field of Waterloo. The annals of war do not afford a more striking, perhaps not so striking an example of the intuitive glance of true military genius, as that which, at the same time, led Wellington to resist, even to the death, in his defensive position, down to the very last moment, and then suddenly hurl his whole troops, with the ocean's mighty sweep, upon the foe; and Blucher to disregard all lesser objects, to co-operate in the decisive attack at this decisive point.

58. (XIV.) In considering the comparative shares which the British and Prussian armies had in the achievement of this glorious victory, an impartial judgment must award the highest part to the British troops. When it is recollected that the British soldiers and King's German Legion in the field did not exceed thirty-seven thousand, and that, including the Hanoverians, the whole troops on whom reliance could be placed were only fifty-two thousand, and that they were assailed, for above five hours, by continual attacks from eighty thousand veteran French, under Napoleon's direction, before even Bulow's Prussians arrived in the field at four o'clock, it must be admitted that

this day must ever be reckoned as the proudest of the many proud days of English glory. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the arrival of Bulow's corps at that hour, which compelled Napoleon to detach the two divisions of Lobau's corps, and at last eleven battalions of his Young and Old Guard, to maintain Planchenoit against them, and consequently withdrew them from the field of battle against the English, went far to diminish the superiority, and bring nearer to an equality the military forces of the contending armies. Had they not appeared in force on the field, as they did at half-past seven at night, it is doubtful if the French army would have been repulsed; because their last attack—that of the Guard—only was so shortly before Blucher's standards were seen in the wood issuing from St Lambert, and the Prussians had taken an important part in the action, by drawing off from the fight the two divisions of Lobau and the eleven battalions of the Guard to Planchenoit, by Bulow's vigorous attack at four o'clock. The victory, at best, would have been dreadfully hard won, and probably little more than a sterile triumph like that of Talavera, without their co-operation; and possibly the superiority of the French, if there had been no other army in the field, might have enabled Napoleon to compel the British to retreat, by menacing their flank next day, as he did that of the Russians after the terrible fight of Borodino. Indeed, the nearly balanced state of the battle, at the time of the last attack by the Imperial Guard, renders it very doubtful if the English could have maintained their ground if Lobau's two divisions and the eleven battalions of the Guard had, at that decisive moment, been thrown into the scale, and the attacking columns of infantry, as on all former occasions, had been flanked by powerful bodies of cavalry. It was unquestionably the arrival of the Prussians which rendered the success complete and converted a bloody repulse into a total overthrow; and probably, but for the prospect of their co-operation, Wellington would never, with a force so inferior in military strength, have had

arded so dreadful a conflict. Had he been at the head of seventy-five thousand English troops, or English and German only, he would have needed no such co-operation.

59. (XV.) The effect of Grouchy's not coming up, and the circumstances of his share in the campaign, have been made the subject of great exaggeration on the part of the French writers. Without doubt, if two-and-thirty thousand French troops had come upon the flank of the British army, without being followed by any Prussians, they might have exposed them to a defeat as signal as Napoleon himself experienced, from a similar attack being made upon him when exhausted by the fight. But were Grouchy's troops in a situation to do this? Was he not opposed to, and nearly matched by, the Prussians under Thielman, whom he combated at Wavre? Had not Grouchy strict orders to watch the Prussian general closely, and in particular to direct his march to Wavre? And what would it have availed the French if the latter had come up to their succour with 32,000, if all Blücher's force, still eighty thousand strong, had in consequence joined Wellington? It is by entirely keeping out of view this important fact of Grouchy being matched at Wavre, and the impossibility of his joining Napoleon without the whole of Blücher's force joining Wellington, that the French have been at all able to elevate into a degree of importance the alleged failure of this marshal to appear in the field at the decisive moment. And whether he did right or wrong in acting as he did, nothing is more certain than that he strictly obeyed his orders, reiterated twice over at ten and one o'clock from the

* "Third corps d'armée, Thielman, 33,000 men, 96 guns."—POTTER, iv. 55, Appendix. Thielman was engaged, it is true, at Ligny, but so was Grouchy; and the idea there could not have materially altered their relative proportions. The force which actually fought at Wavre, indeed, was only 15,000; but that, as already noticed, was the consequence of two Prussian brigades and a battery of artillery, forming part of Thielman's corps, having mistaken their way on the 18th, and so taken no part in the combat. This accident, of course, could have been foreseen by neither party.—CLARKEWILL, vol. 194.

very field of Waterloo; and that, if there was any fault in the case, Napoleon could in justice ascribe it to no one but himself. Even if Grouchy, on the 18th, had directed his march to his left instead of his right, and marched from Gembloux on St Lambert instead of Wavre, as directed, he would have fallen on Blücher while struggling through the defiles of St Lambert, and probably stopped both the advance of the corps of Bülow, which he commanded in person, and that of Thielman. He could not, however, have prevented the corps of Ziethen and Pirch from acting on Napoleon's flank; and their force, still above fifty thousand strong, was amply sufficient to have completed his overthrow. But Grouchy's advance in that direction would probably have retarded their advance, and thus rendered the struggle at the crisis more violent, and the victory less complete, than it actually was.

60. (XVI.) Napoleon's tactics, as well as those of Blücher, on the field of Ligny, were almost exclusively confined to vigorous efforts in order to gain possession of the villages which formed the object of strife between the contending parties, and nourishing the assaulting or defending columns with fresh troops, till the last reserves on the Prussian side were exhausted. It was then for the first time that he made a powerful offensive movement in the open ground. The battle of Lützen was nearly of the same description, as was great part of that of Leipzig. It is difficult to believe that there was anything erroneous in the system pursued by such consummate commanders on such important occasions. But yet it deserves the consideration of military men, whether there is not much truth in the observation of a recent learned and able military historian,† that too much importance has been attached to the possession of villages in battles; and that if either party can drive the enemy off the open ground, the troops in the villages will be rendered useless, and in all probability made prisoners. Certain it is that Marl-

† General Mitchell.—*Life of Napoleon*, iii. 287, 290.

borough gained decisive success at Blenheim, by pursuing an entirely opposite system; and after his first assault on the village of that name had failed, by reason of the great strength of its French garrison, by directing his whole efforts to driving the enemy from the open ground between it and the other villages they held, in consequence of which they were enveloped by his victorious battalions, and all the troops they contained, thirteen thousand in number, made prisoners. The truth appears to be, that the attack on villages in a field of battle, as on that of fortified towns in a campaign, is expedient or the reverse according to circumstances. If the parties are nearly matched, and no decisive advantage has been gained on either side, the possession of villages is of great moment, because they form so many *points d'appui*, invaluable in case of local disaster to the troops in the open field. But if one party is greatly superior to the other, either in the number or quality of his troops, it is impolitic to waste time or strength in the assault of villages, where the inferiority of the enemy may be less felt than in the open field, when, by driving him from the ground between them, their garrisons may be rendered useless, or surrounded and made prisoners.

61. (XVII.) The loss of the battle of Waterloo to Napoleon seems to have been mainly owing to the imprudent use he made of nearly his whole cavalry in a desperate strife during the middle of the action, whereby it became, notwithstanding its great numerical strength, so diminished in numbers, depressed in spirit, and worn out by fatigue, that it was unable to oppose any effectual resistance to the incursion of the British horse, in part comparatively fresh, at the close of the day. This is another example of the truth which Napoleon so often repeated, that in battles victory is to the party to whose last reserve the enemy has nothing to oppose. So sensible indeed was Napoleon that his defeat was chiefly owing to this cause, that he said afterwards that the cavalry, in the enthusiasm of the moment, engaged in part *without his orders*. This, how-

ever, is not probable, when his imperious character is considered; and it affords another example of what his history so often showed, that he never took blame to himself, if he could, justly or unjustly, lay it on another. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the ultimate success of Wellington was mainly owing to his judicious withdrawal of the cavalry after the important services they had rendered in the early part of the action, and keeping them in reserve, when the enemies' horse were torn in pieces for three hours, during the middle of the strife, by the grape and musketry from the British batteries and squares. Had Napoleon followed a different course; had he husbanded his horse till the close of the action, and then brought up his columns of the Guard, supported by d'Erlon's and Reille's divisions, and screened on either flank by five thousand of his formidable lancers and cuirassiers, it is difficult to see how it could have been resisted, when it is recollected how nearly such an attack had succeeded without the aid of such flank protection. Both commanders put in practice their favourite modes of action. Napoleon proceeded on the opinion he has so often recorded, that cavalry, if gallantly led, with the aid of artillery, should always be equal to break infantry; and he hazarded them so much, in the belief they would gain his object before the Prussians came up. Wellington, with more reason, as the event proved, rested on the experienced steadiness of the British foot-soldiers, and acted on the conviction that their firmness would repel all the assaults of the enemy till his strength was worn out, and the moment had arrived for converting an obstinate defensive into a vehement offensive operation.

62. Napoleon and Wellington having risen, by the common consent of men, to the highest rank on their respective sides in the great Revolutionary contest; and the awful strife having been finally determined under their guidance on a single field, like that between Rome and Carthage under the banners of Scipio and Hannibal, the

attention of men, to the end of the world, will be forcibly drawn to their characters. We know, after the lapse of two thousand years, with what eagerness we yet dwell on those of the Roman and Carthaginian leaders who met at Zama; and we may anticipate with confidence a similar undying interest in the comparison between the British and French heroes who combated at Waterloo. Happy, indeed, if the pen of the historian could keep pace with the greatness of the subject, and the English language would afford the means of painting, in a few touches, with the hand of Livy or Tacitus, the salient points in the minds of those whose deeds are for ever engraven on the records of mankind!

63. Napoleon and Wellington were not merely individual characters: they were the types of the powers which they respectively headed in the contest. Napoleon had brighter genius, Wellington superior judgment: the former combated with greater energy, the latter with more perseverance. Rapid in design, instant in execution, the strokes of the French hero fell like the burning thunderbolt: cautious in counsel, yet firm in action, the resources of the British champion multiplied, like the vigour of vegetation, after the withering stroke had fallen. No campaign of Wellington's equals in energy and activity those of Napoleon in Italy and in France; none of Napoleon's approaches in foresight and wisdom that of Wellington at Torres Vedras. The vehemence of the French Emperor would have exhausted, in a single season, the whole resources which, during the war, were at the disposal of the English general; the caution of Wellington would have alienated in the very beginning the troops which overflowed with the passions of the Revolution. Ardour and onset were alike imposed on the former by his situation, and suggested by his disposition: foresight and perseverance were equally dictated to the latter by his necessities, and in unison with his character. The one wielded at pleasure the military resources of the half of Europe, and governed a nation heed-

less of consequences, covetous of glory, reckless of slaughter: the other led the forces of a people distrustful of its prowess, avaricious of its blood, niggardly in the outset in its expenditure, but, when once roused, invincible in its determination. And the result, both in the general war and final struggle, was in entire conformity with this distinction. Wellington retired in the outset before the fierce assault of the French legions, but he saw them, for the first time since the Revolution, permanently recoil in defeat from the rocks of Torres Vedras: he was at first repeatedly expelled from Spain, but at last he drove the invaders with disgrace across the Pyrenees. He was in the beginning assailed unawares, and well-nigh overpowered in Flanders; but in the end he baffled all Napoleon's efforts, and, rising up with the strength of a giant, crushed at once his army and his empire on the field of Waterloo.

64. The personal and moral characters of the two chiefs were still more strikingly opposed, and emblematic of the sides they severally led. Both were distinguished by the unwearied perseverance, the steady purpose, the magnanimous soul, which are essential to glorious achievements: both were provident in council, and vigorous in execution: both possessed personal intrepidity in the highest degree: both were indefatigable in activity, and iron in constitution: both enjoyed the rarer qualities of moral courage and fearless determination. But, in other respects, their minds were as opposite as are the poles asunder. Napoleon was covetous of glory, Wellington was impressed with duty: Napoleon was reckless of slaughter, Wellington was sparing of blood: Napoleon was careless of his word, Wellington was inviolate in faith. Treaties were regarded by the former as binding only when expedient—alliances valid only when useful: obligations were regarded by the latter as obligatory, though ruinous—conventions as sacred, even when disgraceful. Napoleon's wasting warfare converted allies into enemies; Wellington's protecting discipline changed enemies into friends. The former fell, because all

Europe rose up against his oppression : the latter triumphed, because his principles were such that all Europe was at last glad to place itself under his guidance. There is not a proclamation of Napoleon to his soldiers in which glory is not mentioned, nor one in which duty is alluded to : there is not an order of Wellington to his troops in which duty is not inculcated, nor one in which glory is mentioned.

65. The intellectual characters of the two heroes exhibited the same distinctive features as their military career and moral qualities. No man ever surpassed Napoleon in the clearness of his ideas, or the stretch of his glance into the depths of futurity ; but he was often misled by the fervour of his conceptions, and mistook the dazzling brilliancy of genius for the steady light of truth. With less ardour of imagination, less originality of thought, less creative power, Wellington had more justness of judgment, and a far greater capability of discriminating error from truth. The young and the ardent who have life before them, will ever turn to the St Helena memoirs for the views of a mind of the most profound and original cast, on the most important subjects of human thought. The mature and the experienced who have known its vicissitudes, will rest with more confidence on the "Maxims and Opinions" of Wellington, and marvel at the numerous instances in which his instinctive sagacity and prophetic judgment had, in opposition to all around him, beheld the shadow of coming events even amidst the clouds with which he was surrounded. No one can read the speculations of the French Emperor without admiration at the brilliancy of his ideas and the originality of his conceptions ; none can peruse the maxims of the English general without closing the book at every page to meditate on the wisdom and justice of his opinions. The genius of the former shared in the fire of Homer's imagination ; the mind of the latter exhibited the depth of Bacon's intellect.

66. But it was in the prevailing moral principles by which they were regulated, that the distinctive char-

acter of their minds was most striking and important. Singleness of heart was the characteristic of the British hero, a sense of duty his ruling principle : ambition pervaded the French conqueror, a thirst for glory was his invariable incentive ; but he veiled it to others, and perhaps to himself, under the name of patriotic spirit. The former proceeded on the belief that the means, if justifiable, would finally work out the end ; the latter, on the maxim that the end would in every case justify the means. Napoleon placed himself at the head of Europe, and desolated it for fifteen years with his warfare : Europe, in return for Waterloo, placed Wellington at the head of its armies, and he gave it thirty years of unbroken peace. The former thought only in peace of accumulating the resources of future war ; the latter sought only in war the means of securing future peace, and finally sheathing the sword of conquest. The one exhibited the most shining example of splendid talents devoted to temporal ambition and national aggrandisement ; the other, the noblest instance of moral influence directed to exalted purposes and national preservation. The former was in the end led to ruin while blindly pursuing the meteor of worldly greatness ; the latter was unambitiously conducted to final greatness while only following the star of public duty. The struggle between them was the same at bottom as that which, anterior to the creation of man, shook the powers of heaven ; and never was such an example of moral government afforded as the final result of their immortal contest. Wellington was a warrior, but he was so only to become a pacificator ; he has shed the blood of man, but it was only to stop the shedding of human blood ; he has borne aloft the sword of conquest, but it was only to plant in its stead the emblems of mercy. He has conquered the love of glory, the last infirmity of noble minds, by the love of peace, the first grace of the Christian character.

"*Fulchrum eminebat inter illustres viros ;
Consilium patriæ, pauperum afflictis ; foris
Cæda abstinentis ; tempus atque ius dare
Orbi quietem, secuto pacem subo.
Hæc summa virtus ; petitur hæc cunctis via.*"

CHAPTER XCV.

SECOND RESTORATION OF LOUIS, AND DEATH OF NAPOLEON.

1. WITH such rapidity did Napoleon continue his flight, that he was himself the first man who brought to the French capital authentic accounts of his own defeat. The telegraph had announced in exaggerated terms the victory of Ligny, and the imperial partisans immediately expected the total overthrow of the British army. Their exultation was already great, when, on the morning of the 19th, sinister rumours began to circulate in the capital, that a terrible battle had been fought near Mont St Jean, and that the army had been destroyed. These reports increased in strength and minuteness during the remainder of the day; and while the friends of Napoleon, and the workmen in the suburbs, were thrown into despair, the shopkeepers and wealthier classes of the citizens recovered confidence, and the public funds of all descriptions rose with surprising rapidity. The opinion soon became universal that the cause of the Emperor was desperate; that he had staked his last throw on victory at Waterloo, and that overthrow there was irrecoverable ruin. From Charlevoix, he had written in the most encouraging terms to the government, adding, that courage and firmness alone were necessary to re-establish affairs. He was far, however, from feeling the confidence which he expressed in his letter; Labedoyère and the officers round him were in the deepest dejection, and already began to anticipate that punishment for their treachery to the royal government, which they were well aware they richly deserved. Meanwhile Fouché, who had got the earliest intelligence of the disaster, was straining every nerve to se-

cure his own interest in the approaching revolution, when Napoleon, at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st, arrived at Paris, and alighted at the Elysée Bourbon.

2. His first step, on his arrival, was to send for Caulaincourt: his agitation was such, that he could hardly articulate. "The army," said he, "has performed prodigies; but a sudden panic seized it, and all has been lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he caused my cavalry to be massacred. I can do no more. I must have two hours of repose, and a warm bath, before I can attend to business." After he had taken the bath he became more collected, and spoke with anxiety of the Chambers, insisting that a dictatorship alone could save the country—that he would not seize it, but he hoped the Chambers would offer it. "I have no longer an army," added he: "they are but a set of fugitives. I may find men, but how shall I arm them? I have no muskets. Nothing but a dictatorship can save the country. The majority of the Chamber is well inclined; I have only against me Lafayette, Lanjuinais, and a few others. If the nation rise, the enemy will be crushed: if, instead of rising, they dispute, all is lost. The people have not sent deputies to overturn me, but to support me. I fear them not, whatever they may do: I shall always be the idol of the nation and army: if I gave the word, they would be massacred. But if we quarrel, instead of understanding each other, we shall undergo the fate of the Lower Empire." He had altogether miscalculated, however, the temper of the Chambers.

The utmost agitation prevailed among the Deputies, to whom the Emperor's bulletin, giving an account of the fatal battle of Waterloo, had just been read; and the Chamber was inundated with officers from the army, who even exaggerated the extent of the calamity, great as it was. Already the parties were formed: Carnot and Lucien strongly supported a dictatorship being conferred on Napoleon; but Fouché, Lafayette, Dupin, and the leaders of the popular party there, had entered into a coalition, the object of which was to erect, as in 1789, the National Assembly into absolute sovereignty, and, amidst the wreck of the national fortunes, attempt to establish the vain dogma of the sovereignty of the people.

3. "The House of Representatives," said Lafayette, "declares that the independence of the nation is menaced. The Chamber declares its sittings permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is declared high treason. The troops of the line and the national guards, who have combated, and do combat to defend the liberty and the independence of France, have deserved well of their country; the minister of the interior is invited to unite to the general staff the commanders of the national guard at Paris, and to consider the means of augmenting to the greatest amount that civil force, which during six-and-twenty years has been the only protection of the tranquillity of the country, and the inviolability of the representatives of the nation." This resolution, which at once destroyed the Emperor's power, was carried by acclamation. Prince Lucien accused Lafayette of ingratitude to Napoleon.

"You accuse me of wanting gratitude towards Napoleon!" replied Lafayette: "have you forgotten what we have done for him? Have you forgotten that the bones of our children, of our brothers, everywhere attest our fidelity—in the sands of Africa, on the shores of the Guadalquivir and the Tagus, on the banks of the Vistula, and in the frozen deserts of Muscovy? During more than ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished for a man who wishes still to struggle

against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Our duty now is to save the country."

4. It was evident, from the profound sensation which these sentiments made upon the Deputies, that the cause of the Emperor was lost. Already the fatal words—"Let him abdicate! let him abdicate!" were heard on the benches; and, what was still more alarming, the national guards mustered in strength and ranged themselves round the Hall of Assembly, and there was scarcely any armed force in the capital to support his cause. The Chamber appointed a commission of five persons, including Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Dupont de l'Eure, Grenier, all decided enemies of Napoleon, who were to confer with two other committees, appointed by the Council of State and the Peers, on the measures necessary to save the country. Meanwhile the Deputies resumed their sittings in the evening, and the cry for the abdication of the Emperor became universal. "I demand," said General Solignac, "that a deputation of five persons shall wait upon the Emperor, and inform him of the necessity of an immediate decision." "Let us wait an hour," cried Lucien. "An hour, but no more," replied Solignac. "If the answer is not then returned," added Lafayette, "I will move his dethronement. When Lucien went with this commission to Napoleon, he found him in the utmost agitation; sometimes proposing to dissolve the Chamber by military force, at others to blow out his brains. Lucien openly told him that there was no choice between dismissing the Chamber, and seizing the supreme power, or abdicating; and, with his usual boldness, he strongly advised him to adopt the former alternative. Maret and Caulaincourt, on the other hand, counselled an abdication, insisting that the times were very different from the 18th Brumaire, and that the national representatives were now strongly founded in the opinion of the people. "The Chamber," said Napoleon, "is composed of Jacobins, of madmen, who wish power and disorder: I should have denounced them to the nation,

and chased them from their places. Dethrone me! they would not dare." "In an hour," replied Regnault St Jean d'Angely, "your dethronement, on the motion of Lafayette, will be irrevocably pronounced: they have given you only an hour's grace. Do you hear? only an hour." Napoleon then turned with a bitter smile to Fouché, and said, "Write to these gentlemen to keep themselves quiet—they shall be satisfied." Fouché immediately wrote to the Chamber that the Emperor was about to abdicate. The intelligence diffused universal joy among the Deputies, who exclaimed, "The Emperor has abdicated; no Bourbons—no imperial prince!" They flattered themselves that the days of the Revolution had returned, and that they had only to proclaim the sovereignty of the people. Ere long the abdication itself was received in these terms: "In commencing the war to sustain the national independence, I counted on the union of all efforts, of all inclinations, and of all the national authorities. I had good reason to hope for success, and I had braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed, and I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations, and

direct their hostility only against my person. My political life is ended; and I proclaim my son, under the title Napoleon the Second, emperor of the French. The existing ministers will form the council of government. The interest which I feel in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to organise, without delay, the regency by law. Let all unite for the public safety, and the maintenance of the national independence."

5. While these decisive measures were going on at Paris, Wellington and Blücher were advancing with the utmost expedition through the French territory. The former marched by Nivelles, Binche, and Le Cateau; the latter by Charleroi, Beaumont, Avesnes, and Landrecy—names rendered famous in former wars, but never the theatre of such a triumphant procession as on the present occasion. In conformity with his former conduct on crossing the Pyrenees, the English general issued the most peremptory orders to his troops to abstain from pillage of every description, and to observe the strictest discipline,* reminding the soldiers that the people of France were the subjects of a friendly sovereign, and that no pillage or contributions of any kind were to be permitted.† In spite of all his efforts, however, many disorders

* Wellington's conduct and principles on this occasion, and indeed throughout his whole career, were identical with those of Belisarius when he invaded Africa, with the comparatively inconsiderable forces of Justinian, in order to expel the Vandal military government:—"The next morning some of the gardens were pillaged, and Belisarius, after chastising the offenders, embraced the slight occasion, at the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy. 'When I first accepted,' said he, 'the commission of subduing Africa, I depended much less on the numbers, or even the bravery of my troops, than on the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, and their undivided hatred of the Vandals. You alone can deprive me of this hope, if you continue to extort by violence what might be purchased for a little money. Such acts of violence will reconcile these implacable enemies, and unite them in a just and holy league against the invaders of their country.' These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the soldiers themselves soon felt and praised the salutary effects. The inhabitants, instead of

deserting their homes or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market; the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the name of Justinian; and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a Catholic emperor."—GIBSON, Chap. xii. vol. iv. 11, 12, *Milman's Edit.* There is no reason to suppose that, when Wellington entered France, he had ever thought of Belisarius's policy on invading Africa; but justice and moderation produce the same effects in all ages and countries of the world. The identity of the policy and language of the Roman and English generals, in two such remote and opposite ages, and the entire similarity of the effects produced by them, is one of the most curious and interesting facts recorded in history.

† "As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are in alliance with his Majesty the King of France, and that France, therefore, should

occurred, especially among the Belgian regiments; for the soldiers had only recently begun to act together, and long habits of discipline are necessary to prevent a victorious army from indulging in depredation. He wrote, in consequence, in the sternest language to the Belgian generals, declaring that he would hold the officers of corps personally responsible for any pillage by the men under their command.* Blücher, on the other hand, took hardly any pains to prevent plundering, but pushed on with the utmost energy direct towards Paris. The French army fell back in great confusion along the high-road by Avesnes to Laon, which they reached on the 22d, and where they were to a certain degree rallied by Soult, who had assumed the command. On the 25th, they retired to Soissons, where they were joined by Grouchy, who, in compliance with an order of the provisional government, superseded Soult. The Allies, meanwhile determined, instead of pursuing the French along the great road, to advance by the right bank of the Oise, and to cross that river at Compiègne and Pont St Maxence, thus turning their left flank. They hoped by this movement not only to avoid all affairs of rear-guards, but to interpose between the fugitives and the line of their retreat, and reach Paris before them. The pursuit of the French along the Laon road was confided to the Prussian cavalry alone. Prince Frederick of the Netherlands was left, with his corps, to blockade the fortresses between the Scheldt and the Sambre; and Prince Augustus of Prussia, with Pirch's Prussian and Kleist's German corps, (which last had just come up

from the Rhine), those between the Sambre and the Moselle.

6. The important fortress of Cambray was surprised and taken by escalade by Sir Neil Campbell and Colonel Mitchell, under the direction of Sir Charles Colville, on the night of the 24th of June, with the loss of only thirty-five men. Peronne, styled La Pucelle from its never having been captured, was carried by storm in the most gallant manner by the Guards on the evening of the 26th. Excepting in these instances, no opposition whatever was experienced on the march; and with such expedition did both armies move, that on the 27th the Prussian army, which was one day's march ahead of the British, crossed the Oise in two columns, the left column under Blücher in person at Compiègne, the right under Bülow, at Pont St Maxence and Creil. On the 28th, Blücher's advanced guard fell upon the flank of the main body of the French army under Grouchy, as it was falling back from Soissons, at Villers Cotterets, and made many prisoners; whilst that of Bülow, under Prince Frederick of Prussia, advancing on Mally-la-Ville, assailed the remains of d'Erlon's and Reille's corps, as they were retreating from Nanteuille, and defeated them with great loss. In these actions the Prussians captured 16 pieces of cannon and 4000 prisoners, and succeeded in cutting off the direct line of retreat of the French troops, compelling the greater portion of them to abandon the high-road and march along cross-roads to Meaux, from whence they reached Paris by the banks of the Marne. On the 29th the advanced guard of the British passed the Oise at Pont St Maxence, and pressing on upon the following day, occupied on the first July the wood of Bondy, close to Paris. Meanwhile Blücher, who on the night of the 29th had stormed the village of Auberchervillers, finding the main position of the French army behind the canal of St Denis too strong to be forced, moved to his right, crossed the Seine at St Germain, and after a severe cavalry action at Versailles, in which two regiments of Prussian hussars

be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken, either by officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner; and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions."—*SHOEN, II. 316.*

* "I will not command such officers. I have been long enough a soldier to know that plunderers, and those who encourage them, are worthless before the enemy; I will have nothing to do with them."—*CRADOCK, XII. 498.*

were cut to pieces, established himself on the evening of the 2d July, his right at Plessis, his left at St Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. The British army, as it came up, occupied the ground on the north of Paris thus vacated by the flank movement of the Prussians. The object of these movements was to turn the strong line of fortifications, erected by Napoleon to the north of Paris, by the south and left bank of the Seine, where no field-works had yet been raised for its protection. With such expedition were they conducted that, in *ten days* after the Allies had fought at Waterloo, they were grouped in appalling strength round the walls of Paris.

7. Meanwhile, the imperial party in the Chamber of Peers, headed by Lucien, Labedoyère, and Count Flahault, made the most energetic efforts, after Napoleon had abdicated, to sustain the imperial dynasty in the person of the young Napoleon. Davoust had just read a report of the military resources that yet remained to France in the most favourable point of view, and Carnot was commencing a commentary in the same strain, when Ney, who had just arrived, vehemently interrupting him, said, "That is false! That is false! They are deceiving you: they are deceiving you in every respect. The enemy are victorious at all points. I have seen the disorder, since I commanded under the eyes of the Emperor. It is a mere illusion to suppose that sixty thousand men can be collected. It is well if Marshal Grouchy can rally ten or fifteen thousand men; and we have been beaten too thoroughly for them to make any resistance to the enemy. Here is our true state. Wellington is at Nivelles with eighty thousand men. The Prussians are far from being beaten. In six or seven days the enemy will be at the gates of the capital." Flahault, and others of the imperial party, endeavoured to support the report of Davoust; upon which Ney replied, with increased vehemence—"I am not one of those to whom their interest is all in all. What have I to gain by the return of the Bour-

bons, but to be shot for desertion! but I owe the truth to my country."

8. Vehement agitation followed this announcement; and soon after Lucien, Joseph, Labedoyère, and the whole imperial officers, entered with plumed hats and in full dress, and Lucien exclaimed with a loud voice, "The Emperor is politically dead. Long live the Emperor Napoleon the Second!" Many voices opposed this proposition. "Who dares resist it?" said Labedoyère. "A few base individuals, constant in the worship of power, and who show themselves as skilful in detaching themselves from it in misfortune as in flattering it in prosperity. I have seen them around the throne—at the foot of the sovereign, in the days of his greatness: they fly from it at the approach of danger; they reject Napoleon the Second because they wish to receive the laws of the strangers, whom they already call their allies, possibly their friends. Is it then, great God! decided that nothing is ever to be heard in this Chamber but the voice of baseness? What other voice has been heard here for ten years?" And with these words, seeing the great majority decidedly against him, he rushed out of the assembly. But these violent sallies determined nothing; and at length the Peers adopted unanimously a middle course, and appointed a commission of five persons to carry on the government, consisting of Caulaincourt and Quinette, with Fouché, Carnot, and Grenier. Such was the address of Fouché, that he contrived to get himself named the president of the commission, and soon obtained its entire direction. Napoleon, upon hearing of these appointments, said—"I now see clearly that I must yield. That infamous Fouché has deceived all. You trust, like fools, the promises of the stranger; you believe they will give you a prince after your own fashion—you are deceived." Finding supreme power beyond his reach, he wrote to the Chambers offering his services as general. On the 27th June he addressed to them the following letter: "In abdicating power I have not renounced the most noble right of a citizen, that of defend-

ing my country. In the present grave circumstances, I offer my services as general, regarding myself as the first soldier of my country." But such was the apprehension of the Emperor's ambition, that his offer was declined.

9. It was not, however, by any debates in the Chamber of Peers or Deputies that the government of France was to be decided; an overwhelming foreign force was advancing with rapid strides, and everything depended on the negotiations with the allied generals, and the means that could be taken to defend the capital. Carnot exerted himself to the utmost to strengthen it on the left bank of the Seine, where it was obviously to be attacked; and in a laboured speech, on the 2d July, to the councils of government, endeavoured to show that resistance was yet practicable. Soult, however, expressed a decided opinion that Paris was so weak on that side of the river, that it was in vain to think of prolonging its defence; that there were not at the utmost more than forty-five thousand men in the capital, and that he could not answer for the result of a combat. Massena supported this opinion; and after referring to his defence of Genoa as a proof that he was not disposed lightly to surrender a fortified place, declared that he would not engage to defend Paris an hour. The matter was ultimately referred to a commission of all the marshals and military men in the capital, and they unanimously declared that the city could not be defended. It was determined, therefore, to enter into a capitulation; and, in fact, Wellington had been in close communication with commissioners of the government ever since his arrival in the vicinity of Paris on the 29th June.

10. Meanwhile Ziethen, after a short conflict, succeeded in establishing himself on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. On the following day the French attacked him in the latter village in considerable force, but they were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. A bridge was begun to be erected at Argenteuil, to establish the communication between

the British and Prussian armies, and an English corps moved to the left bank of the Seine, by the bridge of Neuilly. Davoust, upon this, sent to propose an armistice for the conclusion of a convention; but some difficulty was at first experienced from Blücher positively insisting upon the whole French army laying down their arms, to which the French marshals declared they never would be brought to submit. At length Fouché, who was doing everything to pave the way for the return of the Bourbons, persuaded them that the restoration of Louis XVIII. would be much facilitated, both with the populace and the army, if a capitulation were granted to the troops; and the terms were at length agreed upon on the evening of the 3d July. It was stipulated that the French army should, on the following day, commence the evacuation of the capital, with their arms, artillery, caissons, and whole personal property: that within eight days they should be entirely established to the south of the Loire: that private property of every description should be respected, as well as public, except in so far as it was of a warlike character. The twelfth article, which acquired a melancholy interest, from the tragedy which followed, was in these terms: "Individual persons and property shall be respected; and, in general, all the individuals who are at present in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties *without being disquieted or prosecuted in any respect*, in regard to the functions which they occupy, or may have occupied, or to their political conduct or opinions."

11. It is impossible for any language to convey an idea of the universal interest excited in the British empire by the brief but stirring campaign of Waterloo, or the unbounded transports which were felt at the glorious victory which terminated it. Although the official accounts of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo were received together, yet intelligence had been received two days before of Napoleon having crossed the frontier and attacked the Prussian troops, and the utmost anxiety pervaded all classes as to the

result of the impending conflict.* No one who was then of an age to understand what was going on, can ever forget the entrancing joy which thrilled the British heart when the thunder of artillery proclaimed the glorious news, and when Wellington's letter was read aloud to crowds with beating hearts, in every street, by whoever was fortunate enough to have obtained first a copy of the *London Gazette*.† Even those who had lost sons or brothers in

the conflict, and they were many, shared in the general exultation; grief was almost overwhelmed amidst the universal joy: it was felt that life could not have been so well sacrificed as for the advancement of such a cause. The lover left his fair one, the mother her child. Spontaneous illuminations were seen in every city; exultation beamed in every eye; gratitude was felt in every heart. All work, alike in the streets and the fields, was suspended.‡

* The total loss of the allied armies under Blücher and Wellington, from the 15th June to the 3d July, was as follows:—

	OFFICERS.			SOLDIERS.			TOTAL LOSS.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Misling.	Killed.	Wounded.	Misling.	
Prussians.	106	606	41	5,664	15,744	10,959	} 33,120
Brit. and Han.	148	670	28	2,258	8,856	1,847	
Belgians.	23	115	6	446	1,936	1,012	
Brunswickers.	12	47	..	251	985	260	
	289	1,438	75	8,649	27,471	14,678	52,596

—*Die Grosse Chron.* iv. 472.

† It is singular how frequently a rumour of a great and decisive victory prevails at a great distance in an inconceivably short space of time after its actual occurrence. In the London papers of Tuesday the 20th June, a rumour was mentioned of Napoleon "having been defeated in a great battle near Brussels, on Sunday evening, in which he lost all his heavy artillery." The official despatches did not arrive in London till midnight on Wednesday. It was the same with the battle of the Metaurus in the second Punic war, which determined its issue. "A doubtful rumour," says Arnold, "at first arose, that a great battle had been fought *only two days before*: two horsemen of Narnia had ridden off from the field to carry the news to their home: it had been heard and published in the camp of the reserve army of Narni. But how could a battle fought in the extremity of Umbria be heard of only two days after at Rome?"—*Livy*, xxvii. 50; *ARNOLD'S Rome*, iii. 377. A similar incident is recounted of the Battle of Plataea, under circumstances still more extraordinary: "Eodem fortè die quo Mardonii copie detectæ sunt, etiam navali prælio in Asiâ sub monte Mycale adversus Persas dimicatum est. Ibi ante congressionem, quum classes ex adverso starent, fumæ ad utrumque exercitum venit, vicisse Græcos, et Mardonii copias occisione occidisse. Tanta tamæ velocitas fuit, ut quum matutino tempore prælium in Bæotia commissum sit, meridianis horis in Asiâ, per tot maria et tantum spatium, tam brevi horarum momento de victoria nuntiatum sit." It is a singular circumstance, that a similar and almost miraculous rapidity should have occurred in the transmission of the intelligence of the battles of Plataea, the Metaurus, and Waterloo, the most decisive in their consequences, and influential of the fate of future ages, in ancient and modern times. It would seem that an unerring instinct tells mankind when actions of vast moment have been fought, and leads them to make almost supernatural efforts in the transmission of the accounts of them. The same paper (*Courier*, June 20, 1815) mentions that "Rothschild had made great purchase of stock, which raised the Three per Cents from 56 to 58." Perhaps, in the latter instance, this may explain the prodigy.

‡ "—Oh se vedessi

In quei tenori eccessi
D'insolito piacer prorompe ogni alma!
Chi batte palma a palma,
Chi sparge fior, chi se ne adorna; i Numi
Chi ringrazia piangendo. Altri il campagno
Corre a svelter dall'opra; altri l'amico
Va dal sonno destar. Rimian l'aratro
Qui nel solco imperfetto: ivi l'armento
Resta senza pastore. Le madri assolti,
Di gioia umana, a pargoletti ignari
Narrar di Ciro i casi. I tardi vecchi
Vedi ad onta degli anni
Sè stessi invigorir. Sino i fanciulli,
I fanciulli innocenti,
Non san perchè, ma sul comune esempio
Van festivi esclamando: al tempio, al tempio."

Mascherato, Ciro, Act iii. scena 11.

The plough was left in the furrow, the hammer on the anvil, the shuttle in the loom. The streets from morning till night were thronged with crowds too excited to rest; wandering about intoxicated with transport. Children even, too young to know the cause, shared in the general joy, and discharged little guns they knew not why. The aged, on the brink of the grave, recovered the fire of youth. The veterans recounted their combats; the young envied what they had done. A general thanksgiving, appointed by government, met with a responsive echo in every heart; both houses of parliament unanimously voted their thanks to the Duke of Wellington and the soldiers who had fought at Waterloo; and a medal was struck, by orders from the commander-in-chief, which was given to every officer and man who had borne arms on the eventful day. In almost all cases, it was preserved by them and their descendants with religious care to the latest hour of their lives. Yet was the most touching proof of the universal sympathy of the nation afforded by the general subscription, spontaneously entered into in every chapel and parish in the kingdom, for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen at Waterloo, or the relief of those who had been maimed in the fight, and which soon amounted to the immense sum of five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

12. The 7th of July was the proudest day in the annals of England. On that day her victorious army, headed by Wellington, made their public entry, along with the Prussians, into Paris, where an English drum had not been heard for nearly four hundred years. They approached by the imposing entrance of the barrier of Neuilly, defiled through the Champs Elysées, and, dividing in the Place Louis XV., spread on either side round the Boulevards, and took military possession of all the principal points in the capital. The troops had not the splendid appearance of the Russian and Prussian Guards on the former entry; the brief but dreadful campaign of Waterloo had soiled their dress and torn their ac-

coutrements. But their aspect was not on that account the less striking. It had less of the pomp of the melodrama, but more of the reality of war. With inexpressible feelings the French beheld the standards riddled with shot and blackened by fire; the proud but grave air of the men; the soiled coats but clear and burnished arms; the splendid bearing and magnificent horses of the cavalry, by whom the last remains of the Old Guard had been destroyed. The Highland regiments in particular, arrayed in their full and beautiful national costume, attracted universal admiration. But it was a very different spectacle from the former entry of the Allies on the 31st of March 1814. Joy then beamed in every eye, hope was buoyant in every heart; all felt as if rescued from death. The reality of subjugation was now experienced: the crime of the nation had been unpardonable; its punishment was unknown, but all felt it could not but be great. With a proud step and beating hearts, to the triumphant sound of military music, with looks erect and banners flying, the British troops defiled through the capital. But the French regarded them with melancholy hearts and anxious looks. Few persons were to be seen in the streets; hardly any sound but the clang of the horses' hoofs was heard when they marched through the city. The English established themselves in the Bois de Boulogne, in a regular camp; the Prussians bivouacked in the churches, on the quays, and in the principal streets.

13. Meanwhile Louis XVIII. slowly advanced in the rear of the English army towards Paris. Pomo di Borgo, immediately after the battle of Waterloo, had written to him to come "before his place was filled up," and he came by Mons, attended by his ministers and Talleyrand, who met him by the way, and soon regained his ascendancy over that weak monarch. On the day following that of the English army, Louis made his public entrance into Paris. But his entry was attended by still more melancholy circumstances, and of sinister augury to the future stability of his dynasty. Even the Royalists

were downcast; their patriotic feelings were deeply wounded by the defeat of France; they augured ill of the return of the king in the rear of the British bayonets. There was something in the restoration of the monarch, by the arms of the old rivals and enemies of France, which added inexpressibly to its bitterness. It was no longer "Europe in arms before her walls," in the words of Alexander, which sought for amity as the reward of pardon; it was England and Prussia, which made their single and triumphant entry, and from whom nothing could be expected on this second overthrow but the stern maxim of war, "Woe to the vanquished!" The recollection of our Edwards and Henrys, of Cressy and Poitiers, mingled with the bitterness of present subjugation. Louis appeared another Charles, led by another Henry, after a second Azincour,* destined in mock royalty to sign a second treaty of Troyes. Hereditary animosities, old injuries, joined with present mortification to render the feelings of all insupportable. Melancholy appeared in every visage; a load was felt on every heart; peace itself seemed dearly purchased at the price of such humiliation. The future was yet more disheartening than the present; the partition of France, possibly its destruction, might be approaching; even hope, the last consolation of the unfortunate, was gone.

14. Paris exhibited a melancholy aspect after the second restoration of Louis XVIII. On the same day on which it took place, Fouché announced the dissolution of the provisional government. The share he had had in recent events soon appeared in his appointment as minister of police to the restored monarch. But with him were not restored the visions which, to a considerable part of the nation, had obscured the bitterness of the former capture of Paris. The whole charm of the Restoration, in the eyes even of the Royalists, was gone; its hopes to the nation were at an end. The bridges,

* It is a very curious coincidence that the battle of Waterloo was fought just four hundred years after that of Azincour: the former took place on 18th June 1815; the latter on Oct. 25, 1415. — *DARL'S Chronology*.

and all the principal points of the town, were occupied by strong bodies of infantry and artillery; patrols of cavalry were to be seen at every stop; the reality of subjugation was before their eyes. Blücher kept aloof from all intercourse with the court, and haughtily demanded a contribution of a hundred millions of francs (£4,000,000 sterling) for the pay of his troops, as Napoleon had done from the Prussians at Berlin. Already the Prussian soldiers insisted with loud cries that the pillar of Austerlitz should be pulled down, as Napoleon had destroyed the pillar of Rosbach; and Blücher was so resolute to destroy the bridge of Jena, that he had actually begun operations by running mines under the arches for blowing it up.

15. A negotiation ensued on the subject between him and Wellington, in which the stern Prussian haughtily demanded this sacrifice to the injured genius of his country.† Wellington as steadily resisted the ruthless act, but he had great difficulty in maintaining his point; and it was only by his placing a sentinel on the bridge, and repeated

† "Several reports have been brought to me during the night, and some from the government, in consequence of the work carrying on by your highness on one of the bridges over the Seine, which it is supposed to be the intention of your highness to destroy.

"As this measure will certainly create a good deal of disturbance in the town, and as the sovereigns, when they were here before, left all these bridges, &c., standing, I take the liberty of suggesting to you to delay the destruction of the bridge till they arrive, or till I have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow morning." — WELLINGTON to BLÜCHER, 6th July 1815, *midnight*; GURWOOD, xii. 549.

Blücher, however, was not to be deterred from his project even by this judicious remonstrance; the preparations for blowing up the bridge still continued, and in consequence Wellington again addressed him in the following terms, on the following day: "The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the king and to the people, and may occasion disturbance in the city. It is not merely a military measure, but it is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the government are willing to change the name of the bridge. Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe, that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to

and earnest remonstrances, that the destruction of that beautiful monument was prevented. The manner of the Prussian officers and soldiers was often rude and harsh, and, beyond the limits of Paris, their troops indulged in every species of pillage. It was not that they were naturally fierce, or wanted generosity of feeling; but that they were profoundly wounded by the injuries of their country, and determined, now that they had the power, to avenge them. But very different was the conduct of the English army to their ancient rivals. So strict were the orders of their chief, so admirably were they seconded by his officers, that, on the admission even of their enemies, disorders of every kind were prevented, and property was as effectually guarded as in London or Vienna. So strongly impressed was Louis XVIII. with the discipline preserved by the British army since they entered France, that he requested Wellington to present the principal officers to him at the Tuileries, and forming them in a circle round him, he said: "Gentlemen, I am happy to see you around me: I have to thank you, gentlemen, not for your valour—I leave that to others—but for your humanity to my poor people. I thank you, gentlemen, as a father in the name of his children." The history of the world has not so glorious a tribute to record from the sovereign of the vanquished to a conquering army.*

16. After his abdication of the imperial authority, Napoleon had retired to Malmaison, the scene of his early happiness with Josephine. It was sadly

the Commissioners on the part of the French army, that the monuments, museums, &c., should be left to the decision of the allied sovereigns. All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the sovereigns arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ought to be destroyed, I shall have no objection."—WELLINGTON TO BLUCHER, 9th July 1815; *GUARDIAN*, xii. 553. By this letter time was gained, and when the sovereigns arrived the project was not resumed.

* I had this interesting fact from Colonel Sir Digby Mackworth, aide-de-camp to the late Lord Hill, who was present on the occasion, to whose kindness I am much indebted.

changed from what it had once been. In those walks where obsequious crowds once beat down the gravel roads, the foreign trees were perishing from want of care; no longer the black swans of Oceania floated on the ponds; the aviaries no longer were resplendent with the plumage of the tropics. All had shared in the fortunes of the Emperor. It had been irrevocably determined by the allied sovereigns, that they would no longer either recognise Napoleon as a crowned head, or suffer him to remain in Europe; and that his residence, wherever it was, should be under such restrictions as should effectually prevent his again breaking loose to desolate the world. Napoleon himself, however, was anxious to embark for America, and the provisional government did everything in their power to facilitate that object. During his residence at Malmaison he offered, if the government would give him the command of the army, even for a single day, to attack the Prussians, who had incautiously thrown themselves to the south of the Seine without any proper communication with the British on the north, and assured them that there could be no doubt of the success of the enterprise; but they deemed this, probably justly, too hazardous, and likely to injure the negotiations in which they were engaged with the allied generals. After a melancholy sojourn of six days at Malmaison, Napoleon set out for Rochefort, with an immense number of carriages laden with all the most precious articles which he could collect from palaces within his reach, and travelled with all the pomp and circumstance of an emperor to that harbour, where he arrived on the morning of the 3d of July. His resolution, however, finally to quit the scene of his greatness, was not yet taken; for during the course of his journey, and after his arrival at Rochefort, he had various communications with the troops at Paris, and on their march to the Loire, which continued down to the moment of his embarking on the 14th. But he found that the blockade of the British cruisers was so vigilant, that there was no possible

chance of avoiding them; and after ten days' vacillation, and having considered every possible project of escape, he at length adopted the resolution of throwing himself on the generosity of the British government, and sent to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon* the following letter, addressed to the Prince Regent: "Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself by the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim it from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." On the following day he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, and was received with the honours due to his rank as a general, by Captain Maitland, who immediately set sail with his noble prisoner for the British shores.

17. Had the British government been acting alone in this transaction, they might have had some difficulty how to conduct themselves on the occasion; for certainly never was a more touching appeal made to the humanity of a hostile nation, and never was there an occasion on which a generous heart would have felt a more ardent desire to act in a manner worthy of the splendid testimony to their character thus borne by their great antagonist.* But England was but a single power in the alliance; her whole measures were taken in concert; the power of Napoleon over his troops had recently been

evinced in a manner so striking, and his disregard of the obligation of treaties was so universally known, and had been so recently exemplified by his return from Elba, that it was obviously altogether impossible to think of keeping him in Europe. It was therefore politely, but firmly, intimated to him by the British government, that the determination of the allied sovereigns was irrevocably taken, and that he must be removed to St Helena. Napoleon vehemently protested against this measure, which he alleged was a breach of the understanding on which he had delivered himself up to Captain Maitland; although nothing could be clearer than that he had made no terms with that officer, and that, if he had any claim at all, it was only on the generosity of the British government. When Lord Keith delivered to him the resolution of the British government, he said—"It is worse than the cage of Bajazet." The government, however, was inexorable; and after remaining a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, during which time he was the object of the most flattering curiosity and attention, from all who could get a glimpse of him from the neighbouring towns, he was removed on board the *Northumberland*, and set sail for St Helena, which he reached on the 16th of October. Both during the voyage out, and while on board the *Bellerophon*, the charm of his conversation, and fascination of his manner, won the hearts of the sailors, as the acuteness of his remarks and depth of his reflections excited the admiration of the officers. With his accustomed mental activity, he inquired into the minutest particulars—into the discipline of the ship—and was particularly struck with the silence and order which always prevailed. "What could you not do with a hundred thousand such men!" said he; "I now cease to wonder that the English were always victorious at sea. There was more noise on board the *Epervier* schooner, which conveyed me from Isle d'Aix to Basque Roads, than on board the *Bellerophon*, with a crew of six hundred men, between Rochefort and Plymouth." The last view which he had of the land of France

* Would that the character of Napoleon had enabled the British government to act up to the noble feelings ascribed by the poet to Xerxes on the occasion referred to by Napoleon:—

Serse. E ti par poco
Credermi generoso?
Fidarmi una tal vita? Aprirmi un campo,
Onde illustrar la mia memoria? E tutto
Rendere a regni miei!
In Themistocle sol quanto perdei?
Themistocle. Ma le truppe, il sangue,
Le stragi, onde son reo.
Serse. Tutto compenso
La gloria di poter nel mio nemico
Onorar la virtù. L'onta di pria
Pa della sorte; e questa gloria è mia.
METASTASIO, Themistocle, Act ii. scene 2.

was off Cape la Hogue, the scene of the great naval defeat of Louis XIV.

18. A still more melancholy humiliation than they had yet experienced ere long befell the French nation. The allied sovereigns now arrived in Paris, and insisted upon the restoration of the objects of art in the museum of the Louvre, which had been pillaged from their respective states by the orders of Napoleon. The justice of this demand could not be contested: it was only wresting the prey from the robber. Talleyrand, who had now resumed his functions as minister of foreign affairs, appealed to the article in the capitulation of Paris, which provided for the preservation of public and private property, if not of a military description. But to this it was replied with justice, that these objects of art, seized contrary to the law of nations by Napoleon, could not be regarded as rightly the property of the French nation; and that, even if they were so, it was beyond the powers of the allied generals to tie up the hands of absent and independent sovereigns, who took no benefit by the capitulation, by any stipulations of their own. The restitution of the objects of art, accordingly, was resolved on, and forthwith commenced, under the care of British and Prussian soldiers, who occupied the Place Carrousel during the time the removal was going forward. Nothing wounded the French so profoundly as this breaking up of the trophies of the war. It told them, in language not to be misunderstood, that conquest had now reached their doors: the iron went into the soul of the nation.

19. A memorial from all the artists of Europe at Rome, claimed for the Eternal City the entire restoration of the immortal works of art which had once adorned it. The allied sovereigns acceded to the just demand; and Canova, impassioned for the arts and the city of his choice, hastened to Paris to superintend the removal. It was most effectually done. The bronze horses brought from Corinth to Rome, from thence transported to Constantinople by the great founder of that city, and from its hippodrome to Venice by the

Doge Dandolo, were restored to their old station in front of the church of St Mark. The Transfiguration, and the Last Communion of St Jerome, resumed their place in the halls of the Vatican; the Apollo, and the Laocoon, again adorned the precincts of St Peter's; the Venus was enshrined anew amidst beauty in the Tribune of Florence; and the Descent from the Cross, by Rubens, was restored to the devout admiration of the faithful in the cathedral of Antwerp. Whoever has witnessed the magnificent gallery of the Louvre, when yet untouched in 1814, and again visited the paintings it contained in their native seats, will rejoice that this restoration took place. The accumulation of beauty in that great museum fatigued the mind; its enchanting objects had been transplanted among a nation who could little appreciate them, though infinitely proud of their possession; they had been withdrawn from the people to whom they formed the proudest inheritance, and had become the trophy of angry strife and vehement passion, which "to party gave up what was meant for mankind." Impartial justice must admire the dignified restraint which confined the restitution to the removal of objects illegally seized by Napoleon during his conquests, and abstained, when it had the power, from following his bad example, by the seizure of any which belonged to the French nation.

20. The claims preferred by the different allied powers for restitution, not merely of celebrated objects of art, but of curiosities and valuable articles of all kinds, which had been carried off by the French during their occupation of the different countries of Europe, especially under Napoleon, were immense, and demonstrated at once the almost incredible length to which the system of spoliation and robbery had been carried by the republican and imperial authorities. Their amount may be estimated by one instance from an official list, prepared by the Prussian authorities in 1815. It appears that, during the years 1806 and 1807, there had been violently taken from the Prussian states, and brought to Paris,

statues, paintings, antiquities, cameos, manuscripts, maps, gems, antiques, rarities, and other valuable articles, the catalogue of which occupies *fifty-three closely printed pages* of M. Schoell's valuable *Recueil*. Among them are a hundred and twenty-seven paintings, many of them of the very highest value, taken from the palaces of Berlin and Potsdam alone; a hundred and eighty-seven statues, chiefly antique, taken from the same palaces during the same period; and eighty-six valuable manuscripts and documents seized in the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, on the occupation of that city, then neutral, in 1803, by the armies of the First Consul on the invasion of Hanover. The total articles reclaimed by the Prussians exceeded two thousand. If such was the amount of spoliation officially ascertained in a northern state, during two years of conquest, where such objects of art were rarities of foreign growth, it may be conceived what must have been its magnitude in the case of Italy and Spain, where the fine arts were the natural produce of the soil, and their treasures had been ransacked during long years of hostile occupation.

21. The claims of states and cities for indemnity on account of the enormous exactions made from them by the French generals, under the authority of the Convention and the Emperor, were still more extraordinary, and demonstrated the prodigious, and, if not proved by official instruments, incredible extent to which the system of spoliation had been carried by the French military authorities. Their amount may be judged of by one instance. From an official list preserved in Schoell's *Recueil*, prepared by the mayor and magistrates of Hamburg, of the amount of French spoliation on their unhappy city, it appears that, from the 1st June 1813 to 23d April 1814—that is, during a period of somewhat less than eleven months—Marshal Davoust had levied on Hamburg alone contributions in money to the amount of 2,805,684 fr., or £112,800; besides furnishings in kind to the value of 706,905 fr., or £28,036! The weight

of these prodigious contributions will not be duly estimated, unless it is kept in mind that Hamburg was a city not containing at that period above 80,000 inhabitants; that though possessed at one period of great commercial wealth, its trade had been ruined by a blockade for ten years, and its riches exhausted by many years' previous occupation by the French armies; and that, from the difference in the value of money, these sums were equal to at least £250,000 in Great Britain. When such was the amount coming from a single city in less than a single year, it may be conceived what was the exasperation produced in the states occupied by the French armies, and how immense the amount of indemnities claimed by the suffering nations, now that the day of reckoning had come to their oppressors.

22. The vast amount of these claims for indemnities in money or territories, and the angry feelings with which they were urged, were of sinister augury to the French nation, and augmented, in a most serious degree, the difficulties experienced by those who were intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations. But, be they what they may, the French had no means of resisting them; all they could trust to was the moderation or jealousies of their conquerors. The force which, during the months of July and August, advanced from all quarters into their devoted territory, was immense, and such as demonstrated that, if Napoleon had not succeeded in dissolving the alliance by an early victory in the Netherlands, the contest, even without the battle of Waterloo, would have been hopeless. The united armies of Russians and Austrians, three hundred and fifty thousand strong, under Schwartzberg and Barclay de Tolly, crossed the Rhine in various places from Bâle to Coblenz, and, pressing rapidly forward, soon occupied the whole eastern provinces of France. The Austrians and Piedmontese, a hundred thousand more, passed Mont Cenis, or descended the Rhone from Geneva to Lyons. The Spaniards made their appearance in Bearn or Roussillon. The armies of

Blucher and Wellington, now reinforced to two hundred thousand effective men, occupied Paris, its environs, Normandy, and Picardy. Eighty thousand Prussians and Germans, in addition, were advancing through the Rhenish provinces and Belgium. Before the allied sovereigns returned to Paris, in the middle of July, the French territory was occupied by eight hundred thousand men, to oppose which no considerable force remained but the army beyond the Loire, which mustered sixty-five thousand combatants. Hunningen made a glorious defence under General Barbanogre; and Colonel Bugéaud sustained a heroic resistance with a single regiment, in Savoy, against a whole Austrian division. But these isolated deeds of valour had no sensible effect in retarding the progress of the allied powers. The march of their columns continued without intermission; and the rapid advance of Blucher and Wellington to Paris, before the campaign had well commenced, converted it into a mere military promenade and pacific occupation.

23. The breaking up of the Museum was an ominous event to the French nation, for the neighbouring powers had territories as well as paintings to reclaim, spoliation as well as insult to retaliate; and the spirit of conquest as well as revenge loudly demanded the cession of many of the most important provinces, which had been added by the Bourbon princes to the monarchy of Clovis. Austria insisted upon getting back Lorraine and Alsace; Spain put in a claim to the Basque provinces; Prussia alleged that her security would be incomplete unless Mayence, Luxembourg, and all the frontier provinces of France adjoining her territory, were ceded to her; and the King of the Netherlands claimed the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier. The monarchy of Louis seemed on the eve of dissolution; and so complete was the prostration of the vanquished, that there appeared no power capable of preventing it. It was with no small difficulty, and more from the mutual jealousies of the different powers than any other cause, that these natu-

ral reprisals for French rapacity were prevented from taking place. The negotiation was protracted at Paris till late in autumn; Russia, which had nothing to gain by the proposed partition, took part with France throughout its whole continuance; and the different powers, to support their pretensions in this debate, maintained their armies, who had entered on all sides, on the French soil; so that above *eight hundred thousand foreign troops* were quartered on its inhabitants for several months. At length, however, by the persevering efforts of Lord Castlereagh, M. Nesselrode, and M. Talleyrand, all difficulties were adjusted, and the second treaty of Paris was concluded in November 1815, between France and the whole allied powers:

24. By this treaty, and the relative conventions which were signed the same day, conditions of a very onerous kind were imposed upon the restored government. The French frontier was restored to the state in which it stood in 1790, by which means the whole of the territory, far from inconsiderable, gained by the treaty of 1814, was resumed by the Allies. In consequence of this, France lost the fortresses of Landau, Sarre-Louis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with the adjacent territory of each. Versoix, with a small district round it, was ceded to the canton of Geneva; the fortress of Hunningen was to be demolished; but the little country of the Venaisin, the first conquest of the Revolution, was preserved to France. Seven hundred millions of francs (£28,000,000 sterling) were to be paid to the allied powers for the expenses of the war; in addition to which it was stipulated that an army of 150,000 men, composed of 30,000 from each of the great powers of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and the lesser powers of Germany, was to occupy, for a period not less than three, or more than five years, the whole frontier fortresses of France, from Cambray to Fort Louis, including Valenciennes and Quesnoy, Maubeuge and Landrecy; and this large force was to be maintained entirely at the expense of the French government.

Besides this, the different powers obtained indemnities for the spoils inflicted on them by France during the Revolution, which amounted to the enormous sum of seven hundred and thirty-five millions of francs more, (£29,400,000 sterling). A hundred millions of francs were also provided to the smallest powers as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; so that the total sums which France had to pay, besides maintaining the army of occupation, amounted to no less than fifteen hundred and thirty-five millions of francs, or £61,400,000 sterling. Truly France now underwent the severe but just law of retaliation; she was made to feel what she had formerly inflicted on Germany, Italy, and Spain. Great Britain, in a worthy spirit, surrendered the whole sum falling to her out of the indemnity for the war, amounting to nearly £5,000,000 sterling, to the King of the Netherlands, to restore the famous barrier against France which Joseph II. had so insanely demolished; and the allied powers unanimously gave the highest proof of their sense of Wellington being the first of European generals, by conferring upon him the command of the army of occupation. The King of the Netherlands created him Prince of Waterloo, and declared his intention of "perpetuating by that title the recollection of my country delivered, and Europe saved."

25. Two magnificent events followed the long occupation of the French territory by the allied armies, previous to the signature of this treaty. The first was a review of all the British forces in the presence of the whole allied powers, which took place in the plain of St Denis. The British army before this had been greatly strengthened by the arrival of the troops from Canada, great part of them Peninsular veterans, and by the recovery of a large part of the wounded who had suffered at Waterloo; and it now mustered sixty thousand red-coats. Never had such an array of native British troops been seen, and probably never will such be seen again. The soldiers, as if by enchantment, went through with admirable

precision, under the orders of their chief, the whole manoeuvres that had won the battle of Salamanca. The rapid advance of Pakenham's division athwart the line of Thomière's march; the onset of d'Urban's Portuguese horse; the splendid charge of Le Marchant's heavy dragoons, and Anson's light cavalry, on Clausel's division; the desperate struggle on the rock of the Arapeilles; the momentary success of the French in the centre; and the decisive attack of Clinton's division, which restored the day and won the victory, were all displayed in mimic warfare, but with most imposing effect, [*ante*, Chap. LXVIII. § 71]. The pageant rivalled in precision, and exceeded in magnificence and interest, as well as proud circumstance, the representation by Napoleon of the battle of Marong on its memorable field, the year he was made emperor, [*ante*, Chap. xxxix. § 37]. The rapidity of the British movements, the quick fire of their artillery, the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, were the subject of universal admiration, and excited the surprise even of the sovereigns and generals accustomed from their infancy to such pageants.

26. The other was a great review of all the Russian troops that were in France, on the plains of Vertus, on 10th September 1815. This review conveyed an awful impression of the strength of the Russian empire when fairly roused: for a hundred and sixty thousand men, including eight-and-twenty thousand cavalry, were under arms on the field, with five hundred and forty pieces of cannon. The day was sultry, but clear; and from a small hill in the centre of a large plain, at a short distance from Chalons, the whole immense lines were visible. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a single gun, fired from a height, was the signal for three cheers from the troops. Even at this distance of time, those cheers sound as it were fresh in the ears of all who heard them; their sublimity, like the roar of the ocean when near, and gradually melting away.

in the distance, was altogether overpowering. A general salute was then given by a rolling fire along the line from right to left; the Russians soon after broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments, and marched past the sovereigns in splendid array. "Well, Charles," said the Duke of Wellington to Sir Charles Stewart, now Marquess of Londonderry, after the review was over, "you and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again: the precision of the movements of these troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army; but still I think my little army would move round them in any direction, while they were effecting a single change."

27. But the pomp and splendour of military display did not alone terminate the war in France. The muffled drum is in prospect. The allied powers, irritated beyond endurance by the treachery and defection of the whole French army, and the perfidy with which the partisans of Napoleon had revolted to his side, insisted peremptorily upon measures of severity being adopted by the French government. The universal voice of Europe demanded that France should be made to feel what she had inflicted on others; that since undeserved lenity had been received only with ingratitude, the stern law of retribution should have its course. A very long list of proscriptions was at first rendered by the European powers; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were reduced, by the efforts of Talleyrand, supported by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, to fifty-eight, of persons to be banished. But banishment was not enough: the flagrant treason of the Hundred Days demanded the blood of some of the principal offenders; and Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were selected to bear the penalty. The first was fixed on as being the most flagrant and guilty of the military delinquents; the second, as the first who gave the example of treason in the army; the third, of treachery in the civil department of government. They were brought to

trial accordingly, and all three convicted, upon the clearest evidence, of high treason.* The life of Lavalette was saved by the heroic devotion of his wife, who visited him in prison, changed dresses with her husband, and thus enabled him to effect his escape; but Ney and Labedoyère were both executed, and met their fate with that heroic courage which never fails deeply to impress mankind.

28. After the capitulation of Paris, Talleyrand and Fouché had delivered passports to Marshal Ney, who was at its date within its walls. They were in duplicate, and under a feigned name. He left the capital in disguise, and went to Lyons, where Count Bubna, the Austrian governor, agreed to sign other passports for Switzerland, whither Fouché strongly recommended him to retire, at least for a time. He had actually reached Nantua, on the road to Geneva, and in a few hours would have been over the frontier, when, seized with a feeling of shame at the thought of thus leaving his native country with the brand of treason affixed to his forehead, he resolved to remain and brave his fate, whatever it might be. He returned accordingly to the chateau of Bessonis, which belonged to his family. When there, he made no attempt at concealment, publicly wore his decorations, and on the sabre which he constantly had by his side was engraved his name. He was arrested in an inn of Cantal by M. Locard, the prefect of the department, who had no orders from government to that effect. Brought to Paris, he underwent two long examinations before M. Decazes, the prefect of police, in which he spoke fully of the disaster of Waterloo, which seemed entirely to absorb his thoughts. He mentioned also his "*fatal day*," as he termed the 18th March, when he signed his pro-

* Two hours before Napoleon's arrival in Paris, Lavalette addressed the following circular to the post-office authorities of France: "The Emperor will be at Paris in two hours, possibly sooner. The capital is in a state of the greatest enthusiasm; and whatever may be attempted, no civil war will ensue. Vive l'Empereur! Le Conseiller d'Etat et Directeur Général des Postes, Comte de Lavalette." *CAPITULUM, Histoire de la Restauration*, [ii.] 322.

clamation in favour of Napoleon. "I had lost my head," said he; "I was carried away."

29. How glad soever the government of France might have been to be freed from so embarrassing an affair as the trial of Marshal Ney, it was impossible; after he had been taken, to avoid bringing him to justice. His guilt was self-evident; he admitted it in the most explicit terms to M. Decazes.* Such, however, was the glory which surrounded the heroic veteran, that it was no easy matter to get a court to try him. The French government, in the first instance, determined on a council of war, and the duty fell on Marshal Moncey, as the senior marshal, to preside over it. But he declined the painful task, for which he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and deprived of his rank. Jourdan was next chosen president; but the council of war, among whom were Massena, Augereau, and Mortier, evaded the difficulty by declaring itself incompetent to the trial, on the ground of its involving a charge of high treason, which could only be conducted before a chamber of peers. This second declinature irritated the government in the highest degree, who considered it, not without reason, as the proof of a preconcerted conspiracy of the imperial party to hold back, at all hazards, the greatest state criminal from justice. It was finally determined to send him to the Chamber of Peers, before whom he was indicted, on the 21st November. He was found guilty, after a long trial, of high treason, by a majority of

"I had in truth, said he, 'kissed the king's hand, his majesty having presented it to me on wishing me a good journey. The landing of Buonaparte seemed to me so extravagant that I spoke of it with indignation, and I did make use of that phrase of the iron cage.' During the night of the 13th March, I received a proclamation entirely drawn up by Buonaparte. I signed it. Before reading it to the troops, I communicated it to Generals de Bourmont and Lecourbe. De Bourmont thought it was necessary to join Buonaparte—that the Bourbons had committed such follies that they must be abandoned. It was noon on the 14th that I caused that proclamation to be read at Long-le-Saulnier, but it was already known."—CAPT. RIGGS, *Hist. de la Restauration*, iii. 348. *Proceeds de Nèr*, 30, 31.

one hundred and fifty-seven to one, and sentenced to death by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine to seventeen. In this there was nothing wrong. His guilt was demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt, and a French court could pay no regard to a capitulation signed only by Blücher and Wellington.

30. But the real difficulty remained behind. In the middle of the process, the counsel of Marshal Ney betook themselves to the twelfth article of the capitulation of Paris, which stipulated that "individuals who are at present in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being *disquieted or prosecuted* in any respect in regard to the functions which they occupy, or *may have occupied*, or to their political conduct or opinions." The idea of doing so came from a third party; it had not occurred to any of his counsel, able as they were.† Notes were addressed to all the foreign ambassadors at Paris, praying their interposition; and Madame Ney requested and obtained an interview with the Duke of Wellington on the subject.‡ With all a woman's fervour she insisted

† MM. Berryer and Dupin.

‡ The following letter was addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Marshal Ney, in answer to a note from Marshal Ney, claiming exemption from being tried by Louis XVIII., in consequence of the 12th article of the capitulation of Paris: "I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th of November, relating to the operation of the capitulation of Paris on your case. The capitulation of Paris of the 3d of July was made between the commander-in-chief of the allied British and Prussian armies on the one part, and the Prince d'Eichmühl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on the other, and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris.

"The object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of offences which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions. But it never was intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit."—WELLINGTON to MARSHAL NEY, 19th November, 1815; GAWWOOD, vol. xii. p. 594.

on the twelfth article of the capitulation on behalf of her unhappy husband; but the Duke replied that he was not a member of the government of France, and had no title to interfere with its functions; that the capitulation was purely a military act, intended to protect the inhabitants of Paris against the vengeance of the victorious armies: that it was obligatory only on the allied sovereigns who had ratified it, but that Louis XVIII. had not done so. "My lord," replied Madame Ney, "was not the taking possession of Paris by Louis XVIII., in virtue of the capitulation, equivalent to a ratification?"—"That is the affair of the King of France," replied the Duke; "apply to him." She did so, and threw herself at the monarch's feet, but without effect.

31. At half-past eleven on the night of the 5th December the sentence was expected by Marshal Ney. He supped calmly, with his usual appetite, smoked a cigar, as was his custom, and fell asleep. Some hours after, he was awakened with the intelligence of his condemnation. "I have a melancholy duty to discharge," said M. Comley, who brought it to the marshal.—"Do your duty," replied he, calmly; "every one has his own to discharge in this world." When the preamble was read out, which contained an enumeration of the titles he had won during his glorious career, he said hastily—"To the point; what is the use of all that? Say simply, Michel Ney, soon a little dust; that is all." He requested the assistance of a minister of religion, which was granted; and the Curé of St Sulpice attended him in his last moments. The sentence was executed at nine in the following morning. Being brought in a carriage to the place selected in the gardens of the Luxembourg, near a wall, the marshal stood erect, with his hat in his left hand, and his right on his heart, and, facing the soldiers, exclaimed, "My comrades, fire on me!" He fell, pierced by ten balls. The place of his execution is still to be seen in the gardens of the Luxembourg; and few spots in Europe will excite more mel-

ancholy emotions in the mind of the traveller.

32. The death of Ney is a subject which the English historian cannot dismiss without painful feelings. His guilt was self-evident; and never perhaps was the penalty of the law inflicted upon one for a political offence who more richly deserved his fate. But the question of difficulty is, Whether or not he was protected by the capitulation of Paris. The clause in that treaty has been already given, which expressly declares that no person should be molested for his political opinions or conduct during the Hundred Days; and it is very difficult to see how this clause could be held as not protecting Ney, who was within the city at the time of the treaty. Wellington and Blücher concluded the capitulation; their sovereigns ratified it: Louis XVIII. took benefit from it. He entered Paris the very day after the English army, and established himself in the Tuileries, under the protection of their guns. How, then, can it be said that he, as well as the allied sovereigns, were not bound by the treaty, especially in so vital and irreparable a matter as human life—and that the life of such a man as Marshal Ney? It is very true, a great example was required; true, Ney's treason was beyond that of any other man; true, the Revolutionists required to be shown that the government could venture to punish. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation.

33. The very time when justice requires to interpose is, when great interests or state necessity are urgent on the one hand, and an unprotected criminal exists on the other. To say that Louis XVIII. was not bound by the capitulation, that it was made by the English general without his authority, and that no foreign officer could tie up the hands of an independent sovereign, is a quibble unworthy of a generous mind, and which it is the duty of the historian invariably to condemn. True, the French peers could not pay attention to a capitulation signed by Wellington and Blücher; but were Louis XVIII. and his ministers not

bound by it, when they entered Paris, the day after the English army, without firing a shot, in virtue of its provisions? It is impossible for a sovereign power, any more than for a private individual, to approve and reprobate, as lawyers say, the same deed; to take benefit by it so far as it advances their interests, and discard it so far as it ties up their hands. This was what Nelson said at Naples, and what Schwartzberg said at Dresden; and subsequent times have unanimously condemned the violation of these two capitulations. Banished from France, with his double treason affixed to his forehead, Ney's character was irrecoverably withered; but to the end of the world his guilt will be forgotten in the tragic interest and noble heroism of his death.

34. These observations apply to the French government, and the part which it took in this melancholy transaction. But Great Britain was also more remotely implicated in it; and to the Duke of Wellington, as the commander of the army of occupation, possessed of great influence with the French government, and actually at the moment at Paris, a certain share of the responsibility undoubtedly attaches. He was bound in honour, it is said by the imperial party, to have interfered to vindicate his own capitulation; and, situated as the King of France was, just restored by his arms, and supported by his troops, his interposition could not have failed to prove successful. The friends of the Duke answer that the capitulation was entirely a military convention, and as such religiously observed by him; that it gave him no title to interfere with the acts of the French government, an independent power; and that, placed at the head of the European army by the unanimous appointment of its sovereigns, it was impossible for him to take any public step in a matter of this description, contrary to the united voice of the diplomatic body in Paris, which was strongly pronounced against Marshal Ney. In private, it is added, and there is reason to believe it is true, he made the greatest exertions to save

him; but, from the exasperated state of the Royalist party in the French cabinet, without success.

35. It is evident, from this statement of the question, that what is charged against the Duke of Wellington is a fault of omission, not commission; not what he did, but what he left undone. Opinion will probably for ever remain divided upon this point, according as men incline to the strict observance of military duty, or to those warmer feelings which prompt, in whatever rank, and at whatever hazard, to the generous side. Probably time may show that the statement made as to the private intercession is well founded. But if it should not do so, still, while history may lament that the opportunity of doing a generous deed was lost, it must do justice to the motives on which it was abstained from. It has been, from first to last, a ruling principle of the Duke of Wellington's conduct to confine himself to his own department, and avoid all interference with the duties or actions of other men or authorities. Obedience and fidelity to government, even when he deems it wrong, has ever been with him the first of obligations; and it has been founded, not on any desire of individual elevation, but on a strong sense of military and patriotic duty. No doubt can exist that it was this feeling which made Wellington abstain from any public interposition in favour of Marshal Ney, for never was there a conqueror whose whole career was so distinguished by moderation and clemency in the use of victory.

36. Another of the paladins of the French empire perished shortly before, under circumstances to which the most fastidious sense of justice can take no exception. Tormented with the thirst for power, and the desire to regain his dominions, Murat was foolhardy enough to make a descent on the coast of Naples with a few followers, in order to excite a revolt among his former subjects against the Bourbon government. It entirely failed, and he was made prisoner on the beach, within a few minutes after he landed. He was tried by a military commission, un-

der a law which he himself had introduced, condemned, and executed. None could deny the justice, however much they might lament the tragic issue of his fate. So ignorant was he of the real state of the public mind regarding him, and so much deluded by the extraordinary confidence he had in his good fortune, that on the evening before his execution, he was speaking of negotiating as an independent power with the King of the Two Sicilies; and said, "I shall only preserve my kingdom of Naples, and my cousin will gain that of Sicily." When informed that sentence of death had been pronounced against him, he for a moment lost his firmness, and burst into tears. The religious assistance, however, which he received from the Canon Masdea, soon induced him to submit with resignation to his fate. On the following morning, the 13th October, after having written an affectionate letter to his wife, he was brought into a hall of the castle of Pizzo for execution, where twelve grenadiers were drawn up. He would not permit his eyes to be bandaged, but himself gave the word of command, saying, "Spare the face: straight to the heart!" a singular instance of the "ruling passion strong in death." With these words he fell dead, still holding in his hands the miniatures of his wife and children with which he went to death. He was privately buried in the church of Pizzo. However humanity may mourn his doom, reason must admit its justice; for he suffered the penalty which seven years before, in the square of Madrid, he had inflicted on so many noble patriots, striving to rescue their country from foreign thralldom, by a law which he himself had introduced to protect his ill-gotten throne, and in attempting to regain that very royalty which he sacrificed these noble men to attain.*

[*Ante*, Chap. LIX. § 47.]

27. These alternate scenes of triumph and mourning—of exultation to

* "Infelix imbellis auctor opus.
Justus uterque fuit: neque animi lex equior
erat.
Quamvis homines artifices arte perire sua."

their enemies, and humiliation to themselves—were little calculated to confirm the Bourbon family in their possession of the throne of France, or smooth down the difficulties with which the Restoration was attended. In truth, these difficulties had now become such, that it was beyond the power of the greatest human ability to surmount them; and probably no efforts of wisdom would have given the restored family a durable tenure of the throne. "The house of Bourbon," it has been eloquently and truly said, "was placed in Paris, at the Restoration, as a trophy of the European confederation. The return of the ancient princes was inseparably associated in the public mind with the cession of extensive provinces—with the payment of an immense tribute—with the occupation of the kingdom by hostile armies—with the emptiness of those niches in which the gods of Athens and Rome had been the objects of a new idolatry—with the nakedness of those walls on which the Transfiguration had shone with light as glorious as that which overhung Mount Tabor. They came back to a land in which they could recognise nothing. The seven sleepers of the legend, who closed their eyes when the Pagans were persecuting the Christians, and woke when the Christians were persecuting the Pagans, did not find themselves in a world more completely new to them. Twenty years had done the work of twenty generations. Events had come thick—men had lived fast. The old institutions and the old feelings had been torn up by the roots. There was a new church founded and endowed by the usurper; a new nobility, whose titles were taken from the fields of battle disastrous to the ancient line; a new chivalry, whose crosses had been won by exploits which seemed likely to make the banishment of the emigrants perpetual; a new code was administered by a new magistracy; a new body of proprietors held the soil by a new tenure; the most ancient local distinctions had been effaced; the most familiar names had become obsolete. There was no longer a Normandy, a

Brittany, or a Guienne. The France of Louis XVI. had passed away as completely as one of the preadamite worlds. Its fossil remains might now and then excite curiosity; but it was as impossible to put life into the old institutions as to animate the skeletons which are imbedded in the depths of primeval strata. The revolution in the laws and in the form of government was but an outward sign of that mighty revolution which had taken place in the minds and hearts of men, and which affected every transaction and feeling of life. It was as absurd to think that France could again be placed under the feudal system, as that our globe could be overrun by mammoths. The French whom the emigrant prince returned to govern, were no more like the French of his youth, than the French of his youth were like the French of the Jacquerie. He might substitute the white flag for the tricolor—he might efface the initials of the Emperor—but he could not turn his eyes without seeing some object which reminded him he was a stranger in the palace of his fathers.

38. In addition to these difficulties, which attached to the government of the Restoration from the very outset, and which would have existed although Napoleon had never returned from Elba, and the disaster of Waterloo had never been incurred, there were other embarrassments of a peculiar kind which arose from that disaster itself, and never, in general feeling, could be separated from it. More passionately desirous than any people in Europe of military glory, the French never could be brought to separate, in their views of it, the Restoration from the humiliations, which had preceded or accompanied it. By an illusion not unnatural, though perfectly unjust, they associated Napoleon, who had brought on all the disasters, with the days of their glory, and Louis, though he had come only to stay the uplifted hand of conquest, with those of their mourning. Had the great conqueror remained on the throne, and the payment of the tribute, the evacuation of the fortresses, the occupation of the territory,

taken place under his government, the lustre of the triumphs of the earlier parts of his reign would have been dimmed, perhaps extinguished, by the mortifications of its close; for it is by the last impressions that the permanent opinion of mankind is always formed. But, fortunately for his fame—unfortunately for the Bourbons—the course of events caused nearly all the glory to be won under the guidance of the former, and all the humiliation to be experienced under the sway of the latter. Hence the difficulties of their government, their unpopularity, their fall. Coincidence in point of time is invariably considered by the great body of mankind as indicative of cause and effect. It belongs to a few only to perceive that, in the political world, seeds sown generally do not produce their destined fruits during the lifetime of those who planted them: it was from Mount Sinai alone that it was announced that God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation.

39. France prospered to an extraordinary and unprecedented degree during the fifteen years which followed the battle of Waterloo, under the mild and pacific rule of the Bourbons. Without any remarkable ability on the part of the administrations which during that period were called to the head of affairs—of which those of the Duke de Richelieu, M. Villete, and M. Martignac were the most remarkable—the simple cessation from war, the termination of revolution, the establishment of a regular government, brought unheard-of prosperity to all the industrious classes. The tranquillity and rest of that brief period almost concealed the effects, so far as material resources are concerned, as in the rising generation they well-nigh obliterated the recollection of the disasters which had preceded it. From 1803 to 1815, a sum equal to £240,000,000 sterling had been expended by France from its own resources on foreign wars, besides a much larger amount extracted by military execution from conquered states. £60,000,000 sterling had been lost to its inhabitants by the two in-

vations of 1814 and 1815, and above £60,000,000 had been paid as the contribution for the last peace. From 1793 to 1815, a million and a half of its people had perished in war, besides half a million who were in captivity in foreign states at its close. The commerce of France was ruined; its capital, in all but a few wealthy bankers, well-nigh gone; and its navy reduced from eighty-three to thirty-five ships of the line.

40. Yet, such was the effect of peace and repose, that in the next fifteen years not only were all these losses repaired, but the industrious classes had attained an unparalleled degree of comfort and prosperity. In 1827, the population had increased two millions and a half above what it had been in 1815; and yet, such had been the simultaneous growth of productive industry, that the common complaint was that subsistence was too abundant. Commerce and manufactures in every branch had revived, and made unprecedented progress; the revenue derived from the land taxes had greatly increased, exports had advanced forty per cent, and imports had more than doubled.* But all this was as nothing while Mordecai the Jew sat at the king's gate. The white flag floated over the Tuilleries, the recollection of

Waterloo weighed upon the people. The Restoration gave them prosperity, tranquillity, liberty, unknown alike during the Revolution and the Empire, but it did not give them glory; it did not efface the recollection of former defeat; and thence its fall. Other causes of lesser moment may have contributed, but this was the principal one, and without any other would have produced the same result. It engendered such a feeling of discontent and soreness among the people, as made them ungovernable save by force. The Polignac ministry were driven to the latter alternative, but they set about it without either foresight or ability. They were at once rash and improvident, headstrong and inconsiderate; and the overthrow of the elder branch of the Bourbons was the consequence.

41. LOUIS XVIII., who was called to the onerous duty of governing France during the ten years of discontent and mortification which followed the Restoration, was a sovereign in many respects well adapted for the difficult duties he was called on to perform. He was not the man who Mr Burke said could alone close the gulf of the Revolution; possibly, if he had been so, his descendants might still have been on the throne. Most certainly he could not be ten hours a-day on

* Table showing the exports and imports of France in the under-mentioned years:—

	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.	
	France.	£	France.	£
1787	551,051,100	or £22,000,000 nearly.	440,124,200	or £17,200,000
1788	517,073,800	— 20,700,000	465,761,000	— 18,600,000
1789	576,589,000	— 23,100,000	440,975,000	— 17,600,000
1808	320,118,895	— 12,850,000	331,330,832	— 13,300,000
1809	258,495,200	— 11,340,000	332,312,200	— 13,400,000
1810	339,140,300	— 13,200,000	365,647,200	— 14,400,000
1815	199,467,601	— 8,000,000	423,147,776	— 17,000,000 nearly.
1816	242,098,753	— 10,300,000	547,706,317	— 21,700,000
1817	332,374,523	— 13,200,000	464,649,389	— 22,220,000
1823	453,789,337	— 18,120,000	511,215,922	— 20,410,000
1829	493,353,180	— 19,280,000	504,247,629	— 20,200,000
1830	489,342,085	— 19,500,000	452,901,341	— 18,100,000
1834	508,933,046	— 20,120,000	509,992,377	— 20,380,000
1835	520,270,563	— 21,000,000	572,413,623	— 22,900,000
1836	504,301,353	— 22,400,000	638,957,480	— 25,380,000

—*Stat. de la France (Commerce Extérieur)*, pp. 5, 6.

Thus, in 1836, fifty years after the Revolution had begun, the imports of France had not come to equal what they had been in 1789, though the population during the same period had advanced from 25,400,000 to 33,540,000. — *See Stat. de la France (Population)*, pp. 185, 186.

horseback, which that great statesman deemed essential to the task. Though only sixty years, when he returned in the train of Wellington and Blücher, he already suffered all the infirmities of age, from his hereditary complaints and unwieldy figure. But he possessed in a remarkable degree the qualities requisite to preserve from shipwreck a weak and unpopular government, in a nation whose warlike propensities, for the time at least, had been damped or worn out. He understood his time; he was a man of the age. Had he not been so, he never would have died King of France. He had no great natural talents, and little genius. But he possessed in a very high degree the power of observation, and the capacity of taking lessons from what was passing around him. He had great knowledge, especially in modern history and the course of recent events, and a rare faculty of deducing from them their just conclusions. He had not lived twenty years on the bounty of strangers in vain. Surrounded, when restored to the throne, by the prejudices and passions of the restored nobility, most of whom, in Napoleon's words, "had learned nothing, forgot nothing," he, almost alone, coolly surveyed the realities of his situation, and succeeded in avoiding those shoals which were likely to prove fatal to his newly-acquired power. Amidst the rest and obscurity of peace, he repaired the losses incurred during the whirl and glories of war. He restored the finances, recruited the army, almost re-established the navy. He enabled France, after all the contributions had been paid, to fit out the expedition which in 1823 marched in triumph to Cadiz, and effected a counter-revolution in Spain. He was no common man who in such circumstances could accomplish such a task.

42. He had, however, some qualities which, though not of themselves material as a set-off to these valuable dispositions, were, for the time at least, calculated to render men insensible to them. His mind was set on little things as well as great; he had a remarkable facility in the turning of expressions, which sometimes led him into familiar

He prided himself as much on complimentary notes addressed to ladies, as on the charter by which he hoped to close the convulsions of the Revolution. Unfortunately too many of these exist, to prove how much he was addicted to this contemptible trifling, under circumstances when his age and infirmities rendered it ridiculous. Like most of the princes of his family, he was much addicted to the pleasures of the table; and, though comparatively temperate in wine, the extraordinary quantity which he had come to eat induced an excessive corpulency, which both impeded his bodily activity, and diminished the respect with which he would otherwise have been regarded. Egotistical, and without keen feelings, he desired tranquillity above everything, and would never take a resolution which endangered it. Without being cruel, he was not humane; he had nothing grand or generous in his disposition. Like many of his ancestors, he was addicted to favourites; of whom M. de Blacas and M. Decazes among men, and Madame de Balbi and Madame du Cayla among women, were the most remarkable. He was not revengeful; but subject to occasional, though transient, fits of violent passion. Yet did these peculiarities, which for the time, and to those who were personally acquainted with him, were so injurious to his influence, spring in some degree from dispositions of an amiable kind, and which in a remarkable manner fitted him for the difficult task of ruling France after the Revolution. He had one admirable quality—he knew how to forgive. Patient and courteous, he listened attentively to every representation made to him: indulgent and generous, he remembered faults only to overlook them. It was his *bonhomie* and kindness of heart which induced his frailties as well as his virtues. Prudent and observant, his reign was remarkable rather for the skill with which danger was avoided, than for the ability with which good was induced. But perhaps no qualities could have been so valuable as these in the circumstances in which he was placed. More brilliant ones would pro-

bably have led him into hazards which might have proved fatal to his power, as they afterwards did to that of his bold, but inconsiderate, ill-judging successor. History must record of him, with gratitude, that though he had suffered much from his subjects, he gave way, when restored to power, neither to hatred nor revenge; that, bereaved as he had been of all, he abolished the confiscation of estates; that, having the means of reascending the throne without conditions, he voluntarily imposed on himself the restraints of a constitutional monarchy, and gave France, in the train of unprecedented misfortunes, what it had sought in vain in the blood of the Revolution and the glories of the Empire.

43. The man who mainly contributed in France itself to the second Restoration was Fouché; and the history of the Revolution would be imperfect, its chief moral untold, if it did not portray him wielding its destinies in its last stages. Revolutions are made by the great and the bold; the selfish and the astute profit by them. "In such convulsions," says Chateaubriand, "the talent which stands on either side in the front rank is soon crushed; that which follows alone obtains their direction. It obtains the ascendancy when, having exhausted their energies, the generous and brave have no longer the support of the masses, or the energy of early fervour. But this species of talent belongs only to those whose head is more powerful than their heart; who conceal themselves for a season in crime in order finally to obtain possession of power." Never was the truth of these words more clearly evinced than in the career of this remarkable man. The great and the good, the aspiring and the generous, the brave and the victorious, who have successively appeared in the course of the Revolution, had all perished from its effects. A premature death alone had preserved Mirabeau from the disgrace of a fall; Vergniaud and Brissot, Roland and Camille Desmoulins, Danton and Robespierre, had all been executed; Ney was about to suffer the death of a traitor; Napoleon, conquered and dis-

crowned, was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. Two only of the veterans of the Revolution were still erect, and had increased in power and importance with every change that had occurred. These were Talleyrand and Fouché; not the least able, perhaps the most astute, certainly the most selfish, of all the characters which it produced. To the former, who was the less depraved of the two, the merit of the Restoration in 1814, to the latter that of 1815, chiefly belongs. Providence had consigned the ultimate direction of the convulsion to the one who had proved himself the basest of its supporters.

44. Fouché's early biography has been already given, [*ante*, Chap. XIII. § 96, note]; but his character could not be appreciated till the multiplied changes of his extraordinary life had been recounted. So numerous had they been, that one would be tempted to apply to him the line of Virgil:—

"Quomodo teneam mutantem Protea vul-
tum?"

were it not that, in one respect, he was throughout perfectly consistent. He had one polar star which ever guided his course, and that was *selfishness*. Though deeply steeped in the horrors of the Revolution—a regicide, and stained, like Collot d'Herbois, with the worst atrocities of the executions at Lyons, [*ante*, Chap. XIII. § 96-99]—he does not appear from his subsequent conduct to have had any remarkable thirst for blood for its own sake. He was only utterly indifferent to it, when required for the purposes of popularity, or likely to conduce to those of ambition. He carefully watched the signs of the times, and invariably, in every instance, fell in with the passions, or coincided with the policy of the ruling power, whether republican or monarchical, in the state. With equal readiness he presided over the demolition of noble edifices, or the shedding of torrents of innocent blood on the banks of the Rhone, and advocated in the council of state of Napoleon, when

"How can I catch Proteus's ever-changing shape?"

the reaction had set in, a return to more humane measures. He made no attempt to rescue from the horrors of transportation to Guiana, a hundred and thirty of his Jacobin associates, whom he knew to be innocent of the conspiracy against Napoleon laid to their charge, however deeply stained with other atrocities. He betrayed successively every government by whom he was trusted. Napoleon said to him in the council of state in 1809, on discovering his intrigues with Austria and England, "that his head should fall on the scaffold;" but yet he survived the Emperor's ruin; and after playing the double traitor with him and the Bourbons, before the crisis of Waterloo, he was mainly instrumental in driving him into exile and captivity at the close of the Hundred Days.

45. The secret of this extraordinary ascendancy of Fouché for so long a period, and of his succeeding ultimately in obtaining the direction of affairs, when all others who had attempted it had perished, is to be found in the unparalleled knowledge which he had acquired of the selfish and wicked in the state. He had belonged to so many parties, had been leagued with so many depraved men, had been privy to so many plots, and accessory to so much iniquity, that he knew more than any man in France of its most desperate characters. It was the extent of this knowledge which recommended him to the First Consul as minister of police, and it was the same qualification which rendered him, in every important crisis which subsequently occurred, indispensable to whatever government rose to the head of affairs. All distrusted, all hated, yet nearly all employed him. When Napoleon set out for Waterloo, he showed by the language he used that he was prepared for the double part Fouché designed to play; but he left him vested with the almost uncontrolled direction of internal affairs. When the Duke of Wellington approached Paris with his victorious army, after the contest was decided in the field, the first thing he did was to enter into communication with

Fouché. Both these great leaders were perfectly aware of the treacherous character of the man with whom they were dealing; but still they could not dispense with his services, in the state into which society had sunk in the close of the Revolution. His great art consisted in the sagacity with which he discerned, in the complicated maze of events, which party was likely to prove victorious, and the dexterity with which he rendered himself so useful to its leaders, that they were in a manner compelled to take him into their employment. True, his reign after the second Restoration was not of long duration: in a few months he was supplanted by the Duke de Richelieu, and never again was restored to influence. But that was not because the Revolution of its own free will had chosen another leader, but because its faculty of self-direction was gone, and a government had, by force of arms, been imposed on it by the European powers. The last phase of the great convulsion, when under its own direction, be it ever remembered, exhibited all the patriotic leaders destroyed, France conquered, Napoleon in captivity, and Fouché in possession of the whole power which the nation could bestow.

46. It would require volumes to portray the whole effects of the French Revolution, and the wars arising out of it, on the moral, social, and political state of France and the adjoining nations. The time has not yet come when they can be designated with perfect certainty of this designation of them being free from error. The ultimate effects of all great changes in human affairs do not appear for a considerable time after they occur; and it is from mistaking the first consequences for the last results, that not the least errors in the deductions from history have arisen. Some of the effects are evident on the mere surface of affairs. The power of Russia had been immensely increased during the struggle. A dangerous supremacy had been given to the northern nations in the arbitrament of the affairs of Eu-

rope: the Cossacks had learnt the road to Paris; the Germans had come again, as in the days of Cæsar, in multitudes to cross the Rhine. Poland had disappeared from among the nations; Prussia had risen from a second to a first-rate power, and contained within itself the elements of more rapid increase than any state in Europe. Spain and Portugal, exhausted, and not regenerated, by a terrific contest which had consumed their vitals without restoring their spirit, had sunk into a state of political nullity. France in point of territory was equal, and in a few years was superior in population, to what she had been before the Revolution broke out. But her relative strength had declined, as she had not advanced in proportion to the adjoining states; and the double capture of Paris and dreadful defeats of her armies had seriously impaired her influence. Austria had survived all her disasters, and received a great accession of territory and influence as the reward of her perseverance in the cause. England had emerged great, glorious, and unconquered from the strife. Alone of all the great kingdoms of Europe, her capital had never seen the fires of an enemy's camp. Her colonial empire was quadrupled, and now encircled the earth. Her revenue had risen from £16,000,000 annually to £72,000,000. Her commerce had tripled, her resources doubled, compared with what they had been at the commencement of the war. Her navy had acquired the undisputed command of the seas. But she had a debt of eight hundred millions depressing the energies of her inhabitants, and the seeds of more than one serious, perhaps mortal, distemper implanted in her bosom. But it was in France that the effects of the convulsion were most conspicuous; and of these, three are so prominent and important as to throw all the others into the shade.

47. The first of these was the total confiscation of the property of the church, and the conversion of the ecclesiastical members, from a powerful body maintained on its own estates, to a needy set of salaried functionaries

paid by the state, and occupying a very subordinate place in its establishment. It has been already mentioned, that the property of the church was estimated, when it was confiscated by the Constituent Assembly, at 2,000,000,000 fr. (£80,000,000), and that its annual revenue was somewhat under 75,000,000 fr. (£3,000,000) a-year, [ante, Chap. vi. § 22]; but when the Restoration took place, a very different state of things had ensued. Under the Consulate, the sums paid to the whole clergy of France only amounted to 12,000,000 fr. (£480,000) a-year; and with all Napoleon's anxiety to augment that part of the national establishment, it had reached only 18,000,000 fr. (£720,000) annually at the Restoration. The Constituent Assembly had estimated the number of parochial clergy necessary for France at forty-eight thousand, and the annual cost of the religious establishment at 65,000,000 fr. (£2,600,000); but in 1832, with a population augmented by six millions, there were only thirty-six thousand parish priests, the cost of whose maintenance was annually 38,815,000 fr. (£1,550,000), yielding only on an average 900 fr., or £36, annually to each incumbent. In the same year the cost of the army was 339,000,000 fr., or £13,560,000. Nor were the dignified clergy in a different situation, as to worldly advantages, from the parish priests. Few of the bishops now have more than £300 or £400 a-year; and the Archbishop of Paris himself, the highest ecclesiastical functionary in France, enjoys an income of only £640,—less than a respectable rector of a country parish in England.

48. In such a state of matters, there can be no doubt that the French clergy are in no danger of falling into the vices or frailties which impaired the credit and lessened the usefulness of the Established Church of France anterior to the Revolution. There is no risk of pampered prelates dazzling the crowd by their trains of liveried servants, or dubious abbés scandalising society by their ill-disguised vices. But is there no danger of evils still greater arising on the other side? How is talent

to be attracted to an establishment where the great body of the functionaries receive less than the wages of a family butler or parish schoolmaster, and the very highest has hardly the emoluments of a well-employed village attorney? How is its respectability even to be maintained, in the midst of a luxurious and selfish generation, which considers wealth as the chief passport to worldly distinction? Is it likely that persons of sense and information will attach any weight to the instructions, or even attend the religious services, of men not elevated in point of station and education above their menial servants? And if they continue openly irreligious, or lukewarm in the support of Christianity, is there a hope that the public morals can be preserved in any other way? This result, accordingly, has already ensued in France. The rural population is, for the most part, inclined to devotion, and attached to their parish priests, taken from their own class, and with whom they live on terms of familiarity. The female part of the old nobility are religious, for to be so is a mark of ancient descent: it is fashionable among them, because it distinguishes them from the free-thinking crowd who have been elevated by the Revolution. A few eminent men—such as Chateaubriand, Guizot, Villommain, Amédée Thierry—have brought to the defence of the ancient faith genius of the highest, philosophy of the most exalted kind. But the great mass of the educated citizens in towns, and especially in Paris, are either openly infidel, or utterly indifferent to religion, as a troublesome restraint on their passions. This appears in the most decisive manner from the licentious style of the dramas and romances which have attained, and still enjoy, the highest popularity. It is that body, however, which now rules the state, and will ultimately obtain the general direction of its opinions. Neither rural peasants, nor women of fashion, can long withstand the influence of the cultivated and intellectual men of a nation.

48. The second circumstance of par-

amount importance which distinguishes France since the Revolution, is the almost total destruction of the aristocracy of rank and landed property, and the concentration even of commercial wealth in comparatively few hands. That this is the case is universally known; and has been abundantly shown in various parts of this work; but few are aware of the extraordinary and almost incredible extent to which the devastation has gone. It is sufficient to observe, therefore, that when France had regained a tranquil and prosperous state under the Restoration, by the cessation of the scourge of foreign wars, the annihilation of considerable fortunes, both in land and money, had been so complete, that out of 10,414,000 properties taxed in France, only 17,745 were rated at an assessment of one thousand francs and upwards (£40) annually, while 7,897,110 were rated at a tax below 21 francs, (10s. 10d.) The Duke de Gacta, Napoleon's finance minister, whose authority is uncontested on these points, states a tax of 171,579,000 francs (£8,860,000) as corresponding to a revenue in the persons taxed of 1,323,567,000 fr. (£52,940,000)—indicating that on an average, and taking into view the inequalities of the cadastre, which in some departments render the tax a fifth, in others only a thirteenth of the proprietor's income, the direct tax is about thirteen per cent. In 1815 there were, therefore, on this authority, only 17,745 persons in France, whose income from real property of every description reached 9000 francs, or £360 a-year; a fact, in a country of such extent and resources, which would be incredible, if not stated on such indisputable authority. Nay, there is reason to believe that the *contribution foncière* is on average twenty per cent over the whole kingdom of the net revenue of proprietors; in which case, the persons enjoying 5000 francs, or £200, a-year in France from real property, would be only 17,745! The great families which have survived the Revolution, and preserved their properties entire, are very few in number; and so rapid is the division of estates, both in land and money, by the present

law of succession in France, that the fortunes made during the convulsion are rapidly melting away. The consequence is, that though there is a Chamber of Peers invested with important legislative and judicial powers, it is for the most part destitute of realised property; its members hold their seats in it for life only, and on the appointment of the crown; and nine-tenths of them are indebted to its pensions or appointments for the means of maintaining even the moderate establishments which they are able to uphold.

50. It is impossible to over-estimate the effects of such a state of matters in a monarchy erected on the foundation, if not with the materials, of the feudal institutions. Whether society can exist in another form, and a lasting security be afforded to freedom without the element of a body of considerable proprietors existing in the country, cannot yet be affirmed with certainty from the experience of mankind. It can only be said that there is no example of its having continued for any length of time without such a counterpoise in society, in any opulent and highly-civilised state; and that all the institutions of modern Europe have been founded upon a distribution of property and vesting of influence precisely the reverse. A powerful sovereign; influence depending on employment; all office flowing from the crown; the land divided among the peasants; and the monarch, by the weight of direct taxation, the real landholder of the whole territory,—these are the institutions of Asia, not of Europe; and freedom has ever been unknown in the oriental dynasties. The effect of the total destruction of the class of considerable proprietors has, since the Restoration, been conspicuous in the choice which the sovereign has been obliged to make of ministers to carry on the government. Louis XVIII. and Charles X. tried to infuse into it a considerable portion of the old noblesse, but this was ere long found to be impracticable; and on the accession of Louis Philippe, the reins of power fell at once into the hands of journalists and lecturers, of bankers and reviewers.

The aristocracy of intellect, or rather of popular talent, came in place of that of property. This is not surprising: it was the only power, save that of the sovereign, which remained in the state. The physical force of numbers is entirely directed by the mental power of their leaders. That greater ability may in some cases be brought to the direction of affairs in this way, than when rank and possessions are the chief recommendations to power, is undoubtedly true. It will be no easy matter to find parallels to Guizot and Villmain in aristocratic states. But is there an equal security that this ability will permanently be exerted in the right direction? Can able journalists and reviewers, with little property of their own, and no fortune to expect save through the government from the people, be expected, in the long-run, to resist the seductions of an executive armed with £40,000,000 a-year, and with a hundred and forty thousand civil offices, besides all the military ones, in its gift? That is the point on which it behoves the friends of freedom to ponder, in other countries which have not yet broken down the aristocracy; for in France it is too late.

51. One thing is clear, that, in such a state of matters, the upper house, or Chamber of Peers, affords no security whatever against the encroachments either of regal or of popular power. Destitute of possessions, it has not the weight of property; without ancestors, it wants the lustre of history; nominated by the executive, it lacks the respectability of independence. It is an assembly of titled pashas and agas of provinces, and nothing more. It can only be expected to imitate the conduct of the Roman senate under the emperors, and become a convenient veil to shroud from the public eye the reality of despotism, or take on itself the odium of its most obnoxious measures. If any doubt could remain on this subject, it would be removed by the base conduct, on almost all occasions, of the conservative senate of France since the Revolution. It is hard to say whether it laboured with

most servility on the First Consul, the Emperor, the government of the Restoration, or that of the Barricades. It was the same in former days. "Constantine," says Chateaubriand, "formed in his second Rome a patrician body, after the model of the one which so many great citizens had immortalised; but that resuscitated nobility acquired so little consideration that men were ashamed to belong to it. In vain it was attempted, by means of pensions, to supply its poverty—to disguise by respectful titles, dress, and observance, its origin of yesterday. Privileges are not ancestors: man can neither take from himself the descent which he has, nor gain that which he has not. The senators of Constantine remained crushed under the ancient and venerable name of 'Conscript Fathers,' which their recent obscurity only rendered more overwhelming."

52. This danger is rendered the more pressing, when it is recollected, in the third place, what a prodigious and unexampled division the Revolution has made in the landed property of France. A considerable part of its territory, estimated by Arthur Young at a fourth of its extent, chiefly in the southern provinces, was always in the hands of the cultivators, and divided, according to the allodial custom derived from the Roman law, into equal portions, or nearly so, on the holder's death. But, by the effects of the Revolution, and the general confiscation of property, lay as well as ecclesiastical, with which it was attended, this state of matters has become all but universal. The immense statistical researches of the French government since 1830, and the admirable digests of them which have been published by the different ministers in that magnificent work, the *Statistique de la France*, have now afforded the most ample and authentic information on this all-important subject—a subject so important, indeed, that all other effects of the Revolution sink into the shade in comparison. From its details, it appears that there were, in 1815, 10,083,751 separate landed properties rated in the government books in France, and that this

number had increased in 1835 to 10,893,526. There are several of those separate properties, however, which belong to the same person; but, taking that into view, the government calculates that there are 5,446,763 separate landed proprietors in France. Nor is this all: so minute are the portions into which the territory is divided, that there are 2,602,705 families, the revenue of which from land is only fifty francs, or £2 a-year, while only 6684 have an income of above 10,000 francs (£400) annually.* The division of land into such miserably minute portions, without any considerable properties interspersed, is a sufficiently dangerous element in society under any circumstances; but what must it be in a country where commercial capital has been in a great measure destroyed by preceding convulsions, and the class of considerable proprietors, who might have given employment or wages to these little landowners by whom the country is overspread, have disappeared from the land?

53. It need scarcely be observed that, in a country situated as this is, an effective or enlightened system of agriculture is impossible. Capital and enterprise are indispensable to such a blessing; and where are they to be found among a body of peasants barely maintaining life on an income of from £2 to £10 a-year each? Garden cultivation, it is true, is the perfection of the management of the soil—all other is but a transition state to it; but there

* There were, in		Separate Properties.
1815,	.	10,083,751
1826,	.	10,256,038
1835,	.	10,893,526
		Income
2,602,705 families have .	50 frs. or	£2
875,997	100	4
757,125	200	8
368,608	300	12
342,082	500	20
276,615	1,000	40
170,579	2,000	80
33,777	5,000	200
16,596	10,000	400
6,884	above 10,000	400
5,446,763		

—MOURMELAT and RUSCHON, *Agriculture de la France*, i. 101.

is a wide difference between *garden* and *cottar* cultivation: the former is the last, the latter the first stage of agriculture. To have the garden system in perfection, an ample market for the choice and costly produce of horticulture or the prehard is indispensable. It is that which makes it appear in so delightful a form in Tuscany and the valley of the Arno. But such a market cannot exist without a large body of opulent proprietors, diffused not only through the towns, but over the country; because they alone can afford to purchase the choicer productions of the soil. The confiscations of the Revolution have destroyed such a body in France; the Revolutionary law of succession has rendered its reconstruction impossible, because it continually induces the division of estates. The inhabitants of thirty-nine of the principal towns of France, including Paris, amount now only to *four* millions of inhabitants, out of *thirty-four* millions which the country in all contains. Twenty-three millions of this body are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and derive their chief if not sole subsistence from that source. The element is wanting in France, therefore, which can alone make the equal division of land consist with general prosperity. This grievous chasm in society has rendered the distribution of the land among the cultivators, which under other circumstances might have been the greatest of all blessings, the greatest of all curses in France: like the Amreeta, cup in Kehama, it is the one or the other, according to the circumstances of the people which receive it, and the amount of public virtue by which their proceedings have previ-

ously been regulated. It has covered the country, not with Tuscan freeholds, but with Irish crofts: it has induced, not the efflorescence of European freedom, but the decay of Oriental despotism.

54. Clearly as this must appear to be the case, to all who without prejudice or interest consider the subject, it was hardly to have been expected that the proofs of it were to have been so numerous and decisive as they have become during the period, short in the lifetime of a nation, which has already elapsed since the Revolution. The immense statistical researches of the French government, especially since 1830, have brought them to light; their admirable powers of arrangement have exhibited them, perhaps unconsciously, with overwhelming force. From the reports of the minister of finance in 1839 and 1840, it appears that the number of sales judicially recorded of landed property in France, chiefly to pay taxes or creditors, amounts annually to *above a million*, and that, great as this number is, it is rapidly on the increase, while the successions are less than half the number.* The produce of the tax levied on these sales constitutes a considerable portion of the public revenue; it amounts to from four to five millions sterling a-year. The value of the real property thus annually alienated from the distress of the owners and the parcelling out of land, is so great, that in the ten years which elapsed from 1825 to 1835, it amounted to above twenty-three thousand millions of francs, or £930,000,000 — being fifty-nine per cent on the whole value of land in France;† and upwards of a half of this immense sum was realised by sales, chiefly judicial, and

Number of Judicial Sales of Land.

		Produce of tax.
In 1837,	1,163,626	79,348,552 frs. or £3,200,000
In 1838,	1,170,563	85,622,449 frs. — 3,420,000
<i>Successions.</i>		
In 1837,	522,221	30,764,124 frs. — 1,290,000
In 1838,	502,389	32,738,013 frs. — 1,309,000
<i>—Rapport du Ministre des Finances, 1839 and 1840; MOURMEL, i. 136, 131.</i>		
† Value of Land alienated from 1825 to 1835 by inheritance, gift, and sale.		
Inheritance,		9,317,287,887 frs. or £372,000,000
Gift,		2,145,199,412 frs. — 85,800,000
Sale,		11,885,789,262 frs. — 475,000,000
Total,		22,248,286,561 frs. — £897,800,000

—Tableau du Ministre des Finances, par M. MARTIN, 1837; MOURMEL, i. 111.

not by gifts or descent. It may be conceived what a mass of litigation and law expenses so prodigious a transference of landed property in so short a time in such minute portions must have occasioned, and how it must have contributed to enrich the army of eighty thousand notaries, attorneys, and other legal men by whom these proceedings were conducted. There are in France 43,000,000 of hectares (108,000,000 acres), cultivated by 4,800,000 families—being on an average $5\frac{1}{2}$ hectares, or 13 acres to each; but of these, 3,000,000 cultivate 10,000,000 hectares, or 22,500,000 acres—being $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each family.* It is among this numerous class of little proprietors that the voluntary and judicial sales are most frequent, from their extreme poverty, which keeps them constantly on the verge of pauperism. So wretched is the system of cultivation which they pursue, that their little domains do not on an average furnish them with food for more than *fifty days* in the year: while, being surrounded by other families as necessitous as themselves, they find the utmost difficulty in getting employment to pay for the subsistence of the remainder, and generally are obliged to travel far for that purpose. The mass of mortgages or debts heritably

secured in France on the land is eleven *milliards of francs*, or £440,000,000, the annual charges of which are 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000. The land tax is about 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000), and the law expenses and taxes connected with transfers of heritable property, about 200,000,000, or £8,000,000 more—leaving only 480,000,000 francs, or £19,200,000, of clear revenue to the whole landholders of the country, although the net produce of the land is 1,580,000,000 francs, or £63,000,000 a-year. This gives, on an average, of *clear income* to each of the five millions and a-half of proprietors, less than FOUR POUNDS ANNUALLY.

55. Proofs, equally convincing, crowd on all sides to show how much the condition of the people of France, and the cultivation of the soil, has been deteriorated by this extraordinary, and, in Europe at least, unprecedented state of things. From the reports of the minister of the interior, it appears that the total produce of grain crops in France in 1836 was 181,000,000 hectolitres, equivalent to 60,000,000 quarters; of which about 70,000,000 hectolitres (23,300,000 quarters), are wheat.† The total area of France being 51,893,000 hectares, or 126,000,000 acres, of which 13,881,000 hectares, or 31,000,000 acres, are under grain crops,‡ it follows that

* The 43,000,000 hectares of cultivable land in France are thus distributed:—

	Hectares.	Acres.
3,200,000 families with 3 hectares or $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres each,	10,000,000	25,000,000
800,000 — 13 — 32 —	10,000,000	25,000,000
1,000,000 — cultivating the soil as follows, viz.:		
Metayers paying half the fruits,	15,000,000	37,500,000
By middlemen with power to sub-let,	3,000,000	7,500,000
By middlemen without power to sub-let,	5,000,000	12,500,000
5,000,000 families cultivating	43,000,000	107,500,000

The remaining 446,000 owners of real property in France, to make up the total amount of 5,446,766, are owners of houses in towns or villages.—MOUNIER, i. 296.

† The quantities of the several kinds of grain annually raised in France are as follows:—

	Hectolitres.	Qrs.
Wheat, . . .	69,164,403	or 23,051,484
Barley, . . .	16,444,080	5,481,316
Oats, . . .	48,869,662	16,277,884
Meslin, . . .	11,824,914	3,941,304
Maize, . . .	7,610,280	2,543,423
Spelt, . . .	132,055	44,615
Rye, . . .	27,772,613	9,257,534
	181,842,079	60,597,954
Potatoes, . . .	96,180,714	82,060,240

—Statistique de la France, art. Agriculture, 68.

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‡ Area of France under

	Hectares.	Acres.
Wheat, . . .	6,546,869	or 16,000,000
Spelt, . . .	4,733	9,781
Barley, . . .	1,164,632	8,082,000
Oats, . . .	3,000,623	7,514,262
Rye, . . .	2,573,100	7,569,000
Maize, . . .	631,194	1,584,231
Meslin, . . .	910,428	2,342,000
In grain, . . .	13,881,877	32,800,000
Potatoes, . . .	920,689	2,380,000
Buckwheat, . . .	651,235	1,564,000

MOUNIER, i. 308, 318.

the average produce of an acre is under *two quarters*, while the average produce in England is two quarters and five bushels, and in Scotland, with a much inferior climate, *three quarters*. The entire profits of cultivation in France from 124,000,000 acres, are £63,000,000, or not quite *ten shillings an acre*; while in England, 32,382,000 acres yield an annual *rental* of £45,753,000, or about £1, 8s. an acre, besides the profit of the farmer, probably 12s. an acre more: in all 40s. an acre, or *four times* that in France.* The difference in the productive power of agricultural industry in the two countries is still more striking: for while in France 5,000,000 families engaged in agriculture furnish subsistence, and less than 2,500,000 families are engaged in other pursuits—in other words, two cultivators feed themselves and one other person not occupied with the production of subsistence; in Great Britain, by the last census (1841), the number of persons above twenty engaged in agriculture, was only 1,138,563, and they furnished subsistence to 3,492,336 above twenty engaged in other pursuits—in other words, *one* agriculturist fed himself and three other male persons not engaged in raising subsistence.† The produce of agricultural labour, therefore, measured per head of agricultural labourers, is *SIX TIMES* greater in Great Britain than in France: an astonishing fact, when it is recollected that the two na-

tions are about the same age; that the superiority of climate is on the part of the latter country; and that, previous to the abolition of protection to British agriculture, the two islands were, in ordinary seasons, self-supporting. And such has been the deterioration in the breed of horses in consequence of the diminished size of farms, and swarms of indigent cultivators with which the country has been overspread, that the great military monarchy of France, which in 1812 sent a hundred thousand horses into Russia, and in 1815, from its own resources alone, produced the splendid cavalry, eighteen thousand strong, which at Waterloo all but replaced Napoleon on the imperial throne, is now obliged to import sometimes as many as forty thousand horses from foreign states in a single year, and the purchases abroad for the cavalry alone are seldom under *thirty-seven thousand*, which cost the state commonly from half a million to a million sterling.‡

56. It would be some consolation, amidst so many disheartening facts, if it appeared that the moral and intellectual character had been raised, and the material comforts of the French people ameliorated by the Revolution; but so far is this from being the case, that both appear to have undergone a decided change for the worse from its effects. Many sources of corruption among the great have been closed, many

* *Parliamentary Papers*, 1845, House of Commons, moved for by Mr Newdegate.

† The proportion of agricultural families to the other classes is rapidly decreasing in Great Britain; but still the national produce was, down to the repeal of the Corn Laws, save in bad seasons, equal or nearly so to the national subsistence. They have stood for the last forty years as follows:—

Years.	Agricultural.	Commercial.	Miscellaneous.	Total. not agricultural.
1811	36 per cent.	44 per cent.	21 per cent.	65.
1821	33 ..	46 ..	21 ..	67
1831	28 ..	42 ..	30 ..	72
1841	22 ..	40 ..	32 ..	78

—Census, p. 14; *Preface to Occupation Abstracts*.

‡ In ten years, from 1831 to 1840, there have been imported into France—

346,181 horses; on an average a-year,	38,164
Exported 71,973, or annually,	7,997
Cavalry horses bought in 1831, 37,038 which cost 17,808,342 francs, or	2712,000
1848, 37,643 — 23,188,253 — or	920,000

—MOUNIER, II. 110. From *Statistique de la France, voc. Agriculture*.

causes of oppression among the poor removed, by that convulsion; but human wickedness has opened others still more pernicious in their consequences, because more widespread in their effects. In the year 1815, out of 25,601 births in the metropolitan department of the Seine, no less than 5080 were admitted into the foundling hospital in the course of the year; and the total number in that establishment at the end of the year was 11,391. In the year 1841 the total births in the same department were 37,951, and those in the foundling hospital at the end of the year, 13,768. In the department of the Rhone, embracing Lyons, the number of foundlings at the end of the same year was 9846, while the total births were only 16,015. The total foundlings over France from 1831 to 1835 were 618,349, and the total births during the same period 4,874,778; giving an average of about 103,000 for the former, and 774,955 for the total births, or about 1 to 7½. Since that period the number has diminished: out of 4,794,703 births from 1836 to 1840, the foundlings are 486,950, or nearly a tenth. These are the numbers of the foundlings in France: the births of natural children are much more considerable, and in the chief cities of the country are

about half the legitimate ones.* The increase of natural births over all France is greatly more rapid than that of legitimate ones.† In 1841, the number of persons admitted into the hospitals of Paris was 106,087, and the deaths in the hospitals 15,583, while the total number of deaths in the metropolis in the same year was only 24,524. In other words, *nearly two-thirds of the population die in public hospitals.* The stage, that faithful mirror of the public taste, as well as the novels generally popular, sufficiently explain the state of the national mind which has produced these deplorable results. There is a lamentable change from the works of Corneille and Racine to the suicides, incests, and adulteries dramatised by Victor-Hugo and Dumas. It is customary to lament in France, that, notwithstanding all the efforts made to extend public instruction, two-thirds of the people can still neither read nor write; but, judging from the demoralising tendency of the popular works in the capital, it is perhaps happy for them that they are unable to inhale the intoxicating poison. It is probably to that cause that the superior morality of the provinces, compared with the capital and other great towns, is to be ascribed. Certain it is that in all the eighty-three departments of France,

Years.	LEGITIMATE BIRTHS.			NATURAL BIRTHS.			TOTAL.		
	Paris.	Lyons.	Bordeaux.	Paris.	Lyons.	Bordeaux.	Paris.	Lyons.	Bordeaux.
1825	19,214	3354	2375	10,039	1065	1170	29,253	5319	3545
1826	19,468	3637	2563	10,502	2022	1214	29,970	5659	3777
1827	19,414	3537	2508	10,392	2093	1164	29,806	5640	3672
1828	19,126	3712	2520	10,475	1966	1283	29,601	5678	3803
1829	18,563	3545	2488	9,953	1980	1156	28,521	5438	3644
1830	18,580	3361	2594	10,007	1836	1239	28,567	5197	3833
1831	19,152	3550	2441	10,378	1940	1270	29,930	5490	3678
1832	17,046	4470	2264	9,237	1814	1215	26,283	6284	3479
1833	18,113	4581	2489	9,347	1925	1228	27,460	6746	3717
1834	19,119	5014	2484	9,985	1849	1236	29,104	6863	3780
1835	19,361	5233	2967	9,959	1952	947	29,320	7185	3854

—Stat. de la France—Territoire, Population, 421, 460.

† Proportion of natural births to legitimate ones, over France:—

Years.	Legitimate.	Foundlings.	Total.
In 1800	662,063	41,635	903,698
1810	879,632	52,763	931,799
1820	693,787	66,354	960,961
1830	609,015	68,985	968,000
1835	919,106	74,727	993,833

—Stat. de la France—Territoire, Population, 367, 371, 380.

without exception, the amount of convicted crime is *just in proportion to the diffusion of education*; and that the great majority of the ladies of pleasure in Paris come from the northern departments, which are incomparably the best instructed in the whole kingdom.*

57. The material comforts of the French people have not gained by the Revolution, any more than their moral character has been elevated. In his report on the average consumption of meat in France, the minister of the interior confesses, that the ration of each inhabitant in animal food is *not a third* of what it is in Great Britain;† in France it is twenty kilogrammes a-year; in England sixty-eight. Each Frenchman consumes on an average sixteen ounces of wheaten bread a-day; each Englishman thirty-two: the former one ounce and two-thirds of meat, the latter six ounces. The statistical tables from which these interesting results are obtained, are among the most extraordinary monuments of human industry and skilful arrangement that ever were made: they speak volumes as to the effects of the Revolution on the comforts of the middle and working classes. No abridgment of them is practicable: they must be judged of for themselves in the magnificent statistical archives published by government, which do so much honour to the administration of France. Even in the great cities, where, if anywhere, the fruits of the Revolution may be supposed to have been reaped, since it was they which proved victorious in the strife, the same result is observable. Paris itself—though it has become in every sense the heart and centre of France, and obtained the entire direction of its

government—has shared in the general reverse; it has increased in population, but declined in the comforts of the inhabitants. The desperate competition of industry, the destruction of the great fortunes which consumed its fruits, have induced a deplorable equality in indigence among its inhabitants. The annual consumption of beef by each inhabitant of Paris is now little more than *half* of what it was in 1789 before the Revolution broke out; at present it is only twenty-four kilogrammes, it was then forty-seven. From the year 1801 to 1829, eighty-five thousand oxen and cows on an average were annually killed in Paris; the average from 1829 to 1839 was only sixty-nine thousand, although in the intervening period the population had increased by two hundred and eighty-four thousand souls. From a report on the supply of animal food in the metropolis, prepared by a royal commission in 1841, and presented to government, it appears that while the population of Paris has increased from five hundred thousand to one million between 1789 and 1840, the supply of animal food to its inhabitants has *not materially increased*: in other words, the share falling to each individual has been reduced to little more than a half. The difference has been made up by the increased use of potatoes, rye, and inferior food. This process of deterioration is still rapidly advancing, alike in the quantity, weight, and quality of the animals consumed in Paris. Such have been the results of the Revolution to the people of the victorious metropolis. Beyond all question, it is in the pinching thus experienced by the working classes in the metropolis, in consequence of their hav-

* See the curious tables of M. Guerry, (Paris, 1834), where this extraordinary fact is fully demonstrated. They may be found also in Bulwer's *France*, i. 180, 181.

† Even in the towns of the departments containing 10,000 inhabitants and upwards, which of course embrace the part of the population where the consumption of animal food per head is greatest, the average consumption of butcher-meat in France in 1816 was 50.53 kilogrammes per head; while in England the average of the whole country is 68. Such as it is, the consumption per head has declined in the last thirty years. That of the northern departments, embracing Paris with a population of 1,000,000 souls, was in

Years.	Population.	Kil. consumed.	Average per head.
1816.	1,193,000	74,896,871	62.78
1830.	1,184,000	77,630,907	66.34
1833.	1,532,783	85,630,696	55.86

ing been deprived, from the division of property in the country, of the natural vent for the produce of their labour among its owners, that the main cause of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 is to be found.*

58. France, then, after having gone through the ordeal of a Revolution, presents a spectacle of the most extraordinary and instructive kind: she stands forth as a beacon and a warning to all the other states of the world; for herself the warning is past. She has listened to the tempter; she has eaten of the forbidden fruit, and she is receiving the appropriate punishment. The king has been guillotined, the dynasty changed, the church property confiscated, the aristocracy destroyed, commercial wealth ruined, two-thirds of the national debt repudiated, the land divided, monopoly and exclusive privilege of every kind annihilated. All the objects of the promoters of the Revolution have been gained; all the supposed evils of European civilisation have been removed. And what has been the result? Not an increase, but a diminution of general felicity; not an augmentation of rural industry, but a falling off in it; not the purification of morals, but their deterioration; not

the extension of general liberty, but its contraction; not a decrease of the public burdens, but their duplication. A desperate competition has arisen among the working-classes themselves, which has led to such disorders that a large and permanent addition to the standing army and public expenses has become unavoidable. A vast body of troops must be constantly kept on foot; not for the purpose of foreign conquest, but domestic tranquillity. They are armed policemen. Their enemies are not the Cossacks, but the Red Republicans. Paris alone has from fifty to eighty thousand of these formidable guardians of the public peace constantly within its bounds. The civil employés, not less than a hundred and fifty thousand, requisite to govern such an immense body of turbulent citizens, deprived of the direction of property, is another most serious addition to the expense of government, which is constantly on the increase; while every addition to the power of the people by successive Revolutions has become more costly; that of 1848 has made it above three times what it was in 1789. After half a century of turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed, France finds its permanent taxes tripled, while its population†

Table showing the consumption of animal food in Paris in the following years:—

Years.	Population.	Oxen.	Cows.	Cattle.	Sheep.
1637	..	..	..	67,800	368,000
1688	..	..	..	115,000	..
1722	500,000	70,000	..	..	..
1779	600,000	77,000	..	120,000	..
1789	524,186	70,000	18,600	120,000	350,000
1812	622,636	72,268	6,929	76,154	347,568
1835	885,558	71,634	16,439	73,947	364,875
1840	1,000,000	71,718	20,664	73,113	427,359

—*Rapport par la Commission Royale* 13th August 1841—given in MOUTIER, II. 175-201.

† Population of France in 1784,	..	24,800,000
do. do. in 1845,	..	34,200,000
		Frances.
Taxes of France in 1784,	..	500,000,000 or 20,000,000
do. do. in 1845,	..	1,415,779,700 — 56,120,000
do. do. in 1849,	..	1,674,000,000 — 67,000,000
Land taxes in 1784, viz. :—		
Vingtièmes,	..	55,000,000
Troisième,	..	21,500,000
Taille,	..	91,000,000
		167,200,000 — 7,400,000
Land and income tax in 1845,	..	400,029,566 — 16,000,000
Interest of debt in 1784,	..	207,000,000 — 8,280,000
Interest of debt in 1845,	..	847,641,702 — 13,900,000

—*Annuaire Historique*, xxvii. 169; xxx. 148. *Stat. de la France (Population)*, 155; and NECKER, *Sur les Finances*, i. 85, 91.

has advanced only a third; real property is crushed by a land tax varying from a tenth to a fifth of the net produce of the soil. The government is really centred in the executive, though the name by which that executive is called, or the family which holds it, may be liable to frequent change. In vain have the French people, suffering acutely under these manifold evils, sought by successive Revolutions to better their condition, and shake off their burdens by extending the elective franchise. Each successive shock has only increased them: the military government of the capital has become more stringent with every overthrow of more legitimate authority; and the budget, which the National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, has been obliged to sanction, is by much the heaviest France has ever known.*

59. European has been exchanged for Asiatic civilisation: there has emerged from the strife, not the freedom of America, but the institutions of the Byzantine empire. France is now cultivated ostensibly by European land-owners, really by the Ryots of Hindostan. But hitherto, at least, it has not obtained in exchange even the tranquillity and repose which men usually seek under the shelter of despotism. The authority of the ruling power at the Tuileries has become irresistible; but it has been discovered that, by an urban tumult, the depositaries of that power may be changed; and revolutions of the palace have succeeded, as they did in Rome, those in the state. The description given by a great Orientalist and philosophic observer of China, may pass for that of France since the Revolution: "There is no nobility—no hereditary class with hereditary rights. Education and employment in the service of the state form the only marks of distinction. The men of letters and government functionaries are blended together in the single class of mandarins; but the State is all in all. But this absolute and monarchical system has not conduced to the peace,

stability, and permanent prosperity of the state; for the whole history of China, from beginning to end, displays one continued series of *seditions, usurpations, anarchy, changes of dynasty*, and other violent revolutions and catastrophes. But the final triumph has ever been to the monarchical principle."

60. The internal and social state of France subsequent to 1830, after the effects of two successful Revolutions had fully developed themselves, and their consequences for good or for evil had been fully ascertained, has been thus painted by the hand of a master:—"Great capital giving the victory in social conflicts, as dense battalions did in military, and the principle of *laissez faire*, terminating in the most ruinous monopolies; great undertakings ruining little ones; the commerce of the wealthy destroying that of the indigent: usury by degrees getting possession of the soil, a modern feudality worse than the ancient; landed property burdened by more than a milliard francs (£40,000,000;) the artisans who have property giving place to workmen who have none; capitals daily swallowed up from the impulse of cupidity in hazardous undertakings; every interest in the state armed against its neighbour; the owners of vines against those of corn; the growers of beetroot against the planters of sugar; the harbours of the sea against the manufactures of the interior; the provinces of the south against those of the north—Bordeaux against Paris; here markets overstocked, bringing despair to the capitalist; there workshops closed, portending ruin to the workmen: commerce becomes a mere traffic of deceptions and impositions; the nation marching to the reconstruction of feudality by usury, to the establishment of a monied oligarchy by credit; all the discoveries of science transformed into the means of oppression; all the conquests of genius over nature transformed into the arms of social conflict; tyranny multiplied by the very march of progress; the *proletaire* become the servant of a machine, in periods of crisis seeking his bread between revolt

* It amounts to 1,355,000,000, or above £66,900,000 sterling, in a period of general peace.

and charity; the father of the poor man going at the age of sixty to die in an hospital, his daughter at the age of sixteen forced to prostitute herself for bread; the son of the poor man obliged to breathe at the age of seven the corrupted air of manufactories to add to the gains of the family; the nuptial bed of the workman, rendered improvident by misery, become ruinously fruitful, and the working classes menacing society with an inundation of beggars. Such was the picture of society in France from 1830 to 1840. On the other hand, no common belief, no attachment to traditions, a sceptical spirit examining everything and affirming nothing; the only religion left, the love of gain. The nation being thus turned towards mercantile gain, it was natural to make of marriage a speculation, a matter of higgling, a mode of adding to the attractions of a shop. And as marriage, although contracted in that hideous fashion, had been declared indissoluble by the law, adultery stepped in, and almost everywhere supplied the want of divorce. To the disorders produced in families by the breach of the conjugal vows, were added the scandalous scramble among the children for the inheritance. Among the working classes, the dissolution of manners produced still more disastrous consequences. In the register of prostitution, misery clearly stands forth as the chief cause of debauchery; misery engendered concubinage; concubinage infanticide" * Is this sombre picture drawn by a disappointed Royalist, mourning over the ruin of his prospects by the result of two successful revolutions? It is drawn by an ardent revolutionist, the enthusiastic supporter of popular rights and republican institutions, who has himself engaged in a third revolution, and left a still more terrible picture drawn by himself of its effects on society.†

61. Amidst so many disheartening circumstances in the present social

* LOUIS BLANC, *Histoire de Dix Ans du Règne de Louis Philippe*, iii. 90, 92.

† See Proclamation by LOUIS BLANC and JEREMY-BENTHAM against the Republican Government, July 18, 1849.

condition of France, the natural result and just punishment of the crimes the nation has committed, there is one consolatory feature arising from the excess of those crimes themselves. This is the marked change which has taken place in the opinions of writers of the highest class of thought in that country on religious subjects. There is not an intellect which now rises to a certain level in that country—not a name which will be known a hundred years hence—which is not thoroughly Christian in its principle. That, at least, is one blessing which has resulted from the Revolution. Chateaubriand, Guizot, Lamartine, Villemain, de Tocqueville, Sismondi, Amédée Thierry, Barante, belong to this bright band. When such men, differing from each other so widely in every other respect, are leagued together in defence of Christianity, we may regard as a passing evil the licentiousness or dangerous tendency of the writings of Victor Hugo, Sue, Balzac, and other popular French novelists. They no doubt indicate clearly enough the state of general opinion at this time; but what then? Their great compeers, the giants of thought, foreshadow what will be. The profligate novels, licentious dramas, and irreligious opinions of the writers which form the ideas of a large part of the middle classes now in France, are the result of the infidelity and wickedness which produced the Revolution. The opinions of the great men who have succeeded the school of the Encyclopedists, who have been taught wisdom by the suffering it produced, will form, it is to be hoped, the character of a future generation. Public opinion at any time is nothing but the re-echo of the thoughts of a few great men half a century before. It takes that time for ideas to flow down from the elevated to the inferior level. The great never adopt, they only originate; it is the second-rate who imitate and deteriorate. The chief efforts of the leaders of thought are in general made in opposition to the prevailing opinion by which they are surrounded, but they determine that by which they are succeeded. The labours of the subor-

dinate class of imitators, in the press or at the helm of government, are confined to following out their ideas. The orgies of the Goddess of Reason in France flowed from the sarcasms of Voltaire; the abolition of Protection in England from the doctrines of Adam Smith.

62. Perhaps no nation, ancient or modern, achieved in the end such extraordinary and unlooked-for success as fell to the lot of England in the close of this great contest. Not only had the capital of her enemy been twice captured by the alliance of which she formed the head, but on the second occasion this had been done by her own army, headed by her own general. Again, as in the days which followed the battle of Cressy, the English horse had marched from Bayonne to Calais. Enormous war contributions had been levied by indignant Europe on the conquered realm: if it was not partitioned, and swept from the book of nations, this was greatly to be ascribed to the moderation or jealousies of the conquerors. An army of occupation strong enough to bridle the fiercest passions, and tame the deepest indignation, had been put in possession of its frontier fortresses, and placed under the command of an English general. Paris did not, like Carthage, burn seventeen days in the sight of the victor: but it did more; it twice owed its existence to his generosity. Seven hundred thousand captives did not, as in the time of Scipio Africanus, bewail the sword of conquest; but three hundred thousand prisoners emerged from confinement, to evince in their freedom the clemency of their enemies, and bless the religion they formerly reviled, which had so wonderfully softened the usages of war. The whole conquests of the Revolution had been reft from the Great Nation faster than they had been won; the works of art, the monuments of genius, unworthily carried off by the French in the days of their triumph, had been restored; and if the productions of their own country yet remained to them, it was only because they did not undergo the stern law of retaliation,

and their victorious enemies declined to follow their bad example.

63. Great and glorious as were the triumphs of England at the termination of this memorable struggle, the maritime and colonial successes gained during its continuance had been still more remarkable. Though the united navies of France, Spain, and Holland, with which Great Britain had to contend before the war had lasted three years, outnumbered her own by sixty effective ships of the line;* yet such had been the superiority of her seamanship, the valour of her sailors, and the ability of her admirals, that before its termination the fleets of these powers were almost totally destroyed, and those of England rode triumphant in every quarter of the globe. From the renewal of the war in May 1803, to its conclusion in July 1816, the number of ships of the line and frigates lost to the enemies of Great Britain in battle, was no less than one hundred and seventy-nine; of which fifty-five of the former class and seventy-nine of the latter had been captured by the victors. Of these, one hundred and one had been added to the navy of this country. The losses sustained by England during the same period, were only thirteen of the line, *not one* of which had been captured by the enemy, but all accidentally perished—and nine frigates taken in battle. The total losses of the navy during this period of unexampled activity at sea, however, by accident or the fury of the elements, were very great; they amounted in all to three hundred and seventeen

* Viz., at the commencement of war in 1793—

	Line.	Frigates.
France,	86	79
Spain,	76	68
Holland,	28	27
	—190	—174
England,	163	89
Balance against England,	87	85

But only one hundred and fifteen ships of the English line were fit for service, so that the real balance against her at the commencement of the war was seventy-five ships of the line and eighty-five frigates, which implied probably a balance of sixty line-of-battle ships fit for service, taking into view the worn-out ones on the other side.—See ante, Chap. ix. § 26, note; and Chap. xi. § 8, note.

vessels bearing the royal flag. The total number of ships of this line and frigates captured from the enemy, from the commencement of the war in 1793 to its close in 1815, was one hundred and thirteen of the former class, and one hundred and ninety-five of the latter, of which eighty-three of the line and one hundred and sixty-two frigates were added to the British navy.* The British navy, at the commencement of the year 1815, consisted of seven hundred and ninety-two vessels, of which two hundred and fourteen were of the line, and one hundred and ninety-two frigates; being an increase, since the commencement of the war in 1793, of ninety-nine of the former class, and one hundred and eight of the latter. The navy, however, had not been kept up at this immense amount without proportional efforts on the part of the state, and in the years 1813 and 1814, the total sums voted by Parliament for the sea-service reached to the enormous amount of above nineteen millions sterling in each year, and the actual charge to twenty-two millions.† The magnitude of this effort will not be duly ap-

preciated, unless it is recollected that in those two years Great Britain expended annually ten and eleven millions in subsidies to foreign powers; that she had all the armies of Europe in her pay in France or Germany; that the total national expenditure was above £120,000,000 yearly, of which no less than £72,000,000 was raised by taxes within the year, on a population not exceeding, at that period, eighteen millions of souls; that she had above a million of men in arms at once, [*ante*, Chap. XII. § 67]; and that, during successive periods of the strife, she had to combat the *whole fleets of the civilised world* combined against her!

64. It is an old observation, that he who is master of the sea, of necessity must gain possession of the land also; and the result of this war proved that, in so far as colonial or distant possessions are concerned, the remark is well founded. The whole colonies of the world, in the course of the war, fell into the hands of the British or their allies. When the British flag was hoisted on Fort Cornelius, in the island of Java, in the year 1807, the last of

* TABLE showing the French, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Danish, and Turkish ships of the line and frigates taken or destroyed during the war, and the number of each added to the British navy:—

I. FROM 1793 TO 1801.

LINE.						FRIGATES.						TOTAL.	
	Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt.	Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt by accident.		Loss to enemy.	Added to British navy.
French,	34	11	5	4	1	French,	82	14	4	2	1	157	90
Dutch,	18	1	..	..	..	Dutch,	33	..	..	..	..	51	42
Spanish,	4	5	..	..	..	Spanish,	11	4	..	..	..	25	11
Danish,	2	..	..	..	..	Danish,	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
Total line,	58	16	5	4	1	Total frigates,	126	18	4	2	1	234	144

II. FROM 1801 TO 1815.

French,	26	9	1	..	..	French,	55	15	4	..	..	108	59
Dutch,	..	3	1	..	..	Dutch,	5	1	1	..	..	11	4
Spanish,	10	1	..	..	..	Spanish,	6	1	..	..	..	18	9
Danish,	18	1	..	..	..	Danish,	9	1	..	..	..	28	24
Russian,	1	..	..	..	..	Russian,	1	4	..	..	..	6	..
Turkish,	..	1	..	..	..	Turkish,	3	1	..	..	..	4	3
Grand total,	55	14	3	0	0	Grand total,	79	23	6	0	0	179	199
Whole war,	113	30	7	4	1	Whole war,	205	41	10	2	1	413	343

—JAMES, II. App. No. 17; and vi. 506; App. No. 15.

† Viz.: For the year 1813,
Do. 1814.

Voted.
£19,812,270
19,082,760

Real Cost.
£21,996,824
21,961,567

—JAMES's *Naval History*, vi. 500, 505; and *ante*, Chap. XII. § 67.

the French and Dutch colonies had fallen. The Danish were taken as soon as the war, with that power broke out in the same year; the Spanish, by the effects of the invasion of the Peninsula, were converted into allies of Great Britain, and in the end became independent. Not a colony remained to an enemy of England at the close of the war. The Americans had entered into it in the hope of wresting Canada from her in the hour of her distress; but they gained no other lasting result from mingling in the strife but to see their capital taken, their commerce ruined, their harbours sealed, their flag swept from the ocean. The whole colonial commerce of the world had centred in the merchants of Great Britain. Her dominions in the West Indies embraced every one of those rich and flourishing settlements yet producing sugar,* formerly divided among so many nations; and the planters of which, from the long monopoly of colonial trade which they had enjoyed under shelter of the naval supremacy of England, were in a state of extraordinary prosperity. In North America, England possessed the vast and almost boundless realms of Canada, the cradle of empires yet to be, to which the St Lawrence, and chain of mighty lakes from which it flows, opened an interior communication, similar to what the Mediterranean afforded to ancient Rome. These splendid possessions had shown themselves as impregnable to the arms of their republican neighbours as they were proof against the seduction of their principles. In the East, the whole peninsula of Hindostan, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows, formed her gigantic dominion: eighty millions of men there inhabited her territories, while forty millions more acknowledged her influence, or were tributary to her arms. The noble island of Java, and all the European settlements in the Indian archipelago, had fallen into her hands, and their original owners owed their restitution solely to her perhaps misplaced generosity; while in New Holland a fifth quarter of the globe was added to her

* St Domingo had ceased to produce any.

dominions, and those infant settlements were already planted which are destined to spread, in the very antipodes of the mother country, the powers of European art, and the blessings of Christian civilisation.

65. When successes so marvellous, in every part of the world—and which may safely be pronounced without a parallel in the whole history of mankind—were achieved by a people in a small island of the Atlantic, and with a comparatively inconsiderable population, it may readily be imagined that a most extraordinary degree of activity and prosperity must have prevailed in the parent state, from which the whole of these efforts emanated. This, accordingly, was in a most striking manner the case. Great as had been the increase in the external dependencies of the British empire during the period embraced in this history, they were outdone by the advances made during the same time in its internal resources. These, so far from having been exhausted, had multiplied to an extraordinary degree during the war; and the empire was stronger in men, money, and resources of all kinds, at its termination, than it had been at its commencement. The population of Great Britain and Ireland, so far from having declined during the struggle, had increased beyond all former precedent. In 1793 it scarcely reached fourteen, in 1815 it exceeded eighteen, millions of souls. The national revenue, which in the former period was not quite seventeen millions sterling, in the latter exceeded seventy-two millions: the national expenditure had risen, during the same time, from twenty to a hundred and twenty millions sterling. No less than £574,000,000 had been added, since 1793, to the national debt, after deducting all that had been paid off by the sinking fund; but so far had this prodigious expenditure been from absorbing the capital of the nation, that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, during the same exhausting conflict, had made unprecedented progress. The exports had doubled, the imports increased fifty per cent; the commercial shipping had nearly tripled during

the strife; agriculture, flourishing beyond all former precedent, had more than kept pace with the growth of the population; and the nation had, for the first time for half a century, become independent of foreign supplies. Still the unemployed capital of the country was so abundant that, in the last of twenty years of hostilities, the loan of above fifty millions was contracted on more favourable terms than one of four millions and a half at their commencement.* And what is most extraordinary of all, during the whole of this period of anxious effort, when the nation was straining every nerve to maintain its existence, and taxation, to an enormous amount, weighed upon its energies, not only was the public faith kept inviolate, but the provident system of Mr Pitt, for the redemption of the debt, was preserved entire; the sinking fund had risen, during the war, from a million and a half to fifteen millions sterling; and not a shilling had been taken from the annual sum devoted to the relief of the poor, amounting though it did, at the close of the period, to six millions sterling.†

66. It is not, however, during a contest, but after it is over, that its lasting effects for good or for evil upon the national fortunes are to be discerned: it was in the half-century immediately following the second Punic war that

the Roman dominion was extended over the greater part of the civilised world. Judging by this standard, the impulse given to the wealth, resources, and power of England, by the revolutionary conflict, is proved to have been immense. There is, perhaps, no example in the annals of mankind of a nation having made such advances in industry, wealth, and numbers, as Great Britain has made since the peace. In the thirty years that have elapsed since the battle of Waterloo, during which it has enjoyed, in Europe at least, almost uninterrupted peace, its population has increased more than a half, having advanced from 18,500,000 to 28,000,000: its imports have doubled, having risen from £32,000,000 to £70,000,000: its exports have more than tripled, having swelled from £42,000,000 to £180,000,000, exclusive of colonial produce: its shipping has doubled, having grown up from 2,500,000 tons to 5,000,000. During the same period, the agricultural industry of the country has been so far from falling short of this prodigious increase in its commercial transactions, that it has signally prospered: the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies has steadily diminished, until the grain annually imported had come, on an average of five years ending with 1835, to be no more than a two-hundredth part, in

Years.	Home and Col. exports. Official value.	Imports. Official value.	Shipping. Tons.	Revenue Great Britain.	Population.	Terms on which loans contracted.	National debt.
1792	£24,904,850	£19,659,358	1,068,302	£10,382,435	13,400,000	5 per ct.	£231,537,865
1793	20,340,179	19,459,357	719,263	17,674,395	13,900,000	5 —	229,614,446
1794	26,748,082	22,294,893	1,879,581	17,440,806	14,220,000	5 —	234,034,718
1814	51,368,398	32,622,771	2,616,965	71,134,503	18,100,000	4½ —	753,857,236
1815	57,429,457	31,822,053	2,601,276	72,210,512	18,520,000	5½ —	816,311,940
1816	48,216,196	26,374,921	2,648,593	62,264,546	18,740,000	4½ —	796,200,196

—See Appendix, H, Chap. xcv.; and ante, Chap. xli. § 64; and PORTER'S *Part. Tables*, i. 1.

Years.	Money applied yearly to redemption of debt.	Poor's rates annually, England.	Annual loans besides floating debt.	Taxes raised on Great Britain.	Total Expenditure.
1792	£1,456,564		£4,500,000	£16,382,435	£10,382,435
1793	1,634,973		12,907,451	17,674,395	23,754,366
1794	1,672,957		42,090,649	17,440,806	29,305,477
1795	2,143,097		42,736,196	19,883,520	30,751,001
1813	16,064,057	£6,117,341	58,763,100	63,748,393	107,644,065
1814	14,830,957	6,294,581	18,500,000	71,134,503	122,235,660
1815	14,241,397	5,418,846	45,135,589	72,210,512	120,742,399
1816	13,945,117	5,724,889	9,256,092	62,264,546	71,612,219

—See Appendix, H, Chap. xcv.; and PORTER'S *Part. Tables*, i. 1.

average years, of the annual consumption; and the prodigy was exhibited of the rural industry in an old state, possessing a narrow and long-cultivated territory, not only keeping pace with, but outstripping, an increase of numbers, and augmentation of food required for the purposes of luxury, unparalleled in any age.*

67. Nor have the external power and warlike achievements of England been weakened by this long direction of its energies to pacific pursuits. Though comparatively seldom called into action, the prowess of her soldiers and sailors has shone forth with lustre, if possible increasing on every successive occasion. Her colonial empire has greatly increased: New Zealand, a large part of Hindostan, a valuable settlement in China, have been added to her dominions, already vast, in the Indian and southern seas: Acre, impregnable to Napoleon, has yielded to her arms: the ambition of Russia, the encroachments of France, have been alike checked in the East: the Maharrattas, the Pindarries, the Goorkhas, the Burmese, the Affghans, the Sikhs, have been successively conquered in Asia: the British flag has been planted on the ramparts of Bhurtpore; it has waved at Ghuznee, the cradle of the

Mahometan power, in the heart of Asia; a disaster which recalls the destruction of the legions of Varus has been surmounted; and while the Continental nations were speculating on the approaching fall of the British empire in India from its effects, the vigour of the nation recovered the shock. China was vanquished, the ground lost in Affghanistaun regained, in a single campaign; and the world was lost in amazement at beholding the same Delhi Gazette announce a glorious peace dictated to the Celestial Empire under the walls of Nankin, and the second capture of Cabul in the centre of Asia. Such were the national riches during this extension of its dominions, that Great Britain could afford at one period to give twenty millions sterling for the perilous experiment of Negro emancipation; and at another ten millions to assuage the poignant sufferings of Irish poverty. When England sheathed her victorious sword within the walls of Lahore, in 1846, her sway was paramount, not only over the whole peninsula of Hindostan, but the entire extent of Eastern Asia; and a hundred and fifty millions of men, in the four quarters of the globe, obeyed the sceptre of Queen Victoria.†

	Exports. Official Value.	Imports. Declared Value.	Shipping. Tons.	Population.
* 1816	£35,717,070	£26,374,921	2,648,593	18,640,000
1817	40,111,437	29,910,502	2,664,986	18,930,000
1818	42,700,521	35,845,340	2,674,468	19,180,000
1843	117,877,278	70,093,353	4,847,396	27,430,000
1844	131,564,503	75,441,555	5,049,601	27,660,000
1845	132,444,503	85,381,958	6,045,718	27,900,000

See also Appendix, H, Chap. xcv.

	Population.	Territory. Square Miles.
† Viz.: Great Britain and Ireland,	25,500,000	122,823
Dependencies in Europe,	158,729	124
Do. Ceylon and Hong Kong,	1,242,000	24,664
Do. Asia,	85,300,000	642,000
Do. Africa,	288,673	200,732
Dependencies in North America,	1,720,000	750,000
Do. South America,	100,000	82,400
Do. West Indies,	800,000	77,000
Do. Australia,	290,000	474,000
Army and Navy,	190,460	
Total British Empire,	118,648,892	2,343,734
Protected States in Europe, Ionian Islands,	231,000	1,041
Do. in India,	40,000,000	542,090
Total British Empire and Dependencies,	158,779,892	2,886,776

Census of 1841; and MAURER'S *BRIT.* IV. 15, 257.

68. LONDON, the capital and heart of this immense dominion, is a city so great from its riches and populousness, so extensive in its influence, so renowned from the deeds of which it has been the theatre, that any description of the British empire at the close of the war might justly be deemed incomplete which did not contain some notice of its principal features. Situated on both banks of the Thames, at the distance of thirty-five miles from the sea, but in so level a district that the tide flows through its centre, in the midst of a rich champaign country, and communicating readily by land and water with its richest provinces, it is equally well adapted for carrying on an extensive foreign commerce, and becoming the emporium of internal opulence. So early as the time of the Romans, these favourable circumstances led to its growing into a considerable city; part of the Tower is said to have been originally constructed by the hands of the Legions—certainly its walls stand on the foundations excavated by their labour; and, so early as the time of Queen Boadicea, it had become a place of such note, that a large proportion of the Italian colonists who fell by her arms were settled within its bounds. Since that period, it has steadily advanced in wealth, population, and importance. The Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, have successively made it the seat of their government and the centre of their dominion; its strength has generally cast the balance in favour of whichever party, in the civil wars that followed, was fortunate enough to obtain its aid. But for its support, the star of York would have paled before the rising fortunes of the House of Lancaster in the time of Edward IV.; but for the fidelity of the city trained-bands, the arms of the Long Parliament would have sunk before the cavaliers of Charles I. It is chiefly in later times, however, and since the colonial empire of Great Britain has been so widely extended, and its naval supremacy been determined, that it has risen to such immense and universally-felt importance; and it may now safely be affirmed that it exceeds in

wealth and influence, and probably also in population, any city of which history has preserved a record either in ancient or modern times.

69. Its inhabitants, which did not much exceed a million at the close of the war, have now (1849) swelled to the enormous amount of two millions two hundred thousand—a number probably equal to those contained in Rome at the highest period of its elevation.* So prodigious is the commerce which centres in its harbour, that out of £20,000,000 customhouse duties which Great Britain yields to government, no less than £12,000,000, on an average of years, come from the port of London. In its principal bank, that of England, an accumulated treasure of £15,000,000 sterling is generally lying; besides what is in the hands of inferior establishments or in general circulation, of at least equal amount. In its arsenal, that of Woolwich, are contained stores of artillery and ammunition equal to a war on the greatest scale with the whole civilised world. Yet so salubrious is its situation, owing to the dry gravelly bed on which it stands, the gentle declivity which gene-

* Population of London, in

1801,	.	.	.	864,845
1811,	.	.	.	1,009,546
1821,	.	.	.	1,225,604
1831,	.	.	.	1,471,941
1841,	.	.	.	1,873,676

At this rate of increase, which certainly has not diminished during the last seven years, its present inhabitants must be nearly 2,200,000 (1849); and by the census of 1851, will probably be 2,300,000.—*Census of 1841*, p. 10, *Enumeration Abstract, Preface*. Rome, according to the best authorities, contained, in the time of the Antonines, 2,265,000 inhabitants. See the Chevalier BUNSEN, *Beschreibung von Rom*, i. 184, which estimate is approved by ZUMPT, *Über die Bevölkerung in Alterthum Berlin Trans.* for 1846, p. 59; and Professor HÖZCK, ii. 383. London is ten miles long by seven miles broad. The number of houses is upwards of 200,000. Its leviathan body is composed of nearly 10,000 streets, lanes, alleys, squares, places, terraces, &c. It consumes upwards of 4,369,400 lb. of animal food weekly, which is washed down by 1,400,000 barrels of beer annually, exclusive of other liquors. Its rental is at least £7,000,000 a-year, and it pays for luxuries it imports at least £12,000,000 a-year duty alone. It has 537 churches; 207 dissenting places of worship, upwards of 5000 public-houses, and 16 theatres.

rally conducts its impurities to the river, and the extensive system of subterraneous drainage by which these advantages are skilfully made the most of, that the chance of life in its numerous inhabitants is on an average not greatly less than that of all England.* Noble parks, studded with ancestral trees, furnish at once recreation and health to the citizens: they are emphatically called "the lungs of London." So vast are its commercial transactions, that they frequently amount to fifty and even a hundred millions, which pass the clearing-house of the bankers in a single week, sometimes in a single day; and any stoppage in the wonted supplies of its credit is felt like the shock of an earthquake over the whole mercantile world—in Europe, Asia, and America. The great commercial catastrophe which, in 1838 and 1839, prostrated so large a part of the commercial establishments of America, arose entirely, as was stated by Mr Biddle, the chairman of the United States Bank, from the contraction of credit in London, owing to the great exportation of the precious metals to purchase grain to supply the deficient harvests of those years in the British Islands. The dreadful monetary crisis of 1847, which produced such widespread ruin over the civilised world, was entirely owing to the monetary laws of Great Britain, and the vast export of the precious metals which in that year took place, to purchase an unprecedented supply of foreign grain for its inhabitants. Many hundreds of vessels, of all sizes and nations, daily go up and down the Thames; its East and West India docks are, taken singly, greater than first-rate harbours in other states; its port, seven miles in length, presents a forest of shipping unequalled in any part of the world; and whoever

* The annual mortality of all England was, in 1830, 1 in 58; in London it was, in 1836, 1 in 48. The deaths of persons under 20 years of age have decreased in the metropolis to a half of their amount in the last half century. They were, in:

1780,	1 in 76½
1801,	96
1830,	124
1853,	137

—FORBES'S *Progress of the Nation*, t. 24.

has not approached London by water, and beheld the commerce of the world centred in its heart, can have formed no adequate conception of the grandeur and importance of the British empire.

70. It can scarcely be affirmed that the architectural splendour of the English metropolis is equal to this lofty destiny; and certainly its ruins will convey to future ages no adequate conception either of its present magnificence or beauty. Many sovereigns, as Augustus with Rome, have found it of brick, but none have left it of marble. The general use of that inferior and perishable material in the construction of the greater part even of public edifices, and its almost universal adoption in that of private houses, has given to the greater part of the city a monotonous and mean appearance, which strangely contrasts with the unexampled magnificence displayed in its equipages, and the boundless wealth accumulated in its shops. So much, indeed, of the overwhelming impression of London is produced by the latter circumstances, that it is difficult to separate from them the effect of its edifices, considered merely as architectural structures. At the close of the war, with the exception of St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, St. Martin's Church, and a few other public buildings, most of which were of ancient date, there was scarcely a street or edifice in London worthy of the metropolis of a great empire. During nearly two centuries which had since elapsed, the national taste had never recovered the shock given to the fine arts by the triumph of the Puritans in the time of Charles I. Whitehall, which formed a small part only of the palace projected by the refined taste of that patriotic monarch, was then, and perhaps is still, the most perfect building of the kind in the metropolis. Since that time, however, great exertions have been made for its embellishment—the frequency of foreign travelling having awakened the inhabitants of this country to a just and painful sense of the inferiority of their capital in this respect. Long lines of

pillared scenery, rows of buildings resembling palaces, statues, triumphal arches, monumental columns, and other public structures, now adorn the metropolis in profusion, and convey at once a vivid impression of its riches, and the recently awakened desire of its inhabitants for architectural decoration. Its numerous bridges of granite and iron, which span the Thames, are beyond all question the finest in the world, and will convey to the remotest ages some idea of its present grandeur. St Paul's bears the second honours of sacred structures in the Grecian style of architecture; Westminster Abbey the first in Gothic, if the richness of the decorations is taken in connection with the sacred associations by which it is hallowed.

71. If London could be perpetuated to future times as it now is, few capitals would exceed it in the gorgeous magnificence of its structures. But unfortunately they are for the most part of brick, with a coating merely of stucco, which, however carefully prepared and richly ornamented, seldom long survives the generation which produced it. The facility with which forms are varied in that flexible material, joined to the desire of wealth to display its treasures, and of artists to show their originality, has led to an unhappy departure from the morals of pure taste, and general adoption of meretricious designs. No one can visit London without regretting how much beauty in its edifices has been lost in the search for variety; how much simplicity has been sacrificed for ornament. But most of all, the perishable nature of the materials of which it is almost all constructed, never calculated for a century's duration, seldom surviving half the time,* affords subject for regret. If a decline in the present sources of its opulence were to occur, and the restoration of their expensive

fronts in consequence to become impossible, London, like Vicenza at this time, would come ere long to resemble a skeleton, from which the once beautiful covering of the flesh had fallen. It can never, in consequence, unless a change should take place in the materials of which it is constructed, present that most striking of all features in an ancient city, the union of the monuments of past with the creations of present times: a circumstance the more to be regretted, from the long period during which it has maintained an important place in human affairs, and the many illustrious names which have immortalised its annals, and of whom the enduring fane of Westminster covers the remains.

72. It will be a matter of neyer-failing astonishment to future ages, how a nation possessing the limited territory, and comparatively scanty population of Great Britain, ever succeeded in amassing such riches, and acquiring so mighty a dominion; and this history would indeed be imperfect, if some attempt at least were not made to explain the phenomenon. Probably we are too near the time of its occurrence to be able to assign the causes with perfect correctness; and possibly the attempt now made may only add another to the many examples which experience furnishes of the extent to which contemporary writers may be misled as to the real sources of their country's prosperity or decline. Whether it be so or not, however, the attempt should be made; and if it does not instruct future times by its wisdom, it may warn them by its errors.

73. (I.) The first circumstance which seems to have contributed to the astonishing extension of the British empire, is the energetic and persevering character of the greater part of its inhabitants. It is the more material to insist on this circumstance, because general opinion, for nearly a century past, has inclined to its oblivion, and tended to assign as causes of the difference of national character and fortunes, what in reality is their effect. When it is said that it is the free consti-
tution

* Witness the modern ruins in the Quadrant. If a change in the direction of fashion, or a decay in the national fortunes, were to cause the shops in Regent Street, or the houses in Regent Park, to be neglected, how long would their brilliant fronts survive amidst the humid atmosphere and frequent fogs of London?

tion and liberal institutions of England which have been the cause of its greatness, men forget that these institutions themselves were the work of the people, and that, but for the resolute and persevering character which they evinced from the first dawn of English history, they would have been torn to pieces by the senseless dissensions, or sunk in the debasing slavery, which have proved fatal to so many other nations. No people ever was more rudely assailed by the sword of conquest than those of this country: none had its chains to appearance more firmly riveted round their necks. The Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, have successively overrun its plains: the settlement of the last was the most violent, and attended with a transfer of property the most complete, of any which modern Europe has witnessed. Yet from all these disasters the British nation has recovered: nay, it has derived from them all the means of additional advances in industry, power, and greatness. Incorporating, as it were, with the dispositions of the native inhabitants, the most valuable qualities of all the races by which they have been subsequently conquered, they have come in the end to form a character which has produced the wonders that now fill the world with astonishment. If we would see what the aborigines of this country originally were—what, but for foreign intermixture, they would still have been, we have only to look to the inhabitants of the south and west of Ireland, or of the highlands and islands of Scotland. But with the bravery and tenacity of custom, joined to the indolence and carelessness of the Celtic character, have been successively incorporated the wisdom and perseverance of the Romans, the industry and honesty of the Germans, the roving disposition and adventurous spirit of the Danes, the chivalrous soul and high aspirations of the Normans. It is the blending of the whole which has formed the British character: had any been wanting, an essential element in the formation would have been deficient, and the national fortunes probably different.

It would appear that, in the moral not less than the natural world, it is by the combination of different materials that the richest soil is formed, and from its varied qualities that the choicest fruits may be expected.

74. (II.) Vain, however, would have been the preparations in the intermingling of races for the ultimate development of the British mind, had not physical advantages existed, in the circumstances in which their descendants were placed, adequate to enable them to perform their appropriate mission. But when Providence destined the Anglo-Saxon race to mighty achievements, it was not unmindful of the external aid requisite to their accomplishment. Long anterior to the birth of man, in the first ages of physical creation, the strata were formed by the superincumbent deluge, the islands were formed by its receding waves, which thereafter, stirred by the persevering hand of industry, were destined to provide the asylum, to furnish the powers, from which was to emanate the civilisation and peopling of half the globe. Securely cradled in the waves, placed in the centre of the commercial highway of Europe, the nearest land to the mariner who approaches from another hemisphere, the British Islands are protected from all save the aggression of maritime power, and secured in advantages the most favourable for the acquisition of naval superiority, and the growth of a universal commerce. An extensive sea-coast, studded with islands, and deeply indented by bays or natural havens, at once invited the inhabitants of the shores to maritime adventure, and furnished retreats in case of disaster; a tempestuous ocean incessantly trained the seamen to hardihood and nautical skill.

75. A territory in some places level and fertile, in others rugged and mountainous, afforded the fairest prospect of reward to the varied branches of rural industry, and provided the means of maintaining triple the population which has as yet been maintained upon it; a climate alternately rigorous and genial, bracing, but not enervating, at once compelled exertion and rewarded

industry. Nor were mineral riches, or the means of putting in motion manufacturing industry, wanting; on the contrary, they were furnished with a profusion unknown in any other state. A zone a hundred miles broad runs in a diagonal direction across England, fraught with the richest coal and ironstone; alternate seams of both are to be found in profusion in many parts of the lowlands of Scotland. In the forests of Britain, her inhabitants have at hand the best materials ever yet discovered for the construction of a navy; beneath their feet, the means of raising and bringing to perfection the greatest commercial undertakings ever set on foot among men. Coal for steam navigation, iron for railways, are to be found in abundance. Ireland possesses similar mineral treasures: if they have not yet been taken advantage of, it is only because the indolent and unforeseeing disposition of its inhabitants has allowed them to remain unnoticed—as if to demonstrate how vain are the choicest gifts of nature, if not seconded by the vigour and perseverance of man.

76. (III.) The policy of the British government has for a long series of ages seconded the obvious intentions of nature, and given that decided direction of the national enterprise to commercial and nautical pursuits, which the advantages the people enjoyed so clearly pointed out as their appropriate destination. So marked indeed were these advantages, that from a very remote period they gave England a preponderance in maritime affairs. Gibbon tells us that so early as the revolt of Carausius, England, detached from the Roman empire in the reign of Maximilian, by whom it was in vain assailed, took its proper place as an independent maritime power. In the time of Edward III., the victory of Sluys, the greatest in Europe until that of Lepanto, cost the French marine thirty thousand men, and exposed the territory of France for above a century to the fatal ravages of English invasion. But it was in the time of Charles I. and the Protector

Cromwell, that the importance of attending to commercial interests became for the first time generally understood, and the upholding of the navy a fixed object of national policy. The first of these monarchs, whose patriotic spirit and provident wisdom have been too much overlooked or concealed, from the vehement national divisions of which he became the victim, was so set upon increasing the navy, in order to afford proper protection to the commerce of his subjects, that he lost his crown and his head in consequence. The significant name of the impost concerning which the contest with the people commenced—*ship-money*—remains a lasting proof that the sovereign lost all, because he strove of his own authority to levy a tax for the protection of commerce, which the parsimony of the parliament had denied to his entreaties. His republican successor continued the same wise and enlightened policy, which the prostration of the nation by military power gave it no longer the means of thwarting; and we owe to him the Navigation Laws, the wisdom of which has won the praise even of the great apostle of free trade, Adam Smith; and which, for above a century and a half, secured to the merchant vessels of Great Britain a permanent and decisive superiority over those of foreign nations, in carrying on its vast and growing commerce with all parts of the world. During the war, and until the change of policy by the introduction

* * * Though some of the regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from national animosity, they are all as wise as if dictated by the most deliberate wisdom. As defence is of much more importance the Act of Navigation is perhaps the best of the commercial regulations of England. The defence of Great Britain depends very much upon the numbers of its sailors and shipping. The Act of Navigation, therefore, very properly endeavours to give the sailors and shipping of Great Britain the monopoly of the trade of their own country, in some cases by absolute prohibitions, in others by heavy burdens upon the shipping of foreign countries. This is one of the cases in which it is advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign, for the encouragement of domestic industry."—*Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. Chap. ii., vol. II. p. 192.

of the reciprocity system in 1823, this superiority on the part of British shipping increased, until at length it became to the foreign nearly as four to one. It was this superiority, beyond all question, which was the chief means of bringing the nation through the perils and burdens of the Revolutionary war.* Xenophon observes, that if Attica had been an island, the naval superiority of the Athenians would have rendered them victorious over the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian War.† That advantage which Athens wanted, England enjoyed.

77. (IV.) Great and decisive, however, as was the superiority which the industry and enterprise of its inhabitants, joined to the protective policy of its government, secured to the shipping of this country during the war over those of other countries, the nation must have sunk in the struggle, if it had had no commercial resources to rely on but such as arose from intercourse with foreign nations. So complete had been the land conquests of France during the war, that for the last half of it nearly the whole harbours of Europe were closed against British shipping, and the mandates

of Napoleon for the proscription of English merchandise were obeyed from the North Cape to the rock of Gibraltar. The commerce of the nation with the Continental states during that period had in consequence signally declined, but that with the other countries of the world had proportionally increased.‡ Had Great Britain depended upon its European trade, it would inevitably have been ruined when the Continental System was in full activity: it was to that result that Napoleon constantly looked as the reward of his labour, and the consummation of his desires. But what he could not have conceived, what thwarted all his hopes, and in the end ruined all his designs, was the vast extension which at the same time took place in the commerce of Great Britain with distant quarters, to which his power did not reach. England had planted her colonies in every part of the world: her offspring, emancipated and not emancipated, opened markets for her manufacturing industry, which much more than compensated all she had lost from the ascendancy of France in continental Europe. Two-thirds of the exports of Britain

* Years.	BRITISH SHIPPING.		FOREIGN SHIPPING.		TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1801	4,957	922,594	5497	780,115	10,454	1,702,709
1802	7,806	1,333,005	3728	480,251	11,534	1,813,256
1803	6,264	1,115,702	4254	638,104	10,518	1,753,806
1804	4,865	904,932	4271	607,299	9,136	1,512,231
1814	8,975	1,290,248	5236	599,287	14,211	1,889,535
1815	8,880	1,372,108	5314	745,985	14,194	2,119,093
1819	11,974	1,809,138	4215	542,684	16,189	2,351,822
1820	11,285	1,688,080	3472	447,611	14,757	2,135,691
1821	10,810	1,589,274	3261	396,266	14,071	1,985,540
1822	11,087	1,664,186	3389	469,151	14,476	2,133,337

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, iii. 174.

† "Εως δὲ ἄρτιος ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις καὶ παρ' ἡμεῖς ἀικουμένη θαλάσσιον ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς, Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκείνης." —XENOPHON, *Athen. Rep.* ii. "Of one thing only the Athenians stood in need. For if, in addition to their power at sea, they had inhabited an island, they might have done evil to any whom they inclined, without suffering injury in return till they had lost the command of the ocean."

‡ Exports from Great Britain to—

	Europe.	United States.	Rest of America.	To all countries.
1806.	£11,363,635	£12,389,488	£10,877,968	£34,732,733
1807.	9,042,237	11,846,518	10,439,423	35,412,967
1808.	9,016,933	5,241,739	16,591,877	35,007,491

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, iii. 102.

in 1810 were to America and India.* Notwithstanding the astonishing success of the French Emperor in the fields of European warfare, and the indefatigable efforts he made to exclude English merchandise from the harbours of the Continent, the exports of the country went on continually increasing till the year 1811, when they experienced a great and alarming diminution. They sank sixteen millions in a single year. That, however, was almost entirely the consequence of the loss of the North American market, occasioned, not by the measures of the French Emperor, but by our own injudicious and ill-timed Orders in Council. As it was, however, they reduced the nation to greater straits than it had been in since the commencement of the war, and in truth brought it to the brink of ruin;—a decisive proof that it was from the commercial intercourse she maintained with her *own descendants*, that Great Britain derived the principal part of the resources with which she maintained the contest, and that no misfortunes were to be regarded as irreparable, but such as severed them from each other.

78. (V.) The danger, however, of a nation's depending to a great extent on its colonial dependencies is, that they desert it in the hour of danger, and thus, what had been the main source of its strength, becomes the principal cause of its weakness. The dissolution of the Lacedæmonian confederacy after the battle of Leuctra, the defection of the Athenian colonies after the disaster of Aigospotamos, of the Carthaginian on the invasion of Scipio, of the Roman after the slaughter of Cannæ, prove on how insecure a foundation the prosperity of a state in general rests which depends on the allegiance of its distant possessions. In all parts

of the British empire, however, the most perfect unanimity prevailed for carrying on the contest during the whole of its continuance; and the flame of loyalty burnt as steadily on the shores of the St Lawrence, or the banks of the Ganges, as on those of the Thames, or in the plains of Yorkshire. It was this unanimity, beyond all question, which brought England triumphant through the perils of the contest; her only vulnerable point was Ireland, where, unfortunately, different feelings prevailed with a large part of the people. The secret of this extraordinary loyalty in all parts of the widely scattered British dominions, so different from what had hitherto been experienced among men, so bright a contrast to what had so recently been exhibited in its own North American colonies, is to be found in the *protective policy* which had so long been pursued by its government.

79. The inhabitants of the British colonies were not by nature different from other men; but circumstances had rendered the policy of their rulers different. They were not the representatives of a part of the empire, but of the whole: they pursued a policy for the general good, not merely of the dominant island; hence it was for the advantage of the whole colonies to remain constant to the parent state. The great and varied interests of the British empire, in all parts of the globe, had silently worked their way into the legislature: purchase of seats in parliament had opened its gates on the footing of nominal corruption and real independence; the East and West Indies were as effectually represented through the medium of Gatton and Old Sarum, bought with wealth acquired in their service, as Westminster or Yorkshire were by the voice of their numerous constituents. Talent, readily

* Exports from Great Britain to—

	Europe.	Asia.	United States of America.	East of America.	Africa.	Total.
1810,	£15,027,806	£2,977,366	£10,920,752	£15,640,168	£595,081	£45,761,121
1811,	12,834,630	2,941,194	1,841,253	11,929,080	339,742	29,893,549

It was the *license trade* which made the exports to Europe so much greater in this than the preceding years,—an extraordinary proof of the cupidity for money which characterised Napoleon, or of the straits to which he was reduced in carrying out his *Continental System*.—See *FORSTER's Progress of the Nation*, iii. 102.

enlisted under the banner of one or other party, found an easy entrance into the legislature under the same system; and not being constrained to bend to the wishes of an interested body of home electors, supported the policy which appeared conducive to the general interests of the empire. Nothing, it was evident, could secure the allegiance of distant possessions but attention to their interests, and the command of the sea. Hence the protective policy, which for a century and a half formed the ruling principle of British legislation, and of which the Navigation Laws, so vital in their effects to our maritime interests, were but a part. Similar enactments, multiplied to an incredible extent, secured to the parent state and all its colonies the benefits of mutual intercourse. Heavy discriminating duties restrained the competition of rival states. Protection to native industry, at home and abroad, was the unseen but powerful chain which, through all the chances of war, retained the whole in firm and willing allegiance to the government of Great Britain. The navy of England gave that security to their commercial intercourse without which it could not have been carried on. The ocean became the highway for their mutual communication. No state could hope to obtain a share in this lucrative commerce but such as was either neutral or protected by the British flag. So strongly was this felt by the planters in the French and Dutch colonies towards the end of the war, that they desired nothing so much as to be incorporated with the British dominions; and when an English expedition appeared off their coasts, they in secret prayed for its success, and no real resistance was made except by the regular forces.

80. (VI.) Vain, however, would have been the numerous advantages, physical and political, which Great Britain enjoyed during the contest, if a fortunate combination of circumstances, joined to uncommon wisdom on the part of its government, had not established a system of commerce in the heart of the empire, adequate to the wants of

its immense dependencies, capable of *expansion* at will, according to the necessities of the times, and not liable to be drawn off at particular periods by the balances of trades or the military necessities of foreign states. No amount of metallic treasures could have been adequate to the wants of such an empire during such a contest; if the whole gold and silver of the world had been brought together, it would have proved unequal to the combined necessities of the government and the people. The vast and imperious demand for the precious metals, and especially gold, for the use and maintenance of the immense armies contending on the Continent, of necessity and frequently drained away nearly the whole precious metals from the country, at the very time when they were most required for the support of domestic credit, or the cost of warlike establishments. When such a drain for specie set in from foreign parts, certain ruin must have ensued, if the empire had possessed no resources within itself to supply the place of the precious metals which were taken away. But such resources did exist, and were managed with a combined liberality and caution, which gave the country the whole benefits of a paper currency, without any of the danger with which it is attended. In February 1797, when the vast abstraction of specie from the British Islands, owing to the campaigns of the preceding year in Italy and Germany, joined to an extraordinary run upon the banks, arising from a panic at home, had brought matters to extremities, the Bank of England was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the nation within a hairbreadth of ruin. But Mr Pitt was at the helm, and his firmness and foresight not only surmounted the crisis, but drew from it the means of establishing the currency of the country on such a footing as enabled it to bid defiance throughout the whole remainder of the war, alike to foreign disaster and internal embarrassment. To the suspension of cash payments by the act of 1797, and the power in consequence vested in the Bank of England of *expanding its paper*

circulation in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency and the wants of the country, and resting the national industry on a basis not liable to be taken away, either by the mutations of commerce or the necessities of war, the salvation of the empire is beyond all question to be ascribed.

81. A similar crisis, and from a similar cause, occurred in 1810, but it led to no injurious results; on the contrary, it was contemporary with the greatest exertions of the nation. The prodigious absorption of specie for the use of the French and Austrian armies during the campaign of 1809, joined to the immense cost of the campaign in Portugal, and the importation of one million five hundred thousand quarters of wheat, to supply the deficiencies of a bad harvest in 1810, had occasioned so great a dearth of specie in Great Britain, in the latter year, that gold and silver had almost entirely disappeared from the circulation, and a *light* guinea was worth twenty-five, and sometimes as much as twenty-seven shillings. But what then? The banks increased their issues in a similar proportion: that of the Bank of England was raised to £21,000,000; its discounts reached £20,000,000 in a single year. All other banks did the same: the paper circulation in England alone, before the close of the war, reached £48,000,000; that of the two islands, £60,000,000 sterling. By this means, not only was the

crisis surmounted without difficulty, but a hundred and thirty thousand combatants, with forty ships of the line, were assembled around Lisbon, which hurled back the French legions from the lines of Torres Vedras, and in the three last years of the war, while not a guinea was to be found in England, all the armies of Europe were arrayed in British pay on the Rhine and the Pyrenees. A commercial and monetary crisis in 1810, which, beyond all question, under our present system, would have involved the nation and all the commercial interests in a general public and private bankruptcy, was not only surmounted without distress, but the property of the industrious classes was unimpaired during its whole continuance; and the nation commenced in the middle of it those gigantic efforts which at length turned the tide against France, and brought the contest to a glorious termination.* It is remarkable that this admirable system, which may truly be called the moving power of the nation during the war, became towards its close the object of the most determined hostility on the part both of the great capitalists and the chief writers on political economy in the country. Here, however, as everywhere else, experience, the great test of truth, has determined the question. The adoption of the opposite system of *contracting* the paper in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency, by

* Table showing the notes in circulation, price of gold the ounce, commercial paper under discount at the Bank, exports and imports of Great Britain from 1810 to 1815:—

Year.	Bank of England notes.	Private banks.	Total.	Price of gold the ounce.	Commercial paper under discount at Bank.	Exports, Official value.	Imports, Declared value.	Revenue yearly.
£	£	£	£	£ s. d.	£	£	£	£
1810	21,619,800	No return		4 10 0	20,070,600	34,061,901	37,613,294	67,144,542
1811	23,360,220			4 17 6	14,355,490	22,684,460	25,240,704	65,173,545
1812	23,480,880			4 15 0	14,291,600	22,508,506	24,923,922	65,037,850
1813	23,210,930				12,280,200	Records destroyed		68,748,363
1814	24,801,080	22,709,000	47,510,000	5 8 0	13,285,800	34,207,253	32,622,771	71,134,503
1815	27,261,680	19,011,000	46,272,680	4 9 0	14,217,000	62,875,866	31,822,088	72,310,612
1816	27,018,030	15,090,000	42,291,900	3 19 0	11,416,400	35,717,071	26,374,921	62,364,546

See Appendix, H, Chap. xcv. The table in the Appendix, H, Chap. xcv., contains, the author believes, the most complete picture of the statistics of Great Britain, during and for thirty years after the war, which is anywhere to be met with in a similar space; and he may say this without vanity, as there is not a single word or figure in it his own composition.

the acts of 1819 and 1844, (followed as it was necessarily by the monetary crises of 1825, 1839, and 1847), has demonstrated beyond a doubt that it was in the system of an *expansive currency* that Great Britain during the war found the sole means of its salvation. And if any doubt could exist on this subject, it would be removed by the experience of the disastrous years 1847 and 1848, during which, without any external calamity, and when at peace with all the world, the mere abstraction of eighteen millions of sovereigns to purchase foreign grain under the free-trade system, produced universal and unexampled distress, and induced such a convulsion in the country as reduced the revenue, drawn with difficulty from twenty-eight millions of souls, to £51,250,000; and sent above two hundred and fifty thousand emigrants each year out of the country; while in 1810, under a far greater abstraction of the precious metals, universal prosperity prevailed, and £67,144,000 was without any effort raised from eighteen millions of inhabitants, without any of them being driven to seek their bread in distant lands.*

82. (VII.) The preceding causes refer chiefly to the physical advantages, external circumstances, and political policy of the British empire during the war. But, in addition to these, there were two circumstances of a *moral* nature of paramount importance, which combined to produce the same result. The first of these was the existence of the PROTESTANT, as the established religion of Great Britain. It would ill become, indeed, the historian of these eventful times, whose pleasing duty it has been to record the many deeds of heroism and virtue which have been displayed by the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, to dispute that it is capable of producing the most elevated and ennobling dispositions. As little will any one impressed with the principles of true religion arrogate to his own persuasion any exclusive profession of the doctrines requisite to salvation, or imagine that the gates

* See Appendix, II., Chap. xiv.

of heaven will not be thrown open as wide to those equally obedient to the precepts of Christianity, in whatever tenets circumstances or parentage may have brought them up. But, looking to the peculiar situation in which Great Britain was placed during the Revolutionary war, and the necessity which existed for strenuous exertion in all classes, it appears equally certain that, but for the establishment of the Reformed faith in the majority and most energetic part of its inhabitants, it must have sunk in the conflict. Spain exhibits a memorable instance of the manner in which a faith which paralyzes the intellectual freedom of the human soul, may depress and in the end ruin the national resources even of the greatest state, though founded on the most unbounded natural advantages;—France, of the way in which the attempt to force sacerdotal supremacy upon an age of intellectual activity, may tear up the whole foundations of society, and involve the best interests of mankind in ruin;—Ireland, of the melancholy retention of a people in a state of barbarity, when its neighbours are far advanced in industry and civilisation, from the adherence to religious observances fit only for the rudest ages.

83. The Roman Catholic is the transition faith from heathenism to Christianity, retaining enough of forms to attract the illiterate multitude, embracing as much of reality as may sway more enlightened minds, and produce innumerable blessings. As such, it has done, in the earlier stages of society, and in many places is still doing, immense service to mankind; but is it the religion fitted to unite together the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant, the industrious and the affluent, in an age of the highest intellectual activity, and to call out in the utmost degree the physical and mental energies of all classes of the community? There is no candid and attentive observer of human affairs who will assert that it is. The submission to authority in matters of faith, so valuable as an element of social tranquillity, is eminently prejudicial, and generally

in the end proves fatal, to independence and activity of thought. Mind cannot long remain active, if uncontrolled speculation on the subjects most momentous and interesting to man is forbidden. The superior mental achievements and political energy of the Protestant states of Europe to the Roman Catholic, admitted by all candid historians of whatever creed, is a sufficient proof of this. A Roman Catholic population could never have spread as the Protestant has done in the wilds of America; witness the stationary Canadian *habitans* or corrupted Mexican grandees, beside the sturdy Anglo-Saxons, with the Bible in their pockets and the axe in their hands. The spirit of Protestantism is essentially allied with great exertions of industry and commerce: that of the ancient faith is more akin to the staidness of territorial aristocracy and the fervour of unlettered devotion. It was this difference which gave the Dutch the advantage over all the forces of the Spanish monarchy, and in the end established the independence of the United Provinces. The latter produced the glorious but short-lived and flickering blaze of Vendean and Tyrolean heroism; but it is to the former we must look for the mainspring of the steady and continuous efforts of English perseverance and patriotism which were alone equal to the successful maintenance of the conflict.

84. (VIII.) Akin to this circumstance of its religion having been that of the Protestant faith, is another feature in the conduct of Great Britain, perhaps arising from it, which beyond all question had a most material influence upon the issue of the contest, especially in its later stages. This is the lofty spirit and noble principles maintained both by the government and people during its continuance. It would be going, indeed, too far to assert that all the measures of Great Britain, during this war, were dictated by the purest motives, or executed in the most honourable manner. The English are men, and in their conduct, nationally and individually, is to be found the usual proportion of the frail-

ties and vices of the sons of Adam. Selfishness sometimes swayed their intentions; inexperience frequently paralysed their counsels; ignorance often rendered nugatory their valour. But that their conduct upon the whole was less open to reproach than that of their antagonists, that they contended throughout for the best interests of humanity and freedom, and that their sway has, generally speaking, proved a blessing to the countries subdued by their power or liberated by their arms, is decisively proved by two circumstances. The first of these is the unanimous resurrection of all the nations of Europe against the French domination, and their cordial union with the arms of Great Britain, after the effects of the opposite principles on which those powers had maintained the conflict had been ascertained by experience. The second, the astonishing fact that the immense colonial empire of England, in every part of the world, maintained an unshaken loyalty to the mother country during all the vicissitudes of the war; and that, since its termination, a hundred millions of men in India, embracing the bravest and most warlike states of Asia, have been kept in willing subjection to the British government, situated at fourteen thousand miles' distance, and which never had a European force of thirty thousand men in the East at its disposal. The extreme difficulty which the French have experienced, with the aid of seventy thousand soldiers, in retaining possession of a strip of land on the coast of Africa, within four days' sail of Toulon, proves that the main reliance of such distant settlements, in old states, must be on the attachment of the native population, founded on the experienced protection of their interests.

85. It is not surprising that the English government, during the war, should in so remarkable a manner have succeeded in winning the respect and securing the co-operation of men. The principles on which it maintained the contest, the objects for which throughout it contended, were of the most elevated kind. The British people fought from first to last for the defence of re-

ligion and order—for the preservation of the liberty of mankind, and for no selfish or ambitious objects of their own. The proof of this is decisive. They were in the end victorious in the strife: and, when they had the power, they appropriated none of the spoils of the conquered to themselves. Not one acre of France was taken; almost all her colonies were restored. Java was given back, with perhaps imprudent generosity; and Great Britain had the magnanimity to exact no severer terms from her vanquished enemy, with her capital taken, and her emperor a prisoner, than she had announced at the outset, as the grounds on which she had taken up arms,* and the conditions on which, at the darkest period of the conflict, she had declared she would alone lay them down. Even after she had been provoked by the return of Napoleon from Elba, and heated by the fearful chances of the Waterloo campaign, she exacted for herself none of the spoils of the conquered: no statues or pictures from Paris graced the return of Wellington to London, as those from Italy and Germany had

done the triumphs of Napoleon; and the whole of the share falling to England from the war contributions then for the first time exacted from France, was given up to the ally who owed its existence to her generosity.† So far was this generous disposition carried, that Napoleon made it a matter of serious reproach against Lord Castlereagh at St Helena, that he forgot altogether the interests of his own country in the peace, and gained for England no other benefit from the sacrifices which had preceded it, but the stars and ribbons bestowed on himself by the allied powers.‡ Nor was the conduct of England during the contest unworthy of the principles on which it had been undertaken and maintained. Whatever faults she committed, and they were many, were to her own loss and the oppression of herself alone. No war contributions or confiscations attended her armies when they landed in Europe; no authorised and organised system of plunder relieved her of the burdens of the contest, at the expense of the inhabitants of the conquered territories. Her immense ex-

* Compare the note of the English government to the cabinet of St Petersburg, 29th January 1792, Chap. ix. § 123; the note of Mr Pitt to the same cabinet, January 11, 1805, Chap. xxxix. § 9; and Appendix. A, to same chapter; and the treaties of Paris, 1814 and 1815, Chap. lxxxix. § 47, and Chap. xc. § 24.

† The King of the Netherlands, who received it to reconstruct the barrier against France in the Low Countries.

‡ "If," said Napoleon, "your ministers had paid attention to the interests of your country, instead of intriguing, they would have rendered you the most happy and flourishing nation in the world. At the conclusion of the war, they should have said to the Spanish and Portuguese governments, 'We have saved your country: we alone have supported you, and prevented your falling a prey to France; we have made many campaigns, and our best blood has been shed in your defence; we have expended many millions of money, and consequently, the nation is overburdened with debt on your account, which we must pay; you have the means of repaying us. We demand, therefore, that we shall be the only nation allowed to trade with South America during twenty years, and that our ships shall have the same privileges with Spanish vessels.' Who could say no to this? It would only have been a just demand, and none of the

allied powers could deny your right to exact it; for it was through you alone, and the energy you dispalyed, that both Spain, and Portugal did not fall? You might have asked, who saved Portugal? who alone assisted you with men and money, besides having saved your existence as a nation? As it now is, France will soon have the trade to the Brazils. Another piece of folly in your ministers was, in allowing any other nation but yourselves to trade with India. If you had made these demands, they must have been granted; and the powers of Europe would not have been more jealous of you than they now are, and always will be as long as you have the dominion of the seas, and insist on the right of search. You would then have had the means of keeping up your maritime empire, which must decay, if you have not more commerce than the rest of the world. England has played for everything or nothing; she has gained all, effected impossibilities, 'yet has nothing'; and her people are starving, and worse than they were during the midst of the war."—O'MEARA, I. 261, 264. Without asserting that all these strictures of Napoleon's are well founded, it may at least be confidently asserted, that they demonstrate, on the best of all evidence, that of an able and unwilling witness, the disavowed principles on which England maintained the contest, and concluded the peace.

penditure and unexampled war contributions were levied upon her own inhabitants alone. No neutral or allied powers had to rue the day when she made peace. She concluded it without exacting cessions save of a few inconsiderable colonies, either from her enemies or friends. So strict was the discipline maintained by her chiefs even in the enemy's territory, that their own generals confessed that "every peasant wished to be placed under his protection" [*ante*, Chap. LXXXVII. § 35]; and the first act of Louis XVIII., on his second restoration to the throne, was to thank the Duke of Wellington and his officers, in presence of his whole court, for the protection they had bestowed on his unhappy subjects [*ante*, Chap. xc. § 15].

86. Such, so far as at present can be discerned, were the principal causes which gave Great Britain the final victory in this protracted and memorable contest. But immortality is not the destiny of communities any more than of single men; and sin has brought death to nations not less than individuals. Out of the triumph of the conquerors have arisen evils as great, selfishness as intense, dangers as pressing, as have attached to the vanquished from the entire overthrow of society. The victory of property has been attended with as great a destruction of vested interests; a disregard of the rights of others, in some respects as complete as that of numbers in the adjoining kingdom. The inherent corruption of mankind has appeared as strongly in the victors after the contest was over, as in the vanquished before it commenced. It is in the selfishness of the dominant class, the growth of their desires, and the dereliction of their principles from the very effects of their success, that the causes of these disastrous results are to be found. Prosperity, both in France and England, has produced its usual effect of developing the seeds of evil, by increasing the sway of selfish desires in the classes in these respective countries which have obtained the mastery. In the former have been exemplified the disasters which would

have resulted from the triumph of Gracchus in the Roman republic: in the latter, the principles of ruin which, from the continued ascendant of the patricians, at length overturned the vast and splendid fabric of the Roman empire. It will be the duty of a future historian to unfold the causes which have in this manner prepared the decline and fall of the British empire: it has been the more agreeable province of him whose labours are concluding, to trace the progress of its rise and greatness. Yet a few observations will not be misplaced on the social results which have in this country attended its magnificent triumphs; for subsequent experience has unfolded many of the causes of past prosperity, and the difficulties with which we are now surrounded throw the clearest light on the wisdom of the measures by which those of former times have been surmounted.

87. It need be told to none of this generation—it will be painfully evident to posterity—in what serious embarrassments Great Britain has been involved since the peace. In truth, they have been so great and pressing, that it is hard to say whether they have not exceeded all the dangers and difficulties of the war. Barely concealed beneath the splendid surface of highly advanced civilisation, lie smouldering the sparks of a conflagration which may, at no distant period, involve the empire in ruin. If its fall is not sudden from a maritime disaster, like that at Aigospotamos, which at once destroyed the Athenian republic, it will assuredly dwindle away under the causes which undermined the vast fabric of Roman power. Already they are to be seen in full and portentous activity amongst us. The wealth of individuals, and poverty of the state, the luxury of the rich, and misery of the poor, the progressive and oppressive weight of direct taxation, the impossibility of maintaining an establishment of land and sea forces equal to the necessities of a widespread dominion, the indifference of the affluent to the sufferings of the destitute, the exasperation of the many at the fortunes of the few, the increas-

ing dependence of the nation on foreign supplies of food, the constant drain thence resulting upon its metallic resources; the ceaseless growth of debt, the progressive diminution in the remuneration of labour, the prostrations of the interests of rural before the ascendant of urban activity, the continued growth of crime, and failure of all efforts either to deter or check it, the appalling increase of pauperism, and extension of the reckless habits among the working classes which produce it, so often and feelingly complained of by the historians of antiquity, are precisely applicable to the British empire at this time.*

88. If we are not threatened by a hostile girdle of barbarous nations thirsting for the spoils of the empire, our dangers are not less real from the ill-disguised jealousy of civilised ambition: if half our population are not slaves, a seventh of them are already paupers,† in still more deplorable circumstances: if we are not reduced to look to the harvests of Egypt and Libya for our daily bread, free trade is preparing a similar dependence on those of Poland and America.‡ Serious crime during the last forty years

has advanced in the British Islands *ten times* as fast as the numbers of the people; all the efforts of philanthropy and instruction seem unable to restrain it.§ Population in the manufacturing districts has not only outgrown the means, but extinguished in a large class the desire of religious instruction; the sinking-fund, after thirty years' cessation of hostilities, has on an average of years disappeared; recourse has been found to be unavoidable, even during profound peace, to the *ultimum remedium* of direct taxation; the proportion of foreign vessels which carry on our commerce is steadily and rapidly increasing; || and with a population twice as numerous, and resources four times as great as they were in 1792, and a colonial empire of triple the magnitude to defend, we have not half the effective navy at our disposal which we had when the war broke out.

89. Various changes of the most important kind in our internal and external policy since the peace have co-existed with these remarkable features in our social condition. First, and most important in its consequences, has been the great alteration in the monetary system of the empire by the

* "Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam: publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos nullum discrimen; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet."—SALLUST, *Bell. Cat.*

Paupers relieved in England.				Paupers in United Kingdom, 1846.	
† 1843,	.	.	1,307,899	England,	1,250,000
1844,	.	.	1,249,682	Ireland,	2,300,000
				Scotland,	200,000
					3,750,000

ora seventh of the whole population nearly, which in 1844 was 27,500,000.—FOSTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 82, 91, 2d edit.; and ALTON'S *England in 1815 and 1843*, p. 12.

† In fifteen months from August 1846, when free trade was introduced, to November 1847, Great Britain imported 14,300,000 quarters of foreign grain, though the harvest of 1847 was uncommonly fine; and the money sent abroad for this prodigious supply, nearly a fourth of the annual consumption of the nation, was £23,560,000 sterling.—*Chancellor of Exchequer's Speech*, Nov. 30, 1847.

Committeals in England.		Committeals in England.		Population of England.	
1805,	4805	1840,	27,187	8,900,000 in 1805	
1806,	4346	1841,	27,760		
1807,	4446	1842,	31,309	15,200,000 in 1845	
1809,	6330	1843,	29,697		
1830,	5146	1844,	26,542		
1831,	4837	1845,	24,303		

This shows an increase of crime above six-fold in forty years; while during the same time the population has only advanced from eighty-nine to one hundred and fifty-five, or as nine to fifteen—that is, about sixty per cent. Crime, therefore, has increased ten times as fast as the numbers of the people. In Scotland, the growth of crime has been still more rapid.—FOSTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 2d edit., pp. 8, 943.

§ See Table, p. 331, opposite (Comparative Growth of British and Foreign Shipping).

act of 1819, compelling the Bank of England to resume payments in cash, followed by those of 1826, prohibiting the issue of one-pound notes by all English banks, and of 1844, restricting the issue of paper by the Bank of England, on any other security but an equal amount of specie in its coffers, to £14,000,000 sterling, with similar acts for Scotland and Ireland. Without pronouncing an opinion on abstract grounds in this work on the expedience of these changes, the effects of which have not yet been fully ascertained by experience, it may be observed, that it has already (1849) been decisively proved that they have added fifty per cent to the weight of all debts, and taken as much from the remuneration of productive labour throughout the empire; that they have extinguished, practically speaking, the sinking-fund, and rendered indirect taxes so unproductive that a recurrence to direct taxation, even in a period of profound peace, has become unavoidable; that they have compelled government to starve down the military and naval establishments of the empire to a degree inconsistent with its security, and which may ere long endanger its independence; and have rendered it more difficult now to raise fifty millions a-year from twenty-eight millions of men, than in the latter years of the war it

was to raise seventy millions a-year from eighteen millions. And if it be said that these evils were unavoidable, and the price which the nation pays for shunning the dangers of an unrestricted issue of paper,—the South American madness of 1824 and 1825, followed by the dreadful monetary crisis in the close of the latter year; the joint-stock mania of 1835 and 1836, succeeded by the severe and protracted depression from 1838 to 1843; and the railway mania of 1845, terminating in the awful and protracted monetary crisis of 1847, sufficiently demonstrate that the metallic system affords no security against these dangers, but, on the contrary, by rendering commercial credit dependent on the plenty or scarcity of that most shifting and evanescent of earthly things, a gold currency, in the highest degree aggravates them.†

90. The great monetary change of 1819 was followed, two years afterwards, by one equally important to our maritime interests. In February 1821 Mr Huskisson introduced the *reciprocity system*, by which Great Britain announced its determination to admit the ships of all nations, which would agree to the proposal, into her harbours, on the same terms on which they admitted hers. Experience has in like manner already demonstrated the ef-

Comparative Growth of British and Foreign Shipping from 1816 to 1844 :—

Years.	Total.*			Years.	Foreign tonnage.		Total.
1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188	1831	2,367,322	874,605	3,241,927
1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132	1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959
1818	1,806,354	702,457	2,508,811	1833	2,183,814	762,065	2,945,879
1819	1,909,138	543,684	2,452,822	1834	2,298,263	833,905	3,132,168
1820	1,608,060	447,611	2,115,671	1835	2,443,734	866,990	3,309,724
* 1821	1,809,374	396,258	1,995,630	1836	2,505,473	988,899	3,494,372
1822	1,664,186	409,151	2,133,337	1837	2,617,166	1,006,940	3,623,106
1823	1,740,860	532,996	2,273,856	1838	2,785,987	1,211,666	3,997,653
1824	1,767,239	759,441	2,526,680	1839	2,101,050	1,331,365	3,432,415
1825	2,144,598	958,132	3,102,730	1840	3,197,501	1,400,294	4,597,795
1826	1,980,690	694,116	2,674,806	1841	3,361,211	1,201,165	4,562,376
1827	2,086,868	751,804	2,838,672	1842	3,284,735	1,205,803	4,490,538
1828	2,094,367	634,630	2,728,997	1843	3,545,346	1,301,958	4,847,304
1829	2,184,325	710,303	2,894,628	1844	3,647,463	1,402,138	5,049,601
1830	2,180,049	758,828	2,938,877	1845	4,310,689	1,735,079	6,045,768

* Reciprocity system introduced.

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 406, 2d edit.

† See Appendix, H, Chap. xcv., for the proof of these observations.

fect of this system. The foreign tonnage employed in carrying on the trade of Great Britain—which, as already shown, rapidly declined, while the British as rapidly increased throughout the whole war, and for eight years after its termination—(ante, Chap. xcv. § 65, note)—at once began to gain the ascendancy upon that change being introduced; until now, instead of the British shipping employed in carrying on the commerce of the empire being quadruple the foreign, it is barely double it.* In ten years more, at the same rate of progress, the foreign shipping employed in carrying on the trade of Great Britain will be equal to its own, and in ten more it will *greatly exceed it*. The moment that occurs, the independence of the empire will be a mere name; for what reliance can a maritime state place on its means of defence, if it has reared up, in conducting its own traffic, a body of foreign seamen superior to its own, who may at any moment be ranged in hostility against it? Vain, worse than vain, in such an event, would be the magnitude of its exports, and the vast extent of its manufacturing industry. Of what avail would be the hundred and thirty millions of foreign exports if hostile fleets blockaded the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde? Like a beleaguered city encumbered with useless mouths, it would only find in the multitude who produced them a burden which would compel its speedy surrender. Less conspicuous to the unthinking many, because less prejudicial to general interests, this great change in our policy

is even more formidable in its consequences than the alteration in our monetary system, from which such widespread financial distress has followed; for it strikes at the national independence, on which all our other blessings depend. Yet, such is the disregard of remote consequences in the great majority of men, when their interests or supposed interests are concerned, that this main security of our independence has already been swept away, and the Navigation Laws, the bulwark of our navy, numbered among the things that have been.

91. So many alterations in the political and religious policy of the empire could not have been adopted without inducing a change, gradual or violent, in its government. The misery produced was so general, that a large portion of the people became not only indifferent to, but desirous of change—the shock given to established feelings, perhaps prejudices, so violent, that the main bulwark against innovation was cast down. So many of the commercial classes in particular, who earned their livelihood by buying and selling, had been involved in difficulties or insolvency by the constant fall in the price of commodities which followed the contraction of the currency, that the desire for an extension of political power became universal amongst them, from the belief that it would enable them to ward off these effects. So profound were the feelings of indignation which pervaded a large part of those who were strongly impressed with religious feelings, from the manner in

Years.	British.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1819.	11,374	1,809,128	4,215	542,684	15,589	2,351,812
1820.	11,235	1,668,060	3,472	447,611	14,707	2,115,671
1821.	10,810	1,599,274	3,261	396,266	14,071	1,995,540
1822.	11,037	1,664,186	3,389	469,151	14,426	2,133,337
1840.	17,333	3,197,501	10,198	1,400,204	27,531	4,597,705
1841.	18,635	3,361,211	9,527	1,291,165	28,162	4,652,376
1842.	18,937	3,294,725	8,654	1,205,303	27,591	4,500,028
1843.	19,500	3,545,343	8,541	1,301,080	28,041	4,846,423
1844.	19,037	3,637,463	9,003	1,402,138	28,040	5,039,601
1845.	21,001	4,310,639	11,631	1,736,076	32,632	6,046,715

which Catholic emancipation had been carried, that they too had come to think some change had become indispensable, or, from resentment at its authors, resolved not to oppose it. Amidst a "chaos of unanimity," as it has been well styled, produced by these causes, the Reform Bill was carried: the close boroughs, the channel of colonial representation, were closed; and the government of the empire was vested, with scarcely any control, in a million electors of Great Britain and Ireland:

92. It was foreseen and predicted at the time,* what subsequent events have abundantly verified, that the effect of this great change would be to break up the bond of union which had hitherto in so wonderful a manner held together the British empire, and by impelling the national policy into measures dictated by the selfish desires of the majority in the *dominant island*, without any regard to the interests of the unrepresented colonies, render probable, if not certain, at no distant period, their separation from the parent state, and consequent ruin of its maritime superiority. Such an effect has already taken place, or is in the course of being realised. Canada has broken into open revolt, and only a slender bond still attaches it to the parent state; the West Indies have been prevented from fol-

lowing the example only by the entire prostration of their resources, under the effects of Negro emancipation; and the discontent produced by the abolition of the benefit of colonial protection, from the consequences of free trade, renders it a matter of certainty that, on the first serious reverse to the state, they will, like the colonies of Athens or Carthage on a similar crisis, and from a similar cause, declare themselves independent, or openly range themselves under the banner of our enemies.

93. So vast was the power enjoyed by the leaders of the Reform movement under the first parliament returned by the new constitution, so vehemently was a large part of the nation set upon revolutionary measures, that if they had chosen to have gone on in the career, the British constitution was at an end. Beyond all question they might have abolished the house of peers, confiscated the church property, annihilated the national debt, dethroned the sovereign. The besom of destruction was as firmly placed in their hands as ever it had been in those of Mirabeau and the Constituent Assembly. But in that eventful crisis the indelible influence of race appeared. The English character was not wanting to itself. With a temperance in the exercise of power, which is as worthy of praise as their conduct

* "This consideration points to the fundamental and irremediable defect of the proposed constitution, that it vests an overwhelming majority in the *populace of these islands*, to the exclusion of the other great and weighty interests of the British empire. By vesting the right of returning members to parliament in forty-shilling freeholders in the counties, and ten-pound tenants in towns, the command of the legislature will be placed in hands inaccessible, save by actual bribery, to the approach of the colonial or shipping interests. If such a change does not produce a revolution, it must in the end lead to the dismemberment of the empire. The East and West Indian and Canadian dependencies will not long submit to the rule of the populace in the *dominant island*, indifferent to their interests, ignorant of their circumstances, careless of their welfare. This evil is inherent in any system of *uniform representation*, and must, to the end of time, render it unfit for the legislature of a great and varied empire. Being based mainly upon one class of society, which under the proposed system will be

that of shopkeepers, it contains no provision for the interests of the other classes, and still less for the welfare of the remote but important parts of the empire. These remote possessions being unrepresented, can have no influence on the electors but by the corrupt channel of actual bribery. The most valuable feature of the British constitution, that of affording an inlet through the close boroughs to all the great and varied interests of the empire, will be destroyed. The Reform Bill in this view should be entitled 'a bill for *disfranchising the colonial and shipping interests*, and vesting the exclusive right of returning members to parliament in the populace of Great Britain and Ireland.'—*On Parliamentary Reform and the French Revolution*, No. V.: Blackwood's Magazine, May 1, 1831. The author, at the distance of twenty years, can reflect with satisfaction that he has nothing to unsay or regret in a prediction made during the heat of the first discussions on the Reform Bill; and that subsequent events have tended only to demonstrate that his first anticipations of the effects of the measure were too true.

in the struggle for it had been of censure, government remained neutral, and suffered the period of national madness to pass over without attempting any further subversion of our fundamental institutions. By degrees the public mind recovered its equilibrium. The national character, essentially practical save in moments of delirium, reappeared. Discarding all theoretical plans of remodelling the state, the people set themselves to procure the removal of those restrictions which impeded, or were thought to impede, the free exercise of industry. Like their Saxon ancestors six centuries before, when political power was for the first time extended to the boroughs by Earl Leicester, the urban population of Great Britain bent their whole efforts to the abolition of the custom-house burdens, which interfered with the liberty of buying and selling—and the import duties, which gave protection to the produce of rural industry.*

94. Changes so great in the policy of the empire, deviations so marked from the system to which its former greatness had been owing, would appear inexplicable, if we did not reflect that they have arisen from a *different class* in society having, from that very greatness, been elevated to power. Powerful as was the influence which the territorial aristocracy had for so long enjoyed, and which, save in moments of extraordinary excitement, had given

them for centuries the direction of the empire, it had now come to be supplanted by another interest in the state, which had grown up under the shelter which the former had afforded to general industry. The commercial and manufacturing interests, which had so long prospered under the protective system established by the wisdom of former times, had received such an extraordinary development during the war with the French Revolution, and its effects on the colonial empire of Great Britain during the peace which followed it, that it had become irresistible. The territorial aristocracy of Great Britain was overturned by the very class which it had by its liberal policy elevated to greatness. The old fable was realised: the husbandman was stung to death by the serpent which he had warmed in his bosom. The two causes which produced this were the vast increase of commercial wealth under the protective system during the war, and the vast monetary change which that interest succeeded in inducing after the peace.

95. Strong as was the grasp which the Norman barons had laid upon the state, and which eight centuries had scarcely loosened, it was at length relaxed by the conquests won by the firmness of their descendants, which gave Great Britain the command of the commerce of the world. The land had won for commerce triumphs which proved fatal to itself. The act of 1819, compelling the bank of England to resume its cash payments, completed the victory of the mercantile interest; for it at once added nearly a half to the effective amount of urban capital, and took nearly as much from the remuneration of rural industry. Wealth was overflowing in towns; debt became universal in the country; ready money in the one party became abundant; the pressure of mortgages upon the other overwhelming. Twenty years of unprecedented prosperity, which had preceded the change, had only diminished the rural proprietors' means of resisting its effects; for they had spread habits of expense among them which could not now be relinquished, and led

* "The summoning of representatives of the towns to the parliament of 1264, was a political combination suggested to Leicester by his situation, rather than a necessity which the social state had yet imposed. But lately an aristocrat against the crown, he became a democrat against the aristocracy from the day the towns with their peculiar influence acquired a share in the central government. That experiment constituted a great step in the freedom of the country, but its author derived little advantage from it. The citizens, almost as astonished as delighted with the importance given them by Leicester, employed their influence in liberating their commerce from restrictions, and resisting the payment of customs, not in establishing in concert with him a durable government." — GUIZOT, *Rechts sur l'Histoire de France*, 475, 476. Is this the history of 1264 or 1832? of Earl Leicester's revolution or Earl Grey's reform? So identical is the same national spirit in its effects in similar circumstances in the most distant ages!

to the contraction of debts which could not be discharged. The landholders, like all other classes who depended on the returns of labour, felt in their full intensity the pressure of these circumstances, but they had not practical acquaintance with monetary affairs to perceive from what cause their difficulties proceeded. They thought any change would improve their condition, and that an extended representation would increase their influence; forgetting that wealth in a commercial state is the real source of power, and that their embarrassed fortunes would speedily yield to the skilfully directed assaults of combined urban capital. The great body of the people were readily carried away by the prospect of cheap bread; they forgot its effect, if realised, on the wages of labour: the cry *Panem et Circenses* proved as powerful with the British as ever it had been with the Roman populace. To cheapen everything became the great object of policy, because it was thus that the trading class, in whom political power was substantially vested, hoped to be benefited. The capitalists joined in the measures, because they tended to magnify the real amount of their fortunes: the people were seduced into them, because they held out the delusive prospect of cheap provisions and greater value to their wages. Thus was the combination effected by which the constitution and social policy of Great Britain have been entirely changed; and that, too, at the very time when the beneficial effects of the former system in both had been most strongly experienced, and from the effects of the very triumphs which they had induced. Nations, like individuals, were not destined to eternal duration; in their greatness equally as their misfortunes they find the seeds of mortality; when their destined part is performed, they yield to the common fate of earthly things.

96. The slightest acquaintance with history must suggest to every candid observer the remarkable, and to us ominous, resemblance between the failures which have now been described in our social condition, springing out of the magnitude and extent of our

successes, and those which characterised the greatest elevation, and undoubtedly occasioned the fall, of the Roman empire. So close indeed is this analogy, so striking this resemblance, that a description of the one might pass for a picture of the other. It is in recent times, in an especial manner, that it has become conspicuous, because it is then that the causes have come into operation which, at such distant periods, have produced effects so identical in the two states. Under different names, the same evils have reappeared. The gradual extinction of the old landed aristocracy, and substitution of a new race of monied magnates in their stead; the continual growth of wealth in the rich, and of pauperism in the poor; the eating in of usury into the vitals of the state; the increasing encouragement of urban, and depression of rural industry; the perilous dependence of the nation on foreign supplies for food; the conversion of agriculture into pasturage, in the central provinces of the empire; the difficulty of recruiting the legions from the country population; the impossibility of doing so in towns; the continual drain of the precious metals to distant countries, in the purchase of luxuries; the necessity of sending them abroad for that of necessities; the consequent increase in the weight of direct taxes; the failure in the produce of the indirect; the difficulty in maintaining a land and sea force adequate to the defence of the widely extended frontiers of the empire, so often and strongly portrayed in the historians of antiquity, as the peculiarities which preceded the fall of Rome—have all their exact counterpart in the social features by which we are surrounded. The difficulty of recruiting the imperial legions is equalled by the embarrassment experienced by Great Britain in the manning of the navy, or finding funds for the support of a sufficient army; the drain of gold and silver to Egypt and Arabia, was identical with that we now suffer under to America and the Ukraine; and if we are not as yet dependent on the harvests of Libya and Sicily for our daily bread, it is already evident that

the time is not far distant when we shall be reduced to a similar dependence on those of America and Poland; and the lives of the English, as of the Roman people, will be committed to the winds and the waves.*

97. It is not surprising that the same political features should characterise the Roman and British empires at the periods of their highest exaltation; for both have run the same course, and have come to be restrained by the same law of nature. To both a great and noble destiny was given; both have worthily discharged it. The Roman legions bequeathed to the world the empires and laws of modern Europe; the English navy has left to it the still more glorious inheritance of Transatlantic and Australian civilisation. But for neither was immortal duration intended. Other nations are to succeed in the same path, and forward yet further the designs of Providence. It is not to be wished that civilisation and power should be for ever centred round their ancient seats: their spread with the dispersion of mankind over the globe, forms an essential part of social advancement and the Divine administration. The provision made for this consists in two laws of permanent operation and eternal endurance, which impose a never-failing restraint on the growth of aged communities, and provide, in their very greatness and extension, the causes of their decline, and the transference of their dominion to other states. These laws are, that capital and knowledge, while they add indefinitely to manufacturing power, make no corresponding addition to the powers of rural labour; and that whatever is plentiful and brought in large quantities to one spot, declines in value, and exposes the persons possessing it to disadvantages in exchange. We see this strongly exemplified at the present time; for England, which can easily undersell India in cotton manufacture, applied to an article which grew on the banks of the Ganges, finds its culti-

vators undersold by Poland and America with grain raised on the Vistula and the Mississippi. It is the silent but ceaseless operation of these two laws that induces the old age of great nations, which have withstood the shock of war, and risen superior to all their neighbours, and insures that dispersion in civilised times of mankind, which is provided for in rude ages by the lust of conquest and roving habits of pastoral tribes.

98. When a nation becomes great and powerful, like Rome in ancient, or Great Britain in modern times, it necessarily draws the wealth of the world to itself. Money, being plentiful in its capital and chief places of business or pleasure, declines like every other plentiful thing in value. Money prices in consequence rise; and this after a time is felt as an insupportable grievance by its inhabitants. The rich purchase their luxuries from foreign states, where they are raised cheaper; because the circulating medium is less plentiful: the poor clamour incessantly for the unrestricted admission of foreign grain, that they may have bread on as moderate terms as foreign labourers. Manufacturers and capitalists swell the cry and second their efforts, because, by introducing foreign produce raised at a small cost, they hope to augment the real value of their fortunes, and extend by cheapening the sale of their manufactures in foreign states. The richest and most numerous classes of the community being thus combined for one object, it soon becomes impossible to resist its concession. Free trade in grain was imposed upon the Roman Emperors, as soon as their empire became extensive, not less by the clamours of their subjects in the centre, than by a sense of justice to those in the extremities of their empire. It has been imposed on Great Britain from no such sense of justice to the distant provinces of the empire, but, in direct opposition to their wishes and interests, by the selfish clamours of the urban constituencies in the dominant island, in whose hands the Reform Bill had placed a majority of the legislature.

99. Thence the dependence of Rome

* *Nunquam secura futurum
Semper inops ventique ædem possedit et
nom.*

—CLAUDIAN, *De Bello Gildonico*, lines 64, 65.

on the harvests of Egypt and Libya, the ruin of Italian agriculture, the disappearance of Italian soldiers from the legions, the ruinous burden of direct taxes, the fall of the empire. England has reached the same limit; the same passions have from similar causes appeared among its inhabitants, the same measures have been adopted by government, and the same effects will follow. In the incessant effort to cheapen everything, in order to obviate the effects of the very wealth which its greatness has produced, industry will be crushed, and the strength of the heart of the empire destroyed. All the great operations of nature are conducted by the laws which we see in daily operation around us. Would we see the formation of a continent, we have only to look at the deposit of a few inconsiderable rills: the same gravitation which makes a stone fall to the ground, restrains the planets in their courses. The simple fact that whatever is plentiful becomes cheap, and that when a state grows rich, its money prices rise, points to a law of nature which restrains the growth of empires, and has for ever rendered universal dominion impossible.

100. Napoleon did not long survive the most distinguished of his old companions in arms. Although he was subjected to no restraint at St Helena, was permitted to ride over nearly the whole island, and enjoyed a degree of luxury and comfort, both in his habitation and in the society with which he was surrounded, which bore a striking contrast to the stern severity with which he had treated state prisoners; yet his proud spirit chafed against the coercion of being confined at all to an island. The British government had given the most express instructions that he should be treated with all the respect due to his rank as a general, and with all the indulgence consistent with security against his escape; but Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed to the military command of the island, proved an unhappy selection. His manner was rigid and unaccommodating, and his temper of mind, not soft-

ened by chivalrous ideas or high-bred society, was little calculated to alleviate the distress which the Emperor endured during his detention. A great impression, accordingly, was made upon the world by the publication of the St Helena memoirs, in which were interwoven exaggerated statements of the indignities to which he was said to have been subjected, with the interesting disquisitions and profound reflections, which will perhaps add as much to his fame with the thinking portion of mankind, as his great military achievements always must with the enthusiastic and enterprising.

101. But while all must regret that it should have been necessary, under any circumstances, to act with even seeming harshness towards so great a man, yet justice can see nothing to condemn in the conduct of the British government in this particular, whatever it may do as to want of courtesy in the governor of the island. It was indispensable to the peace of the world to prevent his escape; and the expedition from Elba had shown, that no reliance could be placed either on his professions or his treaties. Detention and secure custody, therefore, were unavoidable; and every comfort consistent with these objects was afforded him by the British government. He was allowed the society of the friends who had accompanied him in his exile; he had books in abundance to amuse his leisure hours; saddle-horses in profusion were at his command; he was permitted to ride several miles in one direction; Champagne and Burgundy were his daily beverage; and the bill of fare of his table, which is given by Las Cases as a proof of the severity of the British government, would be thought the height of luxury by most persons in a state of liberty. If the English government had acted towards Napoleon as he did to others who opposed him, they would have shot him in the first ditch, as he did the Duke d'Enghien or Hofer, or shut him up in an Alpine fortress, as he did the Cardinal Foca. Napoleon himself, when his better spirit returned, had great-

ness of mind enough to see how much his thoughts recorded during his exile would in the end add to his fame. "If I thought only," said he, "of myself, perhaps I would rejoice that I am here. Misfortune has its heroism and its glory. Adversity was wanting to my career. If I had died upon the throne, amidst the clouds of my power, I should have remained a problem to many; now, thanks to adversity, they can judge me as I am."

102. But his mortal career in the scene of his exile and suffering was not destined to be of long duration. The vexation which he experienced at finding all the plans frustrated which had been formed—and they were many—for his escape, the fretting which he suffered from the sight of the English sentries round his dwelling, the recollection of his lost greatness, the prospect of endless detention, combined with a hereditary malady to produce severe complaints. He suffered much from these; but it was at first hoped that they would yield to the skill of his medical attendants. Gradually, however, the affections became more severe; and they at length assumed the decided symptoms of cancer in the stomach, to which his father had fallen a victim at a still earlier age. In February 1821, he became so rapidly worse, that, by the special directions of the Prince-Regent, Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe to express his Royal Highness's sympathy with his sufferings, and his wish, if possible, to relieve them. This mark of regard, however, came too late: towards the end of March his strength sank rapidly: he dictated his will, with a great variety of minute bequests; but obstinately refused to take medicine, to which he had a great aversion. "All that is to be said," he said, "is written down: our hour is marked: we cannot prolong it a minute beyond what fate has predestined." He directed that his heart should be sent to the Empress Marie Louise at Parma, and his stomach examined, to see if he had died of the hereditary malady. At two o'clock on the 2d May he received extreme unction, declared that he died in the

Roman Catholic faith, which had been that of his fathers, and gave minute directions for his body being laid in state in a *chapelle ardente*, according to the form of the Catholic worship. "Can you not," said he to Antonmarchi, his physician, "believe in God, whose existence everything proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician: I am of the religion of my fathers. Physicians believe only in matter: they have faith in nothing. You should be above such weakness." On the 5th, a violent storm of wind and rain arose: the death-struggle of Napoleon took place during its fury; and the last words he was heard to utter were, "*Tête d'armée*." He breathed his last at eleven minutes before six in the evening. In his will, which contained a vast number of bequests, were two very remarkable ones: the one was, a request "that his body might repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people whom he had loved so well;" the other, a legacy of ten thousand francs to the assassin Cantillon, who had attempted recently before to murder the Duke of Wellington.

103. Napoleon had himself indicated the place in St Helena where he wished his remains to be interred, if they were not allowed to be removed to France. It was in a small hollow called Blane's Valley, where a fountain, shaded with weeping willows, had long been a favourite spot for his meditations. The body, after lying in state as he had directed, was carried to the place of interment on the 8th of May. The whole members of his household, including the noble-hearted Bertrand, Count Montholon, and the other faithful friends who had shared his exile, and all the officers, naval and military, in the island, attended on the occasion. He was laid in the coffin in his three-cornered hat, military surcoat, leather underdress, and boots, as he appeared on the field of battle. As the hearse could not get up to the place of sepulture, a detachment of British grenadiers of the 66th and 20th regiments, then on duty in the island, bore him to the spot. The place of sepulture was consecrated

by an English clergyman according to the form of the Church of England.* The coffin was lowered amidst the speechless emotion and tears of all present; three successive volleys of musketry and artillery announced that the mighty conqueror was laid in his grave; a simple stone, of great size, was placed over his remains; and the solitary willow wept over the tomb of him for whom the earth itself had once hardly seemed a fitting mausoleum.

104. Time rolled on, and brought its usual changes on its wings. The dynasty of the Restoration proved unequal to the arduous task of coercing the desires of the Revolution, weakened, but not extinguished, by the overthrow of Napoleon: a new generation arose, teeming with the passions and forgetful of the sufferings of former times; and the revolt of the Barricades restored the tricolor flag, and established a semi-revolutionary dynasty on the French throne. A new world arose, in which the passion for novelty, to which Napoleon had opposed the barrier of his genius, resumed its course. "He was the last of individual existences," says Chateaubriand: "henceforth everything became levelled and ordinary. Alone, the spectre of Napoleon stands on the verge of the world, that had been like the phantoms of the deluge on the borders of the abyss." England shared in the renewed convulsions consequent on these momentous events: a great organic change in the constitution placed the popular party for a course of years in power; a temporary alliance, founded on political passion, not national interest, for a time united its government with that of France; and under the auspices of M. Thiers's administration,

a request was made to the British to restore the remains of their great Emperor to the French people. This request, received in a worthy spirit by the English administration, was immediately complied with, in the hope, as it was eloquently though fallaciously said at the time, "that these two great nations would henceforth bury their discord in the tomb of Napoleon."† The solitary grave in St Helena was disturbed: the lonely willow no longer wept over the remains of the Emperor: the sepulchre was opened in presence of all the officers of the island, and many of his faithful followers: and the winding-sheet, rolled back with pious care, revealed to the entranced spectators the well-known features of the immortal hero, serene, almost undecayed, in his now canonised military dress, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz and Jena. The body was removed from its resting-place with the highest military honours: the British army and navy in the island, with generous sympathy, vied with each other in doing honour to their great antagonist; and when it was lowered amidst the thunder of artillery into the French frigate, England felt that she had voluntarily, but in a right spirit, relinquished the proudest trophy of her national glory.

105. The remains of the Emperor were conveyed in safety to Europe on board the *Belle Poule* frigate, and landed with appropriate honours at Havre

* The words used by the Rev. Mr. Vernon, who officiated on the occasion, were—"O Lord! may it please Thee to consecrate this ground, for the reception of the mortal remains of Napoleon Buonaparte." There was no bishop or archdeacon in the island to officiate in the consecration. This interesting fact I had from Mr. Vernon himself in a letter communicated to me by my esteemed friend Dr. Shelton Mackenzie, well known to the public as the author of "*Titan*," and a very valuable statistical work, entitled "*Partnership in Command*."

† "Her Majesty's government hopes that the zeal with which it has responded to this demand, will be regarded in France as a proof of her desire to obliterate every trace of those national animosities which, during the life of the Emperor, plunged the two nations into war. Her Majesty's government hopes that similar sentiments, if they still exist, will be forever buried in the tomb destined to receive the mortal remains of Napoleon."—LORD PALMERSTON TO LORD GRANVILLE, 21 May 1840. *CAPECIUS, Histoire de Louis Philippe*, t. 175. These are the words of dignified generosity, worthy of the chivalrous days of a great nation: but how vain are the courtesies of statesmen to eradicate the seeds of rivalry implanted by circumstances or history in the breast of nations! Within a few months after Napoleon was entombed in the Invalides, France and England were on the verge of a desperate war, from the bombardment of Beyrout and Acre.

de Grâce. From thence they were removed to Paris, with a view to their being interred, with the other illustrious warriors of France, in the Church of the Invalides. The reinterment, which awakened the deepest interest in France and over Europe, took place on the 15th December 1840. The day was fine, though piercingly cold; but such was the interest excited, that six hundred thousand persons were assembled to witness the ceremony. Many died of the severity of the weather while it continued. The procession approached Paris by the road from St Cloud, so often traversed by the Emperor in the days of his glory. The body was conveyed in a colossal hearse drawn by twelve horses: it passed through the now finished and stupendous arch erected to the Grand Army at the barrier of Neuilly; and slowly moving through the Champs Elysées, reached the Invalides by the bridge of La Concorde. Louis Philippe and all his court officiated at the august ceremony, which was performed with extraordinary pomp in the splendid church of the edifice; but nothing awakened such deep feeling as a band of the mutilated veterans of the Old Guard, who with mournful visages, but a yet mili-

tary air, attended the remains of their beloved chief to his last resting-place. An aged charger, once ridden by the Emperor on his fields of fame, survived to follow the gigantic hearse to the grave. The place of interment was worthy of the hero who was now placed beneath its roof: it contained the remains of Turenne and Vauban, and the paladins of France. Enchanting music thrilled every heart as the coffin was lowered into the tomb; the thunders of the artillery, so often vocal to his triumphs, now gave him the last honours of mortality: the genius of Marochetti was selected to erect a fitting monument to his memory; and the bones of Napoleon finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the "people whom he had loved so well." Yet will future ages perhaps regret the ocean-girt isle, the solitary stone, the willow-trees. No tomb at Paris can equal that in the Valley of Slanes: even the sepulchres of the dead are in danger in that land of change. A stone and a name alone befit his greatness. Napoleon will live when Paris is in ruins: his deeds will survive the dome of the Invalides:—no man can show the tomb of Alexander!

CHAPTER XCVI.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

L. "History," says Bolingbroke, "is philosophy teaching by example." Society, it is true, is ever-changing; the human race is continually advancing, and never regresses; and it is rarely indeed that a combination of circumstances occurs again, precisely similar to any which had preceded it. But amidst the infinite diversity of human affairs, and the ceaseless progress of mankind, there are certain general

principles of universal application, and the neglect or observance of which, in all ages, has been attended with the same consequences. It is in the discovery of those principles, hidden from the ordinary gaze amid the multiplicity of public events, that the great use of history consists; it is in their general diffusion through all the thinking classes of the community, that the only sure foundation, either for social prosperity

or national security, is to be found. "Man," says Sir Walter Scott, "only differs from birds and beasts because he has the means of availing himself of the knowledge acquired by his predecessors. The swallow builds the same nest which its father and mother built: the sparrow does not improve by the experience of its parents. Our ancestors lodged in caves and wigwams, where we construct palaces for the rich, and comfortable dwellings for the poor. And why is this? Because our eye is able to look back upon the past, to improve upon our ancestors' improvements, to avoid their errors. This can only be done by studying history, and comparing it with passing events." The more widely that the people are admitted into a share of government, the more direct the influence which they exercise upon the decision of the legislature has become; the more indispensable is it that these principles should be generally inculcated and understood. For without wisdom in the direction of government, no security can exist either for national or individual welfare; and without general information on historical subjects among the people, they will rarely, except under the pressure of immediate necessity, either submit to the sacrifices, or acquiesce in the course, which wisdom requires.

2. "Whatever," says Dr Johnson, "makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, exalts us in the scale of thinking beings." The words are familiar to every one, till they have become trite; but the thought is often far removed even from the most contemplative breasts. To rise superior to the pressure of existing events, to generalise at once from the past and the present, and to draw inferences in regard to the future, which shall be just even in the ever-changing current of human affairs, is perhaps the highest effort of philosophical power. Yet it is not sufficient to do so; that the observer is imbued with the spirit of his own times, and is deeply impressed with the progress among mankind, and vast changes in society, that he sees around him. If he limits his observation to them alone,

he will be led as widely astray as if he regarded only the past, and cast aside all observation of the present. At one period, and in some countries, mankind appear to make the most rapid progress, their numbers multiply with incredible rapidity, they expand in every direction, and come to exercise a great, sometimes a durable, influence on human affairs. At other times, nations become stationary, or even retrograde; their energies seem exhausted; their fire is burnt out; the numbers of their inhabitants decline; their memorable actions are at an end; and centuries elapse without their giving birth to one original thought, or achieving a single action worthy of being recorded in the annals of mankind.

3. In the first period, the thoughtful observer is apt to be unduly influenced by the strength of the current in which he finds himself placed. He sees everything around him in rapid motion; institutions changing, new powers rising into action, old influences sinking or forgotten. He not unnaturally imagines that this violent current is to continue for ever the same, when, in fact, the very rapidity of its motion is only accelerating the period when it is to be followed by a calm. In the latter situation, the observer is often led unduly to despair of the fortunes of his species. Indignant at the corruption or selfishness with which he is surrounded; unable to arouse his countrymen to activity or public virtue; desponding, from observing the community to which he belongs sinking in the scale of nations, or irrecoverably bent upon a ruinous course of policy, he becomes hopeless of the improvement of mankind, and vents his discontent in cutting satires on the prevailing vices, which he naturally considers as the melancholy termination of national greatness. He forgets that such a state of things is not eternal; that a remedy, and an effectual remedy, is provided against its evils, in the rise of other states, the advent of fiercer passions, or the inroad of a braver people; and that as certainly as the bursting vegetation of spring succeeds

the torpid vitality of winter, so surely will the energy and powers of mankind come to revive the decaying spirit of nations.

4. It is a common subject of complaint with the writers of the present age, which is in a peculiar manner a period of progress, that a portion of the community, considerable in number, and powerful from the possession of property, fix their eyes with undue partiality on the institutions of their ancestors; that they are blind to the lights of the age; solicitous to perpetuate the now worn-out and expiring system of society; and insensible to the continual and rapidly increasing influence of new elements and agents upon the fabric of society. There is, without doubt, often much foundation for this complaint; and many of the most calamitous convulsions which have agitated the world have arisen from blindness to this progress, and the attempt to perpetuate in one generation institutions which arose in, and were adapted to another. But the error is not the less manifest, though now it is the more general, of those who imagine that the progress of one period is to be continual; that human thought and human wishes are invariably to run in one channel; and that the ultimate destiny of society in the civilised world may with confidence be predicted from the tendency of its movement at a particular period, and in a particular nation.

5. The greatest political writers of the present age are not exempt from this delusion. When M. de Tocqueville asserts that the evident tendency of mankind, both in the old and new world, is everywhere to establish democratic ascendancy; that the current of popular ambition, and the increasing strength of popular power, is such as to be altogether irresistible; and that, for good or for evil, republican institutions are the evident destiny of mankind—he is disregarding the station of the age, and not permitting the past and the future to predominate over the present. He forgets what was the termination of Grecian democracy—what the end of the Roman

republic; he overlooks the vast reaction which over great part of modern Europe succeeded the first burst of the Protestant Reformation, and not only arrested its progress, but caused it to recede; he shuts his eyes to the transports of joy which in England marked the restoration of the Stuarts, and the unanimous efforts of Europe in our own times to throw off the dreadful oppression of the French Revolution. The Eastern sage had a far deeper insight into human affairs who desired the monarch to inscribe on his ring, as the moral alike for adverse and prosperous fortune, "And this too shall pass away."

6. So strongly has this perpetual recurrence of action and reaction impressed itself upon the most profound observers of mankind, that a few deep thinkers in every age have held that human affairs proceed not in a straight line, but in a circle; that, literally speaking, the aphorism is true, that there is nothing new under the sun; and that what is supposed to be the infusion of fresh elements into society, and the opening of a new age in the world, is in reality nothing more than the repetition to another state or generation of the same eternal round of valour; effort, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decline, which from the earliest periods, like the seven ages of individual man, has marked the progress of nations from their nativity to their grave. It must be confessed that an attentive consideration of the course of human affairs, as they are exhibited, not in one country or one age, but on an extended survey of mankind at all times, affords, with reference to individual states, much reason for believing that this disheartening view is well founded.

7. But they are widely mistaken who anticipate from that circumstance a corresponding succession of progress and decline in the general fortunes of mankind. Nothing seems better established, from the most extensive survey of the history of the world, than the fact, that an unceasing progress may be observed throughout all its changes and vicissitudes; and although individual nations seem liable to the

ordinary lot of mortality, yet the fortunes of the human race partake of the immortality of the works of nature; and that, amidst all the successive rise and fall of particular states, a vast system for the extension and improvement of the species is to be discerned. The beautiful image of genius seems more descriptive of the progress of man, which has compared it to an advancing tide, the waves of which indeed ebb and flow, but which continually streams higher and higher upon the beach.* And if a fanciful analogy to physical motion, or mathematical figures, is to be admitted to illustrate such a progress, perhaps the nearest approximation which can be made to it is, to assimilate the advance of mankind to the movement ascribed by the Ptolemaic astronomers, anterior to the days of Copernicus, to the planetary bodies; and to hold, that while each state performs in due season its own separate revolution, yet the centre round which it revolves, sustained by the arm of Omnipotence, is continually advancing.

8. If we compare the extent of civilisation, the diffusion of knowledge, and the scene of human happiness in the first ages recorded in authentic history, in the days of Herodotus, with that which now obtains, when the light, then faintly glimmering along the shores of the Mediterranean, has spread over the whole world as far as the waters of the ocean extend; and the freedom for which the Grecian republics then heroically contended, has extended over great part of Europe, and into another hemisphere—ample ground for the most cheering anticipations, in regard to the future destiny of mankind, will be found to exist. The Greek, the Carthaginian, the Roman, the Persian empires have successively fallen; but the human race has survived all the catastrophes which for a time appeared to darken its prospects. The sacred fire transmitted in the human breast from one age or nation to another, has on every successive occasion gleamed forth with additional lustre, and now illuminates the whole world with its beams. Incessant has been

the progress of the species through all the changes which it has undergone. The greatest and most overwhelming calamities in appearance have proved pregnant with future and lasting good. From the overthrow of the Roman empire by the barbarians, have sprung the institutions, the energy, the expansive power of modern Europe: from the subjugation of the civilised world by the arms of the Legions, has arisen the immortal code of laws which will for ever regulate the rights and restrain the injustice of men.

9. A nearer examination, however, of the progress of nations, and still more, perhaps, a practical acquaintance with mankind, under any circumstances or stage of advancement, will probably suggest an important modification of this law of social progress, and unfold the principal cause to which the continued failure of all attempts, by mere changes in the form of government, or social condition of the people, either to elevate their character, increase their happiness, or avert the numerous evils incident to their situation, is to be attributed. The treasures of knowledge, the powers of art, the triumphs of science, constitute a permanent addition to the inheritance of the species; and the art of printing has apparently given them a durable existence, and for ever preserved for future generations the acquisitions of the past. But a very slight acquaintance with men is sufficient to show that it is neither in these acquisitions, nor the powers that they confer, that the secret either of national strength or individual elevation is to be found. Intellectual cultivation is unhappily proved, by all history, to be but too consistent with moral neglect; the spread of knowledge with the effusion of corruption; the triumphs of art with the degradation of the heart. Nay, so uniformly has this melancholy progress, hitherto at least, attended the greatest intellectual efforts of mankind, that, till within the last sixty years, it had long passed into a maxim with the wisest philosophers and the most experienced observers, that moral elevation and durable national greatness were inconsistent

with great advancement in the arts and sciences; and that, in the words of Bacon, "in the infancy of a state, arms do prevail; in its maturity, arms and learning for a *short season*; in its decline, commerce and the mechanical arts."

10. At the breaking out of the French Revolution, however, a new view began to prevail, and soon obtained general concurrence, among all men of a speculative or enthusiastic turn of mind. It was universally imagined by philosophers, that the extension of knowledge, the humanising of manners, and the diffusion of education, had provided an effectual antidote to this tendency to decay hitherto always observable in human affairs, and at the same time discovered a remedy for almost all the moral, and even the physical evils of humanity. The more that the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and all that school of philosophers, are examined, the more clearly will it appear that this position formed the cornerstone of their whole system, and that it was to illustrate it that all their efforts were directed. Condorcet expressly states, in his *Life of Voltaire*, that that was the cardinal point of that great man's philosophy.* Nor are such doctrines confined to that age or to that country. The doctrines of human perfectibility—the principle that there is an indefinite progress in

* "Error and ignorance are the sole causes of the misfortunes of the human race; and superstitious errors are the most fatal, because they corrupt the sources of reason, and their fatal enthusiasm leads to the commission of crimes without remorse. The more men are enlightened, the freer will they be, and the less will it cost them to become so. What, in those circumstances, is the duty of a philosopher? To attack superstition; to demonstrate to governments, peace, riches, power, as the infallible reward of laws which secure religious freedom. He will enlighten them on all that they have to fear from the priests, whose secret influence will overmatch the repose of actions, if entire liberty of writing is not guaranteed: for, perhaps, before the discovery of printing, it was impossible to extricate mankind from a yoke as shameful as it is fatal; and as long as the sacerdotal power is not destroyed by reason, there is no medium between absolute debasement and dangerous disturbances."—*Vie de Voltaire*, par Condorcet; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, t. 150.

human affairs, not only in mechanical or scientific acquisition, but in moral elevation and social happiness;—and that all the evils of the past have arisen from misgovernment or class ascendancy, are so agreeable to the human heart, so flattering to human vanity, and, withal, so nearly allied to the generous affections, that they will, in all probability, to the end of the world constitute the basis on which all the efforts of the popular party will be rested, and all the visions of social amelioration justified. It is already the prevailing, in fact almost universal, creed in America, which hardly any writer, even of the highest class, in that land of freedom ventures to gainsay; and it is a doctrine which will be found to lie at the root of the principles of all those numerous parties in Great Britain who aim at ameliorating the condition of mankind by merely altering their political institutions. It is of the highest importance, therefore, to inquire to what extent this principle is well founded; to examine how far it is consistent with the experience of human nature; and in what degree it is warranted by the past annals of mankind.

11. The French Revolution affords the most decisive demonstration which the history of the world has yet exhibited of the entire fallacy of this opinion. It was avowedly based by all its authors, both philosophical and political, upon the principle of perfectibility. This doctrine was repeated in all their writings and speeches, till it had passed into a sort of universal maxim; it was the ground on which they at once rested their legislation, and justified their cruelties. "You can never," it was said, "give the people too much power; there is not the slightest danger of their abusing it. Tyranny in former ages has arisen entirely from the vices of kings, the ambition of ministers, and the arts of priests; when the great and virtuous mass of the people are admitted into the direction of affairs, these evils will at once cease, because those will become the governors whose interest it is to be well governed. Gentleness,

philanthropy; wisdom, may be expected universally to prevail, when the sovereignty is vested in those who are all equally to be blessed by the establishment of these virtues. "Possibly much suffering may have been inflicted, some injustice may doubtless have been committed, on the part of the people, in the effort to secure for themselves these blessings; but these evils are temporary, and not worthy to be for a moment weighed against the permanent blessings of republican institutions." So far did this delusion as to the virtue of the people extend, that it reached even those most famed for their profound knowledge of human nature; and La Bruyère has recorded, in his admirable *Characters*, the marvellous opinion that "the people can do no wrong, while one of the great can scarce ever do anything right."*

12. It is difficult to conceive what must have been the anguish of the persons who, after promulgating and acting upon these principles, found themselves and their country involved in unheard-of miseries from their effects; when they saw the people whom they had represented as, and whom they believed to be, so innocent, instantly, on the acquisition of power, steeped in atrocities greater than had ever disgraced the government of kings or the councils of priests; and found that very middle class, whom they had always held out as the secure depositaries of public virtue, were themselves taking the lead in the commission of every species of atrocity. It is not surprising that anxiety to avoid witnessing such fruits from their efforts, should have led numbers even of the most enlightened to commit suicide;

* "A man of the people can do no evil: a man of rank will do no good, and is capable of doing much mischief. The one only educates and employs himself in things useful; the other adds to these things hurtful. The people have no mind, and the great have no soul."—*La Bruyère, Characters*. § "Des Grands." When opinions such as these obtain with men who have the deepest insight into human nature, it is not surprising that a revolution ensues. Had La Bruyère lived a century later, he would have said with Alfieri, after witnessing the 19th August,—"I knew the great well, but I did not know the little."

that Roland should have been found dead on the wayside, with a writing in his pocket, testifying that he "cared not to live in a world stained by so many crimes;" and that Condorcet, who had carried his dreams of human perfectibility so far as to have anticipated, from the combined discoveries of science, and calming of mankind by the spread of freedom, an *extension of human life* through indefinite ages, should have been led to shorten his own existence, by poison administered by his own hand.

13. The external conquests of the French during the Revolutionary wars, and the brilliant but devastating and disastrous career of Napoleon, were nothing but the application of these principles to the external concerns of the world. Of all the dangers to be anticipated from the establishment of popular power, probably that which was least anticipated was, that it would lead to a general passion for war and foreign conquest; for these evils, so severely felt in every age, had for long, by the common consent of philosophers, been set down to the ambition of kings, the cruelty of priests, or the rivalry of ministers. Yet was this effect immediately found to follow from it, and that too with such fury and violence, that for twenty years it deluged Europe with blood, brought foreign armies to every capital on the Continent, caused the destruction of several millions of the human race, and all but prostrated the whole military powers of the Continent before the Imperial bayonets. To any one, however, who considers the principles of human nature, the immediate effects of a revolution, and the passions which it awakens among the people, it must at once appear that such a result was not only probable, but unavoidable.

14. The dreams of philosophers and the visions of philanthropists anticipated, from the establishment of government upon a highly democratic basis, the immediate and entire cessation of wars and tumults, and the advent of a general period of philanthropy, benevolence, and mutual charity among mankind. This was expected, because

government was now placed in the hands of those whose interest it was supposed to be to remain at rest. But what was the effect which actually occurred? Precisely that which any man practically acquainted with human nature would have anticipated, which the experience of every age, where similar circumstances had occurred, had demonstrated, and which a few of the profoundest thinkers had foretold—viz., that the working classes were immediately thrown out of employment by the cessation of trade and the universal terrors of the capitalists and wealthy classes; that the expectations of the middle ranks became unbounded; that the wicked passions of the human heart immediately burst into overwhelming activity; and that a universal stoppage of employment, and starvation among the poor, were found to coincide with the anticipated social resurrection of the state. At the same time, government, from the failure of the revenue, became insolvent; all the methods that were tried for restoring the finances, by confiscation of the property of the church, seizure of the estates of the emigrants, appropriation of the revenue of corporations and hospitals, and issue of assignats, proved illusory, and in their ultimate effects became the greatest aggravation, instead of any alleviation, to the public distress, by the overwhelming ruin which they brought upon private families, and the total destruction of capital and credit which they occasioned. Thus the republican French were driven to the career of foreign conquest alike by financial necessity, democratic ambition, and popular misery; and in its excitements and glories they found a transient compensation for their sufferings, until the oppression and wretchedness which it had brought on other nations, roused a unanimous feeling of resistance throughout Europe, and brought on their dreadful overthrow.

15. After the fall of Napoleon, it was confidently hoped by the friends of popular institutions that, notwithstanding all her crimes, and all her sufferings, France at length was about to receive

a reward for the strenuous efforts she had made in the cause of freedom; and that, under the sway of a constitutional monarch, the glorious fabric of civil liberty would be permanently established in that great country. If the material prosperity of the government of the Restoration is alone considered, there appeared good reason for supposing that this expectation was about to be realised. During the fifteen years of its weak but gentle government, peace was preserved; the carnage of Napoleon was in great part repaired by the vivifying powers of population; industry and wealth increased to an incredible degree; the freedom of the press, and the guarantees of constitutional liberty, were established to an extent altogether unknown in continental Europe; and the general well-being of the people indicated the existence of a salutary administration of public affairs. But all this was as nothing to the Revolutionists, "as long as Mordecai the Jew sat at the king's gate." The government of the Restoration was obnoxious; for it reminded the French, how innocently soever on the part of the royal family, of the days of their humiliation. The passions of the Revolution, long pent up, came at last to require a vent; the restraints of morality, law, and order were felt as insupportable, by a people accustomed to the licence of irreligion, the spoiliations of anarchy, and the splendours of military conquest; and the imbecile hands of a race of pacific monarchs proved unequal to the task of restraining the fiery couriers of a revolution.

16. Thus the dynasty of the Restoration fell, and with it all the hopes of governing France by the powers of a constitutional monarchy, and the influences of religion, morality, and public spirit. In the vigorous hands of Louis Philippe, a very different government was established, but one far more suitable to the spirit of the nation. The forms of a constitutional monarchy were retained, its language sedulously observed, but its spirit annihilated. No man understood better, or has more successfully practised, the maxim of

Augustus, that mankind are in general governed by words, not things; and that, provided only they are addressed in the language of freedom, they will submit to the reality of despotism. The army was immensely augmented; the public expenditure increased a half; the ordonnances which had occasioned the fall of Charles X. re-enacted with additional severity; formidable fortifications erected around Paris; a collar of steel put round the neck of the rebellious city; an army of sixty thousand men quartered in its neighbourhood, and the strength of military government established.

17. Still the advocates of democratic equality, and the believers in human perfectibility, were not discouraged. They looked for a realisation of their dreams in the efforts of the Carbonari of Naples, of the patriots of Piedmont, and of the ultra-liberals of Spain and the republics of America. Disheartening have been the results of all these expectations. In the two first countries, the efforts of the republicans were overthrown with hardly any resistance; in the third, the attempts of the Revolutionists, after occasioning a dreadful civil war, which for eight years bathed the Peninsula in blood, have terminated in the prostration of the crown, the ruin of the country, the destruction of freedom, and the establishment of a military despotism, rivalling in severity, as the previous efforts of its supporters had equalled in atrocity, that which formed the termination and punishment of the French Revolution. And in South America so disastrous have been the results of revolution, that anarchy has continued unabated for above thirty years. Population has receded, and in many places sunk to one-half of what it was when the convulsion began. Industry has been blighted by the continual confiscation of its fruits; public morality destroyed by the successive ascendant of the wicked. Commerce has been ruined even in that garden of nature; and men have fallen under a succession of tyrants so numerous, that history has ceased to attempt to record their names.

18. Even then, the sanguine hopes of the believers in the innocence of mankind and the doctrine of human perfectibility were not altogether cast down. "These calamitous results," it was said, "were the consequences only of the corruptive oppressions and vices of the Old World: the reaction against ages of former misrule has been so violent as to have defeated its object; and thence the general failure of all attempts to establish liberty and equality in the Old World. But in the New, a very different result may be anticipated. There the human race have begun their career unmanacled by the fetters of former despotism; no pre-existing evils exist to avenge; no unjust distribution of property to impede; the career of freedom will be unstained by blood; and amidst the untrodden riches and unbounded capabilities of its forests, the glorious fabric of liberty will be founded on the basis of universal education and equality." Such were the hopes and anticipations with which the North American States commenced their career. How have these expectations been realised? Why, in no other way than that, amidst all the unbounded room for expansion which mankind there enjoys, the innate propensities of the human heart have been not less conspicuous than on the old theatre of European contention; that even the boundless riches of the Far West have not been able to furnish an adequate vent for the selfish and angry passions; that all attempts to ameliorate the condition of their millions of slaves have been strenuously resisted in one part of the country; while in another, the most violent attacks have been made upon the national establishments, on which the credit, and even the existence, of the mercantile classes were dependent; that bankruptcy and ruin, to an unheard-of extent, have prostrated commercial wealth, and popular injustice has already proclaimed in many states the abolition of the national debt; that independence of thought and dignity of character have been crushed by the overwhelming power of numbers, and that deeds of violence have been perpetrated in many

parts of the United States by the tyrant majority, with entire impunity, of so frightful a character, that they exceed in cruelty all the savage atrocity of the French Revolution, and have made the Americans fail to seek a parallel for them in the hideous persecutions and bloody iniquities which have for ever disgraced the Roman Catholic religion.

19. Great hopes were at one time entertained in the British Islands, that the vast organic change which convulsed the country in 1832, would terminate in such an improved frame of government as would, in this asylum of constitutional freedom, at last realise the hopes of so many of the ardent friends of humanity. Hitherto, however, the result has certainly not been such, as to justify the opinion that this country is destined to form any exception to the inferences deducible from so many previous examples of anticipated success and realised failure. It will be the province of some future historian, to point out with pride the superior moderation and order which have distinguished the English revolution from the more sanguinary convulsions by which it has been surrounded, and the greater ease with which its inhabitants have fallen back, after the contest was over, into habits of peace, and the established channels of constitutional warfare. Yet must he at the same time record, that symptoms of no unequivocal kind have appeared, of as dangerous a spirit in the lower classes of the English people, as in the most violently excited portions of the French population; that the flames of Bristol, of Nottingham, and of Birmingham have demonstrated, that the torch can be wielded by as infuriated hands in Great Britain as either in France or America; that the dreams of the Socialists, and the projects of the Chartists, tend to a demoralisation of society as thorough, and spoliation of property as complete, as were contemplated by the followers of Babeuf, or the partisans of Chaumette; that the complaint of the working classes now is, that none of their grievances have been removed by the infusion of more popular power into the legislature, while the relief of the

destitute has, by democratic selfishness, been grievously abridged; that the comparatively bloodless termination of the strife in Great Britain, on the whole, is to be ascribed rather to the patriotic conduct and bold front of the holders of property, than to the greater gentleness or sense of justice in its enemies. Even in calmer times, the result of the revolution has been to produce a change in the rulers, rather than satisfy the wants or remove the evils of the ruled. It has turned mainly to the advantage of capital, and against that of industry; monied has come to supersede landed influence, and the interests of the working classes have never suffered so severely as from the measures pursued by the rulers whom the suffrages of the new electors have installed in power.

20. The revolutionary spirit, however, was suppressed only for a time, not extinguished by these repeated failures. Secretly and unheeded it went on accumulating in the middle and lower classes of society, until, in a moment of general debility in the governments of continental Europe, it gained a temporary ascendancy. Many causes had prepared the way for its triumph. The disastrous result of the Revolution of 1793 upon the condition of the working classes over all France had spread a feverish passion for change among them: they desired anything rather than to bear longer the consequences of their aims. Literature had lent its powerful aid to fan the general flame; Socialist and Communist doctrines had found abettors even in men of the highest intellect; and the heroes of the first great convulsion had been represented by genius in the most romantic and interesting colours.* Imbecility, timidity, and vacillation prevailed equally on the throne, amidst the princes of the blood, and in the cabinets; vigour and resolution continued only in the popular rulers. The consequence was, that by a well-concerted urban tumult, the throne of Louis Philippe was overturned, and from its effects those of Austria, Prussia, and Naples, were soon prostrated in the dust.

* *LAMARTINE'S History of the Girondists.*

21. What have been the effects of this great triumph of the revolutionary principle, in the principal states of continental Europe? Have they been anything else but universal war, misery, and devastation—a war of races super-added to that of opinion—a general and fearful increase of public burdens—a universal substitution of the rule of the sword for that of the law? The Lombard rose up against the German, the Bohemian against the Austrian, the Magyar against both. The revolutionists of Prussia attacked Denmark; those of Piedmont, Austria; those of Ireland, England. Nothing, but the firmness of Lamartine, and the memory of the double capture of Paris, prevented France from crossing the Rhine to join as a leader in the general conflict of nations. And what has resulted from this general triumph of democracy and universal stirring-up of the social passions? Consequences only the most disastrous to the interests of real freedom and the ultimate happiness of mankind. Austria, well-nigh torn to pieces in the struggle, has been saved only by the interposition of Russia; a hundred thousand Muscovites have combated in Hungary, and found there the road to Constantinople. The incapacity of Italy for free institutions has been rendered evident to all the world. Misery unheard of has been spread in Ireland; France, oppressed by indigence, overwhelmed by financial embarrassment, has escaped from fearful civil dissension only by taking refuge under the government of the sword; and Germany, alike virgin to revolutionary passions, and unused to revolutionary suffering, has had a firebrand tossed into its bosom, which the labours of a century will not extinguish.

22. Consequences so uniform, and yet so unexpected by the advocates of human perfectibility, evidently point to the operations of some great law of nature against which all these efforts for social amelioration have been so signally shattered, and which in every age has led to the speedy discomfiture of every project formed for the improvement of human institutions based

on democratic principles. It is not difficult to see what it is that has occasioned all these results, and so often blasted the hopes of so many of the warmest friends of humanity. It is no new or unknown principle that has had this effect. It is one which was announced in the earliest records of humanity, and stands proclaimed in every subsequent page of history; but it is a doctrine which the self-love of mankind will, to the end of the world, always render the last to be generally received. It is the principle of HUMAN CORRUPTION. In referring to this principle, it is not meant to assert, as has been sometimes erroneously imagined by divines, that any inherent taint has descended to the human race, from the fall of our first parents, like a hereditary physical disease, *independent of their own actions* as free agents. For such a position no authority can be found in any passage of Scripture, when properly considered; nor is any countenance given to it, either by our innate sense of justice, or our observation of the Divine administration. What is meant is a different position, equally consonant to the Divine justice and to the experience of mankind; viz., that every individual is *born innocent, so far as action is concerned*, but deeply steeped in evil, if *inclination is considered*; that this disposition is so strong, that in no instance whatever is its effect altogether avoided; and that, without the most sedulous care and incessant efforts, aided by all the influences of religion, every person will inevitably be led, under the guidance of his passions, into criminal actions.

23. Whether such a doctrine is consistent with human nature, may be left to the innate consciousness of every human breast. Let him that feels himself innocent throw the first stone. Whether it is consistent with the experience of mankind in private life, may be determined by every one from the conduct of the persons with whom he is acquainted; and the more extensive and practical that acquaintance is, the more strong will be his convictions on the subject. In social affairs, and the contests of nations, its

truth is loudly proclaimed in every page of history, from the origin of the human race to the present hour. Nevertheless, it is probably the last doctrine that ever will be embraced by the great body of mankind; and the insensibility to it, or determination to resist it, is the real cause of the whole innumerable disasters, which in every age have made democratic ascendancy terminate in misery, bloodshed, and ruin. Superficial observers will ask, what has social amelioration or political discussion to do with theological disputes, or questions of original sin. They might as well ask what has population to do with the passion of sex, or warlike triumphs with military courage.

24. Concede to the popular party and the advocates of human perfectibility the principles with which they uniformly set out, and which they hold out as axioms which lie at the foundation of all political philosophy, and it is utterly impossible to resist the conclusions for republican institutions and self-government for which they contend. Admit, with them, that the human mind is naturally inclined to gentleness, benevolence, and philanthropy; that the savage or the hunter is a model of every virtue; that angry passions are instilled into the breast of man in subsequent times by the tyranny of kings, the delusions of priests, and the oppression of wealth;* concede the dogma that the light of knowledge and the progress of education are fitted to extirpate all the cruel and savage propensities of mankind, and prepare the world for the general reign of innocence and peace; admit that the many, if permitted to govern, will avoid the passions, iniquities, and cupidity of the few; and the argument for self-government becomes irresistible. *Ut cives felicitate vivant*, is unquestionably the object both of legislation and political philosophy; and if it be once discovered that the principles of the majority of mankind will

always be inclined to the side of moderation, virtue, and wisdom, it is impossible too soon to commence by universal democratic institutions the advent of the second age of gold.

25. Concede, on the other hand, to the Christian philosopher, or the experienced observer of mankind, the conclusions at which they both arrive; admit with them that the human heart contains the spring at once of good and of bad actions; that the former, though often predominant in the end, by the influence of religion, effort, and cultivation, are uniformly weaker in the outset than the latter; admit, what few experienced in the ways of man will be inclined to deny, that the "heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" admit with them that the temptations to sin are powerful, immediate, and such as instantly strike and captivate the senses, while the inducements to virtue are remote, slow of growth, and difficult of execution; admit that immediate gratification and pleasure are the rewards held out by the former, and labour, effort, and self-denial the sacrifices required in the commencement by the latter; admit further, that these opposite sets of motives to action are placed before beings universally desirous of immediate enjoyment, and in comparatively few instances accessible to the influence of remote or distant considerations: admit these things, and it will at once appear that the idea of self-government is an entire delusion; that the great body of mankind, if left to themselves, will plunge headlong into the career which promises immediate gratification to their interests or their passions, without any regard to ultimate consequences, whether in this world or the next; and that violence, injustice, and ultimate bloodshed, must inevitably result from opening the floodgates which admit the unrestrained passions of the human heart to bear upon the direction of public affairs.

26. Discrepancies, not less irreconcilable, separate the two parties which now divide mankind, in regard to the intellectual powers of the majority of men in all ages. The advocates of

* Rousseau laid it down as a first principle, that the people are always good, and the magistrature always corruptible. — BOUVERIE, *Congregation de Babouy*, i. 247.

human perfectibility admit, that in times past the majority of men in most countries have been unfit to be intrusted with the work of legislation, and that they have been, in a great measure, of necessity subjected to the government of a few. But this, they allege, was owing entirely to the want of education and intellectual cultivation, which compelled men to arrive at freedom only through bloodshed and anarchy. A totally different result may be anticipated from the diffusion of knowledge, the spread of education, and the habit of political discussion; and great as have been the dangers of suddenly admitting benighted man into the exercise of political rights, they would all vanish like the shades of night before the rising sun of knowledge. Self-government, in their opinion, is easily acquired by tuition; the interest of the many is to be well ruled, and the spread of information will speedily show men both what measures are likely to be conducive to that end, and what men are fitted to carry them into execution. Above all, a cessation of war and all its horrors may be anticipated from popular ascendancy, and the establishment of a pacific intercourse among nations consistent with the enjoyment of civil rights by their inhabitants.

27. The more experienced observers of human affairs reason after a different manner. They maintain that the great distinction between the mass of mankind and the small body of thinking men to be found among them, consists in the different degrees by which they are influenced by distant events; that in all assemblies of men, of whatever rank, if at all numerous, there is nothing so difficult as to induce the majority to take into view remote consequences; that present relief, present gratification, or present advantage, constitute the motives which universally sway the great majority; and that these dispositions are even more conspicuous among the middle and working classes of society than in those possessed of property, holding a durable stake in the community, and having had the advantage of a moral and

refined education. If this position be conceded, it at once strikes at the root of the possibility of successfully intrusting the management of public affairs to a mere majority of men, independent of the qualifications of property and education; since the first requisite of government is to foresee and guard against dangers which are not visible to, or are disregarded by, the majority of men; and the very derivation of the epithet applied to the Supreme Being—*Providence*—implies that the quality of foresight is the one which forms the leading characteristic of government in the Almighty Ruler of the universe.

28. These two subjects of the general corrupt tendencies of the human heart, and of the universal want of foresight among the majority of men, constitute the fundamental points of difference between the two parties which now divide the world; and neither will ever be able to maintain a successful combat against the other, either by reason or force of arms, but by constantly basing their arguments upon one or other of these grounds. Sanguine visions of the future, exalted conceptions of the capacity and virtue of human nature, warm anticipations of the ultimate destinies of the species, always have constituted, and always will constitute, the strength of the popular party. They will, in every age, not fail to enlist on their side not only the selfish and the vicious, who aim at the destruction of every restraint on their desires, human and divine, but also a considerable and sometimes an overwhelming portion of the philanthropic, the enthusiastic, and the benevolent in all classes. A constant recurrence, on the other hand, to human iniquity, a loud denunciation of the extent to which it pervades *all ranks and all classes*, a sedulous inculcating of the principle, that virtue can be attained only by exertion and religious influence, and that the direction of affairs can be intrusted only to those whose habits of foresight, moral and mental qualifications, entitle them to assume the lead, must be the basis on which the principles of the opposite party must be

rested. As oblivion of the past, and anticipation only of the future, constitute the strength of the one party, so actual experience and historical authority furnish the strength of the other. Hence the one alleges that history is an old almanac; the other, that it is the great basis on which all political knowledge must be rested. But the latter principles will never be placed on a proper foundation, nor will those who hold them ever assume a position from which they cannot by possibility be forced, until they fairly take their stand on this ground, and boldly front all the obloquy to which it will expose them. If they do so, their principles, however disagreeable to human vanity, can never be overthrown; for experience will, to the end of time, demonstrate their universal application, and the very men who are most loud in declaiming against their falsehood, will in general, by their conduct, afford the most signal proof of their truth.

29. If any doubt could exist as to the warlike tendency of popular institutions, it would be removed by the immediate and disastrous result upon the tranquillity of Europe of the French Revolution of 1848. Since Wellington sheathed his victorious sword at Paris in 1815, general peace had prevailed in Europe, interrupted only for a short period by the Polish Revolt, consequent on the triumph of the Barricades in 1830. But no sooner had the government of Louis Philippe been overthrown, than the revolutionary party in every country, now uncontrolled, broke out into every species of excess, and war, in its most hideous form, arose on all sides. Charles Albert perfidiously attacked Austria with the forces of revolutionised Italy in Lombardy: democratic Prussia sought to wrest Holstein from the Danes: Poland was only restrained by the presence of two hundred thousand Russians: Hungary became the theatre of a frightful struggle, terminated at last by a Muscovite intervention, second only to the partition of the Austrian empire in the danger of its consequences.

30. These considerations explain a

fact which would otherwise be wholly inexplicable; but the illustrations of which may nevertheless be observed in every page of history; viz., that the popular and democratic party, so far from resting on the principles of the Christian religion, in general evince the most deadly hostility to its tenets, and that its principles form the corner-stone of the opposite body, who endeavour to maintain the ascendancy of property and education. During the first favour of the Reformation, indeed, the stubborn supporters of religious freedom formed a temporary alliance with political enthusiasts, and the Puritans of Cromwell stood side by side with the republicans and Fifth-Monarchy men. But that was a temporary union, arising from mutual necessity, which did not long survive the circumstances that gave it birth. Religious freedom, in truth, was the object for which the Protestants fought in the sixteenth century; civil liberty was regarded only so far as it might prove conducive to spiritual independence. It was in the eighteenth century that the real democratic spirit was first fully developed, and then it was at once rested on a dogma of human perfectibility. Its advocates loudly proclaimed the native innocence of man, and inculcated a total emancipation from all the restraints of religion; and before the close of the contest, the contending parties had universally hoisted their true colours. Liberty, philosophy, indulgence, were inscribed on the banners of the one side; religion, self-denial, duty, on those of the other.

31. If we consider, however, the principles of the Christian religion, such a result must appear at first sight not a little surprising. More than any religion that ever existed, the precepts of the gospel provide for the humble, and enjoin duties on the great among mankind. Alone of all other faiths, it from the outset proclaims the universal equality of mankind in the sight of Heaven; it preaches in an especial manner the gospel to the poor; it denounces greater risks of ultimate punishment to the rich than to the indigent; and incessantly indicates the duty of

charity to the unfortunate as the first of Christian graces. There was some truth, though much blasphemy, in the saying of the followers of Babeuf, that Jesus Christ was the first *anaculotte*. How, then, has it happened that a faith of this description, inculcating doctrines so eminently favourable to the poorer ranks, and so subversive of all distinction in the different classes of men, at least in moral responsibility, has not been universally seized upon as the very corner-stone of the popular party throughout the globe?

32. Simply because it at the same time inculcates the doctrine of human corruption; because, if it announces the universal equality of men in the sight of Heaven, it as loudly proclaims their universal tendency to guilty indulgence; because it gives no countenance to the idea, that alterations in social institutions, how important soever in themselves, or the elevation of a new class to the duties of government, will be of the least effect in remedying human evils, unless accompanied or preceded by a corresponding change in the active dispositions of men; and constantly impresses the eternal truth, that the only reform which is likely to be of the least efficacy, is the reform of the human heart. Sedulously avoiding the mention of external things, hardly ever alluding to the forms either of civil or ecclesiastical government, except to inculcate obedience to existing authority, it as uniformly proclaims the equal responsibility of the governors and the governed; and imposes upon both, under equal sanctions, the duty of integrity in conduct and charity in feeling. It loudly proclaims the iniquity of the world and the miseries of mankind: it tells us that a remedy exists for these multifarious evils; but it tells us, at the same time, that that remedy does not consist in substituting the government of the many for the government of the few, but in the adoption by all, whether in or out of authority, of the golden rule, to do to others as they would be done by. Thence it is that the religion of the gospel is so generally obnoxious to the

democratic party all the world over; for it at once strikes at the root of their dreams of human perfectibility, and announces, as the only remedy for existing evils, the extirpation of existing and wide-spread wickedness. It prescribes a contest to the many as well as to the few; but it is not a contest with temporal power, but with spiritual temptation—its theatre is not the arena of politics, but the recesses of the breasts of its sanguine votaries. And yet few experienced observers, either of the stream of human events, or of mankind as they exist around them, will probably doubt that it is in that quarter only that a really efficacious reform can be adopted; and that if the one thing needful is there generally done, it is of comparatively little importance what is effected elsewhere.

33. Instead, therefore, of arriving at the conclusion, that alterations in the form of government should be the great object of patriotic effort, and that important social benefits may be effected by such changes, unattended with moral improvement, the precepts of religion, equally with the results of experience, point to the conclusion, that the only secure foundation that can be laid for general amelioration is in private rectitude; that the heart is, literally speaking, the fountain from which the issues both of individual and social improvement must flow; and that unless moral and religious cultivation have preceded the acquisition of political power, and been widely and successfully diffused, it will speedily be converted into an engine merely for indulging all the worst passions of the human breast. And this explains how it happens that in some simple and remote countries, such as the Swiss cantons, even a pure democracy has been found to exist for centuries without inducing any public calamities; while in others, more advanced in civilisation, no sooner have political privileges been given to the people, than they instantly applied them to the worst purposes, fell under the dominion of the most selfish characters in the community, and, like victorious soldiers after the

storm of a town, broke out into the most unbridled excesses of rapine, lust, and social conflagration. It is the want of moral restraint which lets in all this flood of evils, and by removing all other coercion renders inevitable the rule of force. Generally speaking, the danger of their overwhelming society upon the acquisition of power by the people, is just in proportion to the absence of religious influence, the age, and corrupted state of the community. "The necessity for external government to man," says Coleridge, "is in an inverse ratio to the vigour of his self-government. Where the last is most complete, the first is least wanted. Hence the more virtue the more liberty."

34. This inherent corruption, let it be remembered, is *universal*. It cannot be said that any class of society is exempt from this inherent weakness; or that in any hands, whether few or many, the possession of power is not likely to lead to its abuse. All have equal need of the internal restraint of moral principle; and all, to improve that principle, require external coercion. Whoever asserts that the absolute government of kings is the best form of civil society, and that they may be safely intrusted with the uncontrolled direction of human affairs, is a mere flatterer of courts, and his opinion is belied by every page of history. Whoever asserts that an oligarchy or an aristocracy stands in need of no restraint, because their interests are identified with those of the people on their estates, and because the greatest efforts of nations have been achieved by their means, is not less insensible to the evidence of facts, or less apt, if his opinions are implicitly followed, to mislead and degrade mankind. Whoever asserts that the great body of the people are capable of the arduous duty of self-government, that democratic institutions are the only true foundation for good administration, and that abuse of power need never be apprehended in their hands, because they are at once beyond its seductions, and exposed to its evils, is not less a sycophant of power than the eulogist of courts or

the minion of aristocracy; and his flatteries are only the more dangerous that they are addressed to a larger, a more impassioned, and a less enlightened circle than is to be found either in the halls of princes or the precincts of nobles.

35. How, then, has it happened, if all mankind are thus equally corrupt, and disposed to farm out political power for no other purpose but self-aggrandisement, that so marked a distinction is to be observed in the effect of forms of government upon human society; and whence the astonishing variety in the progress and elevation of mankind at different periods of the world, and under the influence of different forms of government? The question is a natural one, and, if the foregoing principles are well founded, it should meet with a solution in consistency with them. And a very slight consideration must be sufficient to explain, not only how this great diversity has happened, but to point in the most decisive manner to the form of government which promises the greatest social happiness and public elevation.

36. Since the creation of man, a vast majority, probably nine-tenths, of the human race, have existed under the government of single monarchs or chiefs exercising nearly absolute power within their separate principalities. Not to mention other examples that must be familiar to every reader, the whole of Asia, embracing six hundred millions of inhabitants, or nearly two-thirds of the whole human race, has, from the earliest period to the present hour, been uniformly governed by the absolute power of a single individual. Certain restraints upon the uncontrolled exercise of human power have no doubt existed in the East as well as in other parts of the world; but they consist, not in any limitation of power in the sultaun or chief, but in his occasional dethronement; the remedy against the evils of oppression is not the limitation of authority, but the murder of the despot. Great as have been the evils which in every age have flowed from the selfishness, the rapacity, and the iniquities of these arbi-

trary governors of their species, it is yet evident that there must be some general and substantial benefits which have resulted from their rule, or it would long ago have been terminated by the common consent of mankind. Lightly as European independence may think of Asiatic despotism, philosophy will not despise a system of government under which two-thirds of the human race have subsisted from the beginning of time; and which is so firmly rooted in universal consent in that part of the world, that no amount of tyranny on the part of individual sovereigns, and no changes resulting from religion or conquest, have ever made them for one moment think of altering it. Whatever is found to have existed to a great extent among mankind for a very long period, must necessarily have been attended with great practical advantages which have overbalanced its evils. The sagacious observer of such institutions, if he cannot discover their utility, will rather suspect that his powers of observation have been defective, than that mankind for so long a period, and over so great a surface, have obstinately persisted in what was destructive to themselves. But it is evident what has occasioned this uniformity of government in the East; the advantages of despotism are as clearly marked as its evils. They consist in the rude but effective coercion of human passion by the vigorous hand of single administration; the substitution, it may be, of the oppression of one, for what certainly would be the licentiousness of all.

37. Aristocratic societies are those which in every age have made the most durable impression on human affairs; and where patrician rule has been combined with a certain development of democratic energy in society, they have led to the greatest and the most splendid of human achievements. The empires of Carthage and Rome in ancient, and of Great Britain in modern times, are sufficient to demonstrate, that under no other form of government is it possible to combine such great and heroic achievements with such steady and durable progress. Its evils, as those

of all earthly things, are many, and they consist chiefly in the uniform tendency of all holders of aristocratic power to consider it as a patrimony for themselves and their dependants—instead of a trust to be exercised for the public good, and the consequent restriction of office and power to a limited circle of society. But amidst many and evident evils, these examples decisively demonstrate that such a form of government is at least a move in the right direction. No community need be afraid of going far astray which treads in the footsteps of Rome and England. The secret of the prodigious ascendancy that this form of government has given to the nations which have embraced it, consists in the combination of fixity of purpose, arising from the durability of interest on the part of the holders of property, who constitute the ruling power, with courage and energy in the lower classes, springing from the facilities given them of rising in society. It is the power of steam restrained from its frightful devastation, and subjected to the guidance of firm and experienced hands.

38. Democratic government has produced, at different times, effects so opposite and contradictory, that it is not surprising that the opinions of men should be divided as far as the poles are asunder, in regard to its merits. Examined in one view, it exhibits the examples of the brightest eras on which the eye of the historian can rest. The arts of Greece, the arms of Rome, the navy of England, the peopling of America, have arisen from its exertions. All the greatest achievements of the human mind have been effected under the influence of its fervour. Whatever may have been the suffering and agony with which the convulsions it produced have been accompanied, they have led to the most splendid exertions of human genius, and the widest spread of the human race. No one can contemplate the shores of the Mediterranean, studied with the successive colonies of Greece, Carthage, and Rome, or the shores of the ocean now beginning to glitter with those of England, without seeing that to this social agent of tran-

scendant power it is given to effect the greatest and most momentous changes in the destiny of man. The Roman empire itself was built up of the colonial settlements formed by its democratic citizens, or those of the Grecian republics, on the adjoining coasts of Europe and Asia. Its conquests were but the bursting of the bands of armed and disciplined democracy into the savage tribes or enfeebled monarchies by which it was surrounded. If the French Revolution was to that great country a source of lasting evil, it gave it also a brief period of surpassing glory; and if we would seek the latent spring which, at an interval of two hundred years, has implanted the British race in the western and southern hemisphere, we shall find it in the efforts of the sturdy Puritans in the days of Charles I., and the visions of social regeneration in those of William IV. and Queen Victoria.

3D. If we examine democracy in another view, it appears the most biting scourge that the justice of Heaven ever let loose upon guilty man. At no other periods than when it was in the ascendant, and by no other agents than its conquests or oppression, has such intense suffering been inflicted on the human race. To the surrounding nations, Rome appeared a vast fountain of evil, always streaming over, yet always full, from which devastating floods incessantly issued to overwhelm and destroy mankind. We may judge how far and wide it laid waste the neighbouring states, from the nervous expression which Tacitus put into the mouth of the Caledonian chief, "*ubi solitudinem fecerunt, pacem appellant.*" And if any doubt could exist as to the fearful nature of the evils which republican ambition brings upon mankind, they would be established by the fact, that in twenty years it occasioned a slaughter of not less than ten millions of human beings on the two sides during the French Revolutionary war; and that such was the acute suffering which was produced throughout Europe by its triumph, that it overcame all the jealousy of nations and all the rivalry

of cabinets, and induced a universal combination of mankind to effect its overthrow.

40. One of the most favourite doctrines which overspread the world, from the principles of the French Revolution, was the opinion, so readily formed, so perseveringly acted upon, that forms of government were all in all; that there was no inherent or indelible difference in the races of men; that climate and physical circumstances were of little moment; but that one and the same set of republican institutions might with equal advantage be applied to all mankind. With how much obstinacy, with what little success, this principle has been applied by the French during the fervour of their Revolution — by the English, during the less vehement but more protracted delusions which have succeeded it — need be told to none who are acquainted with the history of the last half century. Yet is there no opinion which the wisest of men in every country have more strenuously contested, which experience in every age has more decisively disproved. Corneille had a deeper insight into human affairs when he observed, that the institutions of men require to be as various as their colour, character, or complexion.* Montesquieu was nearer the truth when he asserted, that no nation ever rose to durable greatness but by institutions in harmony with its national spirit. Guizot arrived at it exactly when he said, "It is by the study of political institutions that the greater part of scholars, historians, and philosophers have sought to ascertain the state of society and the advancement of civilisation. It would have been wiser to study the state of society with a view to understand its institu-

* ————— "Par tous les climats
Ne sont pas bien reçus toutes sortes d'états;
Chaque peuple a le sien conforme à sa nature,
Qu'on ne saurait changer sans lui faire une
injure.
Telle est la loi du ciel, dont la sage équité
Sème dans l'univers cette diversité.
Les Macédoniens aiment le monarchique,
Et le reste des Grecs la liberté publique;
Les Parthes, les Persans, veulent des souverains,
Et le seul consulat est bon pour les Romains."
—Cinna, Act II, scene 1.

tions. *Before becoming a cause, institutions have been an effect.* Society produces them, ere it is modified by them; and instead of seeking in systems or forms of government what has been the state of the people, it is the state of the people we should consider in determining what should be the form of their government."

41. With how much success this system has been attended in continental Europe need be told to none who have read this history. The successive rise and fall of the Batavian, Ligurian, Parthenopeian, and the other affiliated republics, which surrounded the great parent democracy of Paris; the rapid fall of all the constitutions cast off on the mould of that of imperial France, in Poland, Saxony, Westphalia, the Kingdom of Italy, and elsewhere, demonstrate the extreme futility of all such attempts to transplant to one race of men or age of society the institutions suited to another. The similar and still more lamentable failure of constitutional monarchies propped up by France and England since the peace, in Spain and Portugal, Naples and Piedmont, bears testimony to the same eternal truth. And if any doubt could exist on the subject, the entire ruin of the whole South American republics, where the cause of revolution has been entirely successful, and the dreadful miseries entailed on its beautiful regions by a succession of tyrants, too numerous and obscure for history to record their names, save as a warning to future times, is sufficient to place this vital truth beyond the reach of dispute.

42. The reasonings of the learned, the declamations of the ardent, the visions of the philanthropic, have in every age been rather directed against the oppression of sovereigns or nobles than the madness of the people. This affords the most decisive demonstration, that the evils flowing from the latter are much greater and more acute than those which have originated with the former; for it proves that the former have been so tolerable as to have long existed, and therefore have been *long complained of*; whereas those springing from the latter have always been

intolerable, and *speedily led to their own abolition.* The evils of democracy, when intrusted with the direction of public affairs, have in every age been found to be so excessive, that they have immediately produced its overthrow. Thus the experience of individuals does not always present the same numerous examples of democratic that it does of aristocratic oppression; just because the former species of government is so dreadful, that it *invariably, in every old community, has destroyed itself in a single generation*, while the latter has often maintained its dominion for hundreds, or even thousands of years. History, indeed, is full of warnings of the terrible conflagration which democracy never fails to light up in society; and it is a secret consciousness of the damning force with which it overturns their doctrines, that makes the popular party everywhere treat its records with such contempt. But how many of the great body of the people, even in the best-informed community, make themselves masters of historical information? Not one in a hundred. Thus, in periods of political convulsion, history points in vain to the awful beacons of former ruin to warn mankind of the near approach of shipwreck; while perfidious democracy, ever alive to the force of falsehood, or misled by the deceitfulness of sin, again for the hundredth time allures the unsuspecting multitude by the exhibition of the forbidden fruit. And thus it is that the strength of revolution consists in the very magnitude of the falsehoods on which its promises are founded, and the universally-felt impossibility of bringing them for any considerable time to the test of actual experience.

43. A system of government founded on principles utterly subversive of order, security, and property, cannot by any possibility maintain itself for any length of time. It must either destroy the community or be destroyed itself. Democracy, accordingly, in an old community, cannot and never did exist for any lengthened period. It must either overthrow national freedom, and pave the way for the government of the sword, or be itself subverted by the

aroused indignation of all the better classes of mankind. The near approach of the one or other of these results is inevitable, in every old community in which popular passion has once obtained a legislative triumph. Which of the two is to obtain, depends entirely on the degree of moral rectitude and public spirit which pervades the community where it has arisen. In ancient Greece, the democratic republicans, after a brief space of glorious existence, sank under the inherent evils of the form of government which prevailed. The liberties of Rome, rudely torn by the ambition of the Gracchi, soon perished under the contending swords of Cæsar and Pompey; the dreams of French equality were speedily extinguished by the guillotine of Robespierre and the sword of Napoleon. The reason was, that in all these communities the majority were essentially selfish and corrupt. But in Great Britain, the heart of the nation, amidst all its convulsions, has still been comparatively sound; and though it has been often dazzled for a time by the false glare of the revolutionary meteor, it has, hitherto at least, ever in the end fixed its gaze upon the principles of order and the precepts of religion. And while the Continental monarchies, during the great moral earthquake of 1848, were speedily thrown into convulsions, and tranquillity was restored only by the power of the sword, in England alone order was preserved by the steadiness of the army and the loyalty of the majority of the people, and attempted revolution in both islands was baffled without the effusion of human blood.

44. The reason why, in every age of the world, the triumph of democracy has immediately, or at least shortly, been followed by the destruction of all the best interests of society, and the total ruin, in particular of the whole principles of freedom for which it itself contended, is clearly illustrated by experience; and the moment it is stated, it must be seen to be one of universal application. It is not that the working classes of the community are in themselves more depraved or more corrupted than the classes who

possess property, and have acquired information: it is probable that all men, in every rank of life, when exposed to the influence of the same temptations, are pretty nearly the same. But there is this difference between them—and it is an essential one in its ultimate effects upon the interests of mankind: though the dispositions of the Aristocratic or Conservative party may be just as selfish at bottom as those of the Democratic, yet their *interests* keep them, upon the whole, in a more beneficial course of government; and their habits, through a course of generations, render them more capable than the generality of men of withstanding the temptations of power. There are several causes which, without arising from any virtue in them not shared by the great body of mankind, permanently retain them in a comparatively fixed, safe, and salutary system, and which, as they depend on general principles, may be expected to be of universal application. And these causes are the following:—

45. (I.) In the first place, the interest of the holders of property is permanently to protect that property from injury or spoliation; whereas the interest of the democratic body, who are for the most part destitute of funds, is to advocate such measures as, by trenching upon or ultimately inducing a division of property, may, as they hope, have the effect of securing for them the advantages which at present they do not enjoy. Accordingly, it has uniformly been found, in all ages, that the holders of property advocate measures to protect that property; while, the destitute masses are perpetually impelled to those likely to induce revolutionary spoliation. "*Egestas cupida novarum rerum*,"* is the most prolific source in troubled times of public ruin. This, however, is a matter of the very highest importance; for experience has now abundantly proved, what reason, from the beginning of the world, had asserted, not only that the security of property in every class of society, from the lowest to the highest, is the mainspring of all prosperity and happiness, both public and private, but

* "*Indigence covetous of change.*"

that freedom itself is never so much endangered as by measures having a tendency to induce the division of property, and by the success of those measures is immediately and irrevocably destroyed. To be satisfied of this, we have only to look to the condition of France, where measures of the most revolutionary and democratic character, directed against the aristocracy of land, of wealth, and of industry, were pursued with the most insatiate thirst, and crowned with the most entire success; and in consequence, there are now no less than *ten millions eight hundred and sixty-two thousand separate landed properties in that kingdom*, divided among at least six millions of different owners, while the territorial and commercial aristocracy is almost totally destroyed. And what has been the result? Simply this, that the establishment or preservation of freedom has been rendered utterly impracticable in the country, because no power remains in the state capable of counterbalancing the influence and authority of the central government, resting on the armed force and universal patronage of the public offices.

46. (II.) In the next place, although no man who is acquainted with human nature would claim, either for the higher ranks or more educated classes in the community, any natural superiority in talent over their humble but not less useful brethren, yet, on the other hand, nothing can be more consonant to reason, than to assert that those classes in society who, from their affluence, possess leisure, and, from their station, have received the education requisite for acquiring extensive information, are more likely, in the long-run, to acquire and exhibit the powers necessary for beneficial legislation, than those who, from the necessities of their situation, are chained to daily toil, and, from the limited extent of their funds, have been disabled from acquiring a thorough amount of instruction. In claiming for the higher, and above all, the more highly educated ranks, a superiority in the art of government to the other classes of the community, it is only meant to assert

a principle of universal application, and which has not only been recognised and acted upon from the beginning of the world, but is perfectly familiar to every person practically acquainted with the affairs of life in every department. All the professions and all the trades into which men are divided require a long education, and no inconsiderable amount of actual practice; and, with the exception of those rare individuals to whom nature has given the power of mastering various branches of science or art at once, success is, in general, only to be acquired by constant and undivided attention to one.

47. No person of a different profession would think of competing with a physician in the treatment of a person afflicted with a dangerous disease, or with a lawyer in the management of an intricate or difficult lawsuit; and probably the most vehement supporter of popular rights would hesitate before he gave an order to a committee of electors to make a coat for him, or intrusted the building of his house to delegates from many different trades, instead of a master-builder, who had acquired proficiency in one of them. In asserting and maintaining the proposition, therefore, that the classes who enjoy property, and have received an extensive education, mainly directed to that end as the profession to which they are called, are better fitted to discharge, with advantage to the public, the intricate and difficult science of government,* than the classes which,

* "It is inheritance alone which can create by the side of government a certain number of offices, permanent and established, on the level of the government, living in its sphere, not uninfluenced by the personal interests, the personal passions, which animate the government in its struggle against democracy. What we want is, men who naturally make social politics their study, their profession, as others do jurisprudence, commerce, agriculture, and other employments: we want a class of men essentially politicians. Through a hereditary nobility you attain the end proposed: you have thus always ready a certain number of men whose concern is public affairs; whose place will be the summit, and who will always receive the impulsion of democracy, which will always possess the preponderating voice."—GUIZOT, *Debate on the Peers*: CAPEFIEUX, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, v. 360.

though endowed with equal natural talents, have not had them directed to the same objects, or matured in the same manner—we only assert a fact of universal notoriety among mankind, and apply to the most difficult branch of knowledge the principles by which alone success ever has or can be attained in the easiest. And it would be surprising, indeed, if the science of government—a branch of knowledge which requires, more than any other, a course of unremitting study during a very long period, and which can never be mastered but by those whose minds have acquired extensive information on a vast variety of subjects—could be as successfully pursued by those classes whose time is almost wholly absorbed in other pursuits, as by those who had made it the undivided object and study of their life.

48. (III.) In the third place, the interest of the holders of property naturally and unavoidably leads them not only to resist measures of aggression on it, but to adopt those steps which, although attended with a present burden, promise to produce ultimate advantage. Experience every day proves, that insensibility to the future is, with very rare exceptions, the accompaniment of excessive poverty, and that the power of foresight, and of submitting to present burdens from a sense of ultimate advantage, exists very nearly in proportion to the extent to which that advantage is, by the possession of property, likely to be enjoyed by the individual or his descendants who are to inherit it. Hence the excessive anxiety for the acquisition or increase of wealth which is so general among those who have attained a certain degree of affluence, and the total disregard of the most pressing evils of present poverty and future destitution which may invariably be observed among those to whom indigence has long been familiar. A capitalist has been known to commit suicide because his fortune was reduced to four hundred thousand pounds;* while a beggar sleeps in peace, who does not know where he is to find his next meal. The common pro-

verb, wherever extraordinary care is conspicuous in a domain, that "the eye of a master may be seen there," shows how uniformly the experience of mankind has proved that, generally speaking, it is in vain to look for attention to the future, but among those whose interests property has wound up with its changes. But what is true of individuals is true also of nations; for what is a nation but an aggregate of the persons who compose it? When the Grecian sage said to the enthusiastic declaimer in favour of popular government, "You admire democracy; go home and try it in your own family," he expressed a truth not less applicable to the social than the domestic concerns of men.

49. (IV.) Whoever has closely observed the dispositions of large bodies of mankind, whether in social or political life, must have become sensible that the most uniform and lasting feature by which they are distinguished is that of *insensibility to the future*. They often make the greatest sacrifices at the moment when their passions are strongly roused, or their feelings thoroughly awakened; and perhaps the most heroic deeds recorded in the annals of the world have been performed under the influence of such excitement. But it is always present emotion, passion, or interest, which is with them the moving power. Future consequences, remote interests, the fate of unborn generations, are, to the great bulk of mankind, matter of hardly any concern. The reason is, that the power of looking forward to the future, and resisting present allurements from a regard to its interests, is a gift which is bestowed by Providence only on a limited portion of society, and never is generally developed, unless among those who are either endowed with remarkable powers of thought, or have had their attention forcibly drawn to the future, by the durable interests of property. Hence it is that democratic communities have been distinguished in every age of the world by such extraordinary want of foresight,—often redeemed, it is true, when danger was pressing, by the most transcendent exertions.

* Mr Goldsmid.

50. Hence it was that the Carthaginians at one time refused to send succours to Hannibal, when a reinforcement of a few thousand men would have enabled him to overturn the Roman republic; and at another, consented to purchase a temporary respite from its hostility, by giving up the arms of the republic to that inveterate enemy. Hence it was that all the eloquence of Demosthenes failed in rousing the Athenians to a sense of the danger arising from the ambition of Philip, and that, in the midst of his most splendid orations against that ambitious sovereign, they passed a law, not only appropriating the whole funds of the navy to the support of the public theatres, but denouncing the punishment of *death* against any who should presume to propose even that that portion of the revenue should be restored to its former destination.* Thence it was that America urged on a naval war with Great Britain, when she had only four frigates and eight sloops to protect her vast defenceless and commercial navy; and thence it was that the ministry of England, under the pressure of undue popular influence, during the long peace which followed the battle of Waterloo, went on, without any necessity save of their own creation,† taking off one indirect tax after another, till they had fairly annihilated the noble fabric of the sinking fund, and rendered the national debt a hopeless burden upon the nation. Thence, too, it was that Polish democracy obstinately resisted all the efforts of John Sobieski to establish durable institutions and a regular army, and fell at last under the swords of the surrounding nations, which they had

* "The fund originally intended for the exigencies of the war had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a *capital crime* to propose any change in this unexampled and most whimsical disposal."—It was in vain for Demosthenes to resist the popular torrent. He was opposed and overwhelmed by Eubulus and Demades, who obtained an immense majority of the votes.—GILLIES'S *Greece*, Chap. xxxv. vol. iv. p. 75.

† By the contraction of the currency by the Act of 1819.

taken no means whatever to avert. Thence it was that Great Britain, under a popular government from 1815 to 1845, suffered her military and naval establishments to decline in so great a degree, that we have the authority of the Duke of Wellington for the assertion, that the empire which conquered Napoleon could not, at the close of that period, muster above ten thousand regular troops on the coast of Sussex, to save London from capture, and the empire from destruction.‡ On the other hand, the long and glorious existence of Rome, Venice, and Great Britain, when under aristocratic rule, clearly demonstrates, that where the energy of democracy is duly restrained and coerced by the foresight of patrician power, a lasting and glorious existence is secured for the state, by the constant effort of its rulers to guard against ultimate and remote dangers.

51. (V.) In the fifth place, there arises in the ascendancy of the persons possessed of property and education, provided always that they are duly restrained and watched by the more numerous but less educated classes of society, the best security which human weakness ever yet devised against the corruption of government, and the selfish dispositions of those intrusted with the reins of power. Without doubt, the aristocratic classes are men as well as the republicans, and therefore open to all the weakness, corruption, and vices of humanity; and, installed in unresisted sovereignty, they will ever in future, as in past time, strive to farm out the people chiefly to their own profit and advantage. But the material thing is, that in this form of government, when duly tempered by freedom in the lower classes, *they are not permitted to act without control*, but are continually watched and restrained by the inferior but not less intelligent classes, who, being without the actual possession of power, are less liable to the influence of its corruptions. This is one of the most important observations which can be made with

‡ DUKE OF WELLINGTON to SIR JOHN BURGOYNE, 7th Jan. 1847.

reference to the science of government, and it explains at once the universal failure of all attempts to establish permanent good government on a democratic basis, and the greater chance of its enjoyment under a well-tempered and checked aristocracy. The reason is not apparent at first sight, but, when stated, it is sufficiently convincing, and deserves the serious consideration of every reflecting mind.

52. "It has been often observed," says Mr Hume, "that there is a wide difference between the judgment which befalls the conduct of others, and that which we ourselves pursue when placed in similar circumstances. The reason is obvious: in judging of others, we are influenced by our reason and our feelings; in acting for ourselves, we are directed by our reason, our feelings, and our desires." In this simple observation is to be found the key, both to the fatal corruption which democratic ascendancy never fails to produce in the state, and to the more effectual check which, in conservative ascendancy, is provided at once against its own tendency to selfish projects, and the dangerous encroachments of the other classes of society. When the holders of property are in power, and the masses are in vigilant but restrained opposition, the majority of the community, who give the tone to public thought, necessarily incline to the support of virtuous and patriotic principles, *because they have no interest to do otherwise*. Hence, although doubtless in such communities some abuses do prevail, and will prevail to the end of the world, from the universal tendency to corruption in mankind when acting for themselves, and impelled by their own interests, yet, upon the whole, the administration of affairs is comparatively pure and virtuous, and the community obtains a larger share of good government than has ever yet been obtained under any other form of human institutions. Above all, in such circumstances, the general mind is preserved untainted. Public spirit is general, and forms the mainspring of national action; it is pure, because it has no inducement to become corrupt-

ed. This invaluable temper of mind, more precious far than all laws of political institutions, not only preserves the heart of the nation entire, and forms a salutary control upon the measures of the holders of power, but, by influencing the very atmosphere which they breathe, imparts a large share of its glorious spirit to those in possession of its reins, and open to its seductions. And hence the long-continued public spirit and greatness of the British and Roman empires, and of all communities in which power has been for a considerable period in possession of the holders of property, and the general thought has been directed by the aristocracy of intellect. The aristocracy has been sufficiently coerced by popular influence, to be hindered from indulging in the corruptions to which it would be otherwise inclined.

53. But all this is totally reversed, when the popular leaders get themselves installed in power, and the democratic party are in possession of an irresistible preponderance in the state. The moment that this fatal change occurs, a total revolution takes place, not merely in the conduct of government, but in the vigilance with which they are guarded and watched by the great body of the people. The democratic leaders, now the holders of power and dispensers of influence, find themselves surrounded by a host of hungry dependants, to whom necessity is law; and who, impelled by a secret consciousness that their political ascendancy is not destined to be of long duration, because they are disqualified to maintain it, strive only to make the best use of their time, by providing for themselves and their relations at the public expense, without the slightest regard to any consideration of the public advantage. On the other hand, the great body of the people, formerly so loud in their clamours against corruption, and their demand for a virtuous and patriotic administration of public affairs, now quietly pass by on the other side, and not only remain passive spectators of, but often openly and with shameless effrontery defend, every species of abuse, because they profit by

it. Or they preserve a studious silence, and endeavour to huddle up those nefarious, and to them beneficial cesses, under the cry of a reformation of the state in some other department, or a wider extension of the power from which their leaders derive such considerable benefit. Thus, not only is the power and influence of government immediately directed to the most corrupt and selfish purposes, but legislation itself, and in the end the national mind, becomes tainted with the same inherent and universal vice. In the general scramble, where every one seems on the look-out for himself, no other object is attended to but the promotion of separate interests or class elevation. The public press in such a state of society seldom denounces, in general cordially supports, all such abuses, because their leaders and the writers in its columns are benefited by them. Such as do venture to assail them, produce no sort of impression except on the indignant few, who, excluded from the feast, brood in gloomy silence over its excesses. What is worst of all, public feeling becomes universally and irrevocably debased, because the great body of the people profit, or hope to profit, by the corruption in which the leaders of their party indulge. Cornelle had a deeper insight into human nature, when, in the inimitable declamation against democracy which he puts into the mouth of Cinna,* he made this the

* "Mais quand le peuple est maître, on n'agit qu'en tumulte;
La voix de la raison jamais ne se consulte;
Les honneurs sont vendus aux plus ambitieux;
L'autorité livrée aux plus séditieux.
Ces petits souverains qu'il fait pour une année,
Voyant d'un temps si court leur puissance bornée,
Des plus honteux desseins font avorter le fruit,
De peur de le laisser à celui qui les suit;
Comme ils ont peu de part au bien, dont ils ordonnent,
Dans le champ de public largement ils moissonnent,
Assurés que chacun leur pardonne aisément,
Espérant à son tour un pareil traitement.
Le pire des états, c'est l'état populaire."

—Cinna, Act ii. scene 1.

greatest evil and lasting reproach of popular institutions.

54. (VI.) No one can have witnessed the practical working of human nature in the various classes of society, especially in highly civilised states, without having become sensible that there is another cause of the general failure and dreadful evils of democratic institutions of more general importance than any of the preceding. This is the experienced inability of the human mind to withstand the seductions of wealth and the temptations of power without previous training, not only in a single, but in many preceding generations. As these are the most powerful assailants of virtue that exist, so the combined efforts of several successive ages are required to enable man to withstand them. A single one is never equal to the conflict. Hence the rapid and hopeless degeneracy which invariably overtakes rude and poor states when they conquer civilised and opulent ones, and the corresponding recklessness of the indigent when suddenly elevated to wealth. As the nobles acquired, in the days of chivalry, a sort of hereditary skill in the use of arms, and certainly a hereditary grace in manners, which in general may still be witnessed in their descendants, so in more pacific periods, they acquire, as if by descent, a faculty of withstanding the temptations of power, and often moderating its exercise, to which classes unaccustomed to its enjoyment have never been found equal. Doubtless, aristocratic abuses exist, and have existed from the beginning of the world, wherever such a form of government is or has been established. But, bad as they are, they are light in comparison of the evils of democratic ascendancy. Decisive evidence of this will be found by the reflecting mind in the long prevalence of, and general complaints against the former, contrasted with the comparatively rare occurrence and brief existence of the latter. Insupportable evils are always rapidly terminated by the aroused indignation of mankind; as acute diseases generally and quickly prove fatal. It is such as though oppressive are yet tolerable, grating but

ot destructive, which last long and excite common complaint, because their consequences are generally present.

55. It is not difficult to perceive how it happens that a hereditary aristocracy becomes in the course of ages imbued with feelings which render them more capable than a changing democracy of resisting the temptations of power. It is that they acquire new objects of ambition suited to such a state of things, from the long enjoyment of the former ones. Wealth has ceased to be a distinction, for it has become hereditary; power even is comparatively unheeded, for it has been long enjoyed. Ever covetous of distinction, the human mind, amidst this satiety of the ordinary objects of desire, works out new ones for itself. Eminence is sought in a novel and exclusive career. Elegance in dress, manners, and habits, comes to be the great criterion of distinction: the point of honour is established, and fixes a new code of paramount authority; common vices are shunned, not because they are wrong, but because they are vulgar. These desires and habits, acting upon several successive generations, at length come to form a character among the hereditary aristocracy which, though doubtless tainted with the usual proportion of the corruption of the children of Adam, is yet less prone than that of ordinary men to the peculiar vices which arise from the possession of power. They have learned to shun those vices, not so much because of their iniquity, as from their being those into which their inferiors, when invested with authority, usually fall. "My janizary," says Chateaubriand, "made as much of the ensigns of authority as if he had been a parvenu." The secret pride of the old noble here revealed the main cause of the comparative courtesy with which power is in general wielded by the higher ranks.

56. The clearest proof of the truth of these principles may be seen in the general opinion, and it is evinced in the ordinary language and habitual expressions of men. The common proverb as to the consequence of putting a beggar on horseback, and the general ob-

servation, that no man was ever in the end enriched by getting a prize of twenty thousand pounds in the lottery, proves the universal sense of the danger of sudden elevation, either in rank or fortune. No people ever had, no man ever heard, a corresponding proverb as to the effect of setting a gentleman on horseback. On the contrary, the expressions of all modern nations point to the restraint on insolence of manner which arises, as if by instinct, with certain advantages of birth. The word *gentleman* shows that common experience has associated mildness of demeanour with elevation of descent; "chivalrous," the highest praise that can be bestowed on manners, still points to horsemen as those in whom they are most frequently found; "courtesy," yet reminds us of the court of the castle, where its graces were first learned. Heroic or disinterested conduct is universally termed "noble"—disgraceful ones are stigmatised as vulgar or ignoble. The word "gallantry" never ceases to remind us that, if personal courage distinguishes those of noble descent, it is too often allied, from the admiration it excites in the other sex, with corresponding, but in a manner peculiar, vices. If you ask a person of either sex, in the middle ranks, how they came to be deceived by such a one, the answer generally is that they took him for a gentleman. No one ever heard it assigned as a reason for a deception, that the cheat was a gentleman, but that they took him for a mechanic. Numerous associations have been formed, especially in this country, by the working classes for their relief; but it has never been found that, unless where their direction and the management of their funds have been taken by the higher classes, they have had any lasting success.

57. The indignation so commonly expressed by the great body of men against the vices of their superiors, affords no sort of security that they will not, if they have the means, adopt them. The extraordinary difference between the conduct and sentiments of mankind, when judging of the actions of others and when acting

for themselves, may be every day witnessed in the public theatres. Observe the conduct of the people, and, most of all, the humblest classes of the community, when their feelings are roused by the performance of a noble tragedy, and the enunciation of exalted sentiments, clothed in the colours of poetry, and enforced by the energy and genius of theatrical representation—such as an admiring world formerly witnessed in Siddons and Kemble, and our age has witnessed in Helen Faucit and Mademoiselle Rachel. How loudly are generous sentiments applauded; how enthusiastic is the ardour produced by patriotic emotion; how strongly does the very air of the theatre seem impregnated with the most generous and patriotic sentiments! How many inexperienced observers have been led to imagine, when witnessing those bursts of lofty enthusiasm, and seeing how uniformly they commence with the humblest classes of society—how many have been led to conclude that human nature is at bottom virtuous and pure; that selfishness and vice are the growth only of riches and palaces; and that ample security for a pure and salutary administration of affairs will be found in the admission of the masses of men into the uncontrolled direction of public affairs!

58. Follow out the assembled multitude who have been swayed by such generous emotions in the theatre, and see who they are, and what they do, when exposed to the separate influence of the sins which most easily beset them. Among the so recently generous and elevated crowd will be found the profligate husband and the faithless wife—the hard-hearted creditor and the fraudulent debtor—the reckless prodigal and the depraved libertine—the besotted drunkard and the abandoned sensualist—the cruel enemy and the perfidious friend—the hard-hearted egotist and the rancorous foe. Among the many who but the evening before seemed animated only with the most pure and generous sentiments, will be found every form and variety of human wickedness, and by them will be practised every deed by which man can inflict misery on man. Such and so different

is man when judging of others according to his reason and feelings, and man when acting for himself under the influence of his reason, his feelings, and his passions. Hence it is that, during the worst periods of the French Revolution, the sanguinary mob who had been entranced in the evening by the noble and elevating sentiments of Racine or Corneille, arose in the morning with fresh vigour to pursue their career of selfishness and their work of blood; and hence it is that the enthusiastic masses, whose sentiments appeared so pure, and their feelings so exalted, in the commencement of that convulsion, when declaiming against the corruptions of power, that their hearts might be thought to have opened within them the springs of heaven, became so utterly selfish, corrupt, and cruel, when exposed themselves to its temptations, that they appeared to have been steeped in hell.

59. If the influences of these combined circumstances are taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that cruelty has in so remarkable a manner been in every age the characteristic of democratic government; and that the excess of the populace in that particular has in general been the circumstance that has most contributed to the overthrow of their power. Generally speaking, cruelty is more the result, at least in civilised society, of fear, than of any settled savage disposition. Men massacre others when they are apprehensive of punishment or death themselves. It is in the secret dread which a democracy always entertains that its position in power is forced and unnatural, and that it is destined ere long to fall under the government of property and intelligence, that the true cause of the persevering energy with which it attacks both the possessions and the lives of the wealthier classes is to be found. It is not that the lower classes are by nature more bloodthirsty than the higher, but that they entertain a constant apprehension of falling again under their influence, and possibly, in that event, undergoing the punishment which their crimes may have deserved. Thence the saying of Marat, which so well expressed the feelings of

the Jacobins of Paris, "that there was no hope for France till two hundred and eighty thousand heads had fallen;" thence the cry, "Down with the bank!" which destroyed three-fourths of the commercial wealth of America; and, thence the saying, "To stop the Duke, go for gold!" which, during a period of revolutionary convulsion, caused eighteen hundred thousand pounds, in three days, to be drawn out of the coffers of the Bank of England. In all these cases it is not any absolute *pleasure* in the destruction of life or property which leads to these extreme and terrible measures, fraught with such awful results on the part of the democracy: it is the *terror* of losing a power which they are in secret conscious they are unfit to exercise, which in reality is the motive of their proceedings. They are aware that, if their opponents exist, they will in the long run fall under their government; and therefore they see no chance of safety but in their entire destruction.

60. (VII.) There is another most material point of distinction between the government of property and education and that of numbers, which is, that in the former case the persons intrusted with the direction of affairs are comparatively *fixed* and few in number, and consequently the invaluable checks of individual responsibility and public observation attach to them; while, in the latter, the real ruling power is a multitude of perpetually changing persons, upon no one of whom can the responsibility of any measures originating in public opinion be fixed. At the same time, the rulers and magistrates are so continually shifted, that *they* avoid also all responsibility for the measures in which they have had only a temporary share. It was long ago observed by Sallust, in the admirable declamation against aristocracy which he puts into the mouth of Marius,* that the condition of patricians is so prominent, and the light shining on them so bright, that even their smallest faults are perpetu-

ally exposed to the public gaze. It is the consciousness of this perpetual responsibility attaching to them, which, in a free community, where the opinion of the middle classes has a material weight in public affairs, constitutes the greatest and most salutary check on their conduct. On the other hand, it is the obscurity which numbers throw over any individual of the multitude, and the consequent, not merely impunity, but liberation from all legal responsibility or moral control which they enjoy, which constitutes one main source of the danger of their proceedings. "In the multitude of counsellors," says Solomon, "there is safety." "Yes," said Dr Gregory, "but it is safety to the *counsellors*, not the *counselled*; for each lays the blame upon the other."

61. In a democratic community, the greatest measures are often forced upon government by an insurgent pressure from below, without any man being able to tell either who were its authors, how it began, or where it is to end. Thus the state may be ultimately ruined, no one knows how, or by whom. In the officers also, whether of the executive or judicial department, the jealousy of the people at any one possessing power which does not flow from, and frequently revert to themselves, is such, that it very soon becomes impossible either to maintain any stable system for the public government, or to retain experienced ability for any length of time in the direction of affairs. Rotation of office is the principle on which all their appointments are rested. The moment a man becomes acquainted with his official duties, he is displaced, to make way for another who is as ignorant of them as the first was when he entered on them. Men would rather be ill governed by many in succession, than well by a few permanently. Hence the proverbially short duration of ministerial existence in all countries during periods of democratic ascendancy; and hence the frequent appointment even of *judicial* officers in France during the Revolution, and in America at this time, during the pleasure of the people, as evinced by their two legislative houses, or for a period of only a few years, [*ante*,

* "Nam quanto vita florum præclarior, tanto horum recordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita, si res habet, majorum gloria posteris lumen est; neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur."—SALLUST, *Bell. Jug.*

Chap. xc. § 74]. Not the least evils of democratic ascendancy will be found to have originated from this cause, and it affords the true solution of many of the catastrophes, both social and national, which have been traced in the preceding pages.

62. (VIII.) But most of all is a subversion of the right order of society to be apprehended from the undue preponderance of the inhabitants of *towns*, which never fails to follow in the wake of a really democratic constitution. Sir James Mackintosh has well explained the way in which this effect takes place. "A representation founded on numbers merely, would be productive of gross inequality in that very class to which all others are sacrificed. The difference between the people of the country and those of towns is attended with consequences which no contrivance of law can obviate. Towns are the nursery of political feeling. The frequency of meeting, the warmth of discussion, the variety of pursuit, the rivalry of interest, the opportunities of information, even the fluctuations and extremes of fortune, direct the minds of the inhabitants to public concerns, and render them the seats of republican governments, or the preservers of liberty in monarchies. But if this difference be considerable among educated men, it seems immeasurable when we contemplate its effects on the more numerous classes. Among them no strong public sentiment can be kept up without numerous meetings. It is chiefly where they are animated by a view of their own strength and numbers, and when they are stimulated by an eloquence suited to their character, that the thoughts of such are directed to subjects so far from their common feelings as the concerns of the commonwealth. All these aids are necessarily wanting to the dispersed inhabitants of the country, whose frequent meetings are rendered impossible by distance and poverty, who have few opportunities of being excited by discussion and declamation, and very imperfect means of correspondence with those at a distance. An agricultural people is generally submissive to the laws, and ob-

servant of the ordinary duties of life, but stationary and stagnant, without the enterprise which is the source of improvement, and the public spirit which preserves liberty. If *the whole political powers* of the state, therefore, were thrown into the hands of the lowest classes, *it would be nearly all exercised by the towns*. About two-elevenths of the people of England inhabit towns which have a population of ten thousand souls or upwards. A body so large, strengthened by union, discipline, and spirit, *would without difficulty domineer over the lifeless and scattered peasants*. All active talent would in such a case fly to the towns, where alone its power could be felt. The choice of the country would be dictated by the cry of the towns, wherever it was thought it was possible to take it from the quiet influence of the resident proprietors."* What a commentary on these words, and demonstration of their truth, has been afforded by the annals of England, since the Reform Bill passed, which gave two-thirds of the seats in the House of Commons to the members for burghs!

63. In contrasting thus the opposite effects of an aristocratic and democratic government on human affairs, it is an *open aristocracy* that is in view; that is to say, an aristocracy blending with, and open to, the intermixture of the most prominent and deserving of the middle classes of the community. If this is not the case—if the ruling power of the state is an aristocracy, like that of Venice or old France, which excludes all admission into its ranks of the most eminent and deserving of the inferior classes of society, and has obtained such power in the state as to be able to stifle or extinguish the voice of public opinion, experience warrants the assertion, that though the evils which have now been stated are avoided, their place is supplied by others of a different description, less acute but more lasting. Such a government is abundantly stable in its purposes and judicious in its councils, at least with reference to its own interests; but is it equally favourable to the development of industry,

* MACKINTOSH'S collected *Essays*, iii. 219-220.

the growth of freedom, or the advancing of social progress? Have the brightest pages of history arisen under its influence? Does experience warrant the assertion that it is the form of government most conducive to general felicity? The fact will be found to be directly the reverse.

64. Is not its invariable tendency to limit power, patronage, and office to its own order? to treat the middle and working classes of society as an inferior species of creation, and rule the state for the exclusive and peculiar advantage of its own members? Are not genius, intellect, energy in the middle ranks, studiously depressed; and talent encouraged and rewarded, only so far as it is exerted in their service, and directed by their will? Is not office chiefly bestowed upon inferior birth as the reward of servility?—is not an instinctive horror felt for independent

er, and pliant ability the great at once of search and promotion? Experience unequivocally demonstrates that these questions must be answered in the affirmative, and renders it evident, that though the evils with which it is attended are not of so piercing and terrible a kind as those which flow from democratic ascendancy, yet they are far more enduring in their operation, and are greatly more difficult of removal. The ruling power in such a society is not, as in the ever-shifting wheel of popular ascendancy, withdrawn from responsibility, but it is relieved from its effects. It is not unknown to public opinion, but it is able to set its verdict at defiance. Resting on the support of a limited class in the state, the interests of whose members are the same, it is often able to disregard entirely alike the advantage and wishes every inferior rank in society.

65. Of all the possessions of mankind, there is none which they at once so universally desire, and so tenaciously retain, as power. Property itself has not been found to be, in general, so vehement an object of contention; though unquestionably its advantages are more substantial, and its loss attended with greater evils. The reason is, that the contest, even for these advantages, has

generally taken place on the preliminary question of political influence. Like the ramparts of a fortress, worthless in themselves, but commanding all that is valuable within their circuit, it is there that the deadly battle in the breach has been fought. Aristocracy has invariably been found to be to the last degree jealous of any encroachments on this its most highly-prized inheritance; and if not the bloodiest, at least the most long-continued feuds which have desolated the world, have arisen from the obstinate and skilful resistance which it has invariably made to the efforts of commercial wealth or popular ambition to be admitted to a share of its influence. From the days when the contests of the patricians and plebeians convulsed Rome during three centuries, and Sylla and Marius, at the head of the military force of their rival factions, drenched the republic with blood, and disgraced it by proscriptions, to those when the whole world was involved in the conflict of the *Tiers Etat* of France with the property of Europe, and the British empire was shaken to its centre by the fierce conflict of the aristocratic and democratic parties on the arena of parliamentary reform, this has been the most lasting object of contention among mankind. And so vehement has been the discord which it has occasioned, and so furious the passions developed during its continuance, that England is the only example recorded in history in which they have not led quickly to the total destruction of freedom, either by the despotism invariably following on democratic triumph, or by the binding fetters which proclaim the victory of aristocratic power. And perhaps even among its inhabitants the evil is only adjourned, and democratic triumph has implanted, if not an acute, yet a wasting and mortal malady in the British empire.

66. It was the plaintive conclusion of the Roman annalist,* that liberty moulded from the blending of the aris-

* "*Cunctas nationes et urbes, populus aut primores aut singuli regunt. Ducta ex his, et constituta re publica forma, laudari facilius quam evenire, sed si evenit, laud diuturna esse potest.*"—TACITUS.

tocratic, democratic, and monarchical powers, is slow of growth, difficult of maintenance, quick of decay. Subsequent experience has added fresh proofs of the observation of Tacitus, and yet illustrated not less forcibly the incomparable energy which is communicated to mankind during the brief period which elapses between the first expansion and last triumph of democratic vigour. The Roman empire in ancient, the British in modern times, have for ever demonstrated this important truth. The first conquered the world by its arms, and humanised it by its wisdom; the second subjected the waves to its dominion, and spread along its shores the light of knowledge, the institutions of civilisation, the blessings of religion. But it is only a brief period of such transcendent brightness which Providence allows to any nation. Its advent marks the efflorescence of civilisation, and is generally contemporary with the highest point of national fortunes. Its decline is followed by a total decay of social growth, and a speedy termination of national existence. This is not a mere fanciful analogy, suggested by the oft-observed resemblance between individual and national growth, but a part of that mysterious unity of design which runs through every part of the creation, and unites in one harmonious system the minutest object in the material, and the grandest revolutions in the moral world.

67. Nor is the reason difficult to be discerned which has led to the establishment of this moral law. Such is the surpassing force of the power which during this brief period is brought to bear on human affairs, and such the energy which during its continuance it communicates to mankind, that its long existence would prove inconsistent with the independent existence of nations. Democratic vigour, guided by aristocratic direction, is invincible. If to any nation were given, for a series of ages, the combined wisdom and energy of Rome, from the days of Hannibal to those of Gracchus, or of England, from those of Chatham to

those of Wellington, it would infallibly acquire the empire of the world. As Providence, therefore, in its wisdom, has established the diversity of nations, and allotted to each the performance of its appropriate part on the general theatre, it has wisely ordained that to none an immortal existence should be assigned; but that each, after its part has been performed, should be removed from the scene, and make way for its destined successors on the stage. National vanity, social partiality, may contest this progress, and contend on the principle of perfectibility for the perpetual endurance of particular communities. But experience gives no countenance to these ideas; and probably an attentive observer of the signs of the times in those nations where such expectations are most generally indulged, will discover no unequivocal indications of its approach to the common charnel-house of mortality.

68. Observation readily suggests the causes to which the invariable tendency to decay in human institutions is owing. In this, as in many other cases, we see the operation of the same principle in the path of private life as the general fate of nations. It is sin which has brought death to nations as well as individuals. It is the multiplication of selfish desires, artificial enjoyments, indolent or luxurious habits, consequent upon the increase of wealth and the long continuance of civilisation, which prove fatal to the virtue, patriotism, and self-denial which are essential to national prosperity. The thirst for riches comes to supersede every other desire. Patriotism itself yields to its vehemence.* "Wealth accumulates, and men decay." Opulence, from the incessant effort to augment it, grows up into immense masses, fatal to the virtue of its possessors, on the one hand; and indigence multiplies with fearful rapidity, destructive to public security, on the other. The great become covetous, the poor reckless. Selfish opulence ceases to be patriotic, destitute misery to be obedient. Grasp-

* "Εὐερέει δούλον δ' ὁ πλεῖστον, καὶ φιλοφύλον παῖον." EURIPIDES, *Phænomæna*, 606.

ing wealth starves the state, turbulent poverty fears not to overturn it: the nation becomes poor, its magnates rich. "Pro his hos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos nullum discrimen: omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet."† Happy the nation which sees in its internal condition none of the effects of greatness which Cato observed and Sallust has recorded! Such a state may anticipate prolonged, possibly immortal existence; but where are we to find it amidst the passions, the vices, and the follies of the world?

69. That the religion and institutions of modern times have given a much longer lease of life to the nations of Europe than were enjoyed by those of antiquity, must be obvious to the most superficial observer. In Asia, the vigour of the chief who seizes the diadem rarely descends to his successor who inherits it; and even the hardihood of a new race of northern conquerors is found, after a few generations, to be irrecoverably merged in the effeminacy of their subjects. Hence the extraordinary facility with which they are overturned, and the perpetual alternation of external conquest and internal corruption which marks every age of Asiatic history. In Europe, on the other hand, it is at once evident that a more durable order of things has been induced with the free spirit which, from the days of Agamemnon, seems to have been the distinctive mark of the race of Japhet. Though the seeds of evil are not less generally implanted in them than elsewhere among mankind, yet they are combated with a vigour, and counteracted by a salient principle of life unknown in any other quarter of the globe. This was apparent in the glorious achievements, immortal genius, and long duration of the Grecian and Italian republics; and it is still more conspicuous

* "Instead of these virtues, we have luxury and avarice: public want, private riches. We praise wealth, we follow indolence. All distinction ceases between the good and bad; ambition carries off all the rewards of virtue."
—SALLUST, *Catiline War*.

in the states of modern times, which have already attained, without any decisive symptoms of decrepitude, a length of existence exceeding that allotted even to the enduring fortitude of ancient Rome.

70. But nothing warrants the assertion that these superior powers of vitality have extinguished the seeds of mortality, or that the communities of Europe have attained such a degree of stability as to be able to defy alike the shock of external disaster and the mouldering of internal decay. The strife of faction, the growth of luxury, the private wealth, the public poverty, the selfishness of the few, the profligacy of the many, which were marked as the premonitory symptoms of decline in the states of antiquity, are equally conspicuous in modern times. The southern states of Europe appear to be irrevocably entangled in the meshes of private enjoyment; possibly the northern are not yet fully immersed, only because they were longer of tasting its sweets. There is more vigour in them, because energy is impressed on man by the rigours of the climate in which he dwells; but vigour alone will not insure national existence any more than it will individual prosperity. Everything depends on the direction which it takes. Turned to selfish ends, it will only accelerate the approach to public ruin. There is nothing in the civilisation around us which authorises either the belief or the wish that it should be perpetual. This may at least with confidence be affirmed, that length of life is given to us, equally as to our predecessors, just in proportion to the duration of public and private virtues; and that the only elixir of life which can be given to empires is to be found in the virtue and resolution of their inhabitants.

71. And this illustrates the final cause of a peculiarity in the condition of the species, which has long been the subject of mistake or lamentation. This is the universal prevalence of WAR among mankind. If the effect of this terrible scourge in itself be considered upon the immediate happiness or misery of the human race, it must

appear the most unmitigated evil which the justice or wrath of Heaven has let loose upon guilty men. If we reflect that its object is to train mankind up to mutual slaughter, and direct the whole energies and powers of the human mind to the destruction of the species, it is impossible to deny that it appears at first sight in no other light than a devastating evil. Philosophers and philanthropists, accordingly, have concurred from the earliest times in regarding it in this light—in deprecating mutual hostility and national passions as the most dreadful evils which can afflict the world, and earnestly endeavouring by all means in their power to diminish the frequency of this dreadful scourge of humanity. Sanguine hopes were entertained, at the commencement of the French Revolution, that a new era in this important particular had opened upon the species. It was expected that former contests, stimulated by the ambition of kings and the rivalry of ministers, would cease; and that, by the accession to power of the class who were the principal sufferers by hostilities, the disposition to wage them would at once be terminated. It had come to pass as a general axiom, that war was the consequence of monarchical and aristocratic governments, and would disappear with their removal; and general applause followed the humane sentiment of the poet—

“War is a game which, were the people wise,
Kings should not play at.”

72. But when the matter was put to the test, experience soon demonstrated, what had long been known to the few observers of historical facts, that these expectations were entirely illusory, and that not only was the tendency to war noways diminished, but it was fearfully increased by the augmentation of popular power. Angry passions, it was then found, came to agitate not only the rulers, but the masses of men; the interests of whole classes in one community were thought to be arrayed against those of the corresponding ones in another; and the “*multis utile bellum*” was found to meet with innume-

erable advocates in a period of revolutionary excitement and distress. Accordingly, the warlike propensities never appeared so strong as in the newly-emancipated French people; and the longest, the bloodiest, and the most devastating war recorded in modern annals, was the immediate consequence of the pacific dreams of the authors of their philosophic Revolution. Nor have these aggressive propensities been confined to the vehement passions of that dreadful convulsion. They have been not less conspicuous in other states, during periods of comparative repose. England, since the popular revolution of 1832, has advanced with accelerated steps, and with the entire concurrence of its inhabitants, in the career of Oriental conquest: Cabul and Nankin have seen its standards; the Ameers, the Sikhs have been subdued by its arms; Australia and New Zealand have become the seats of its colonisation. Amidst incessant declamations on the blessings of peace by the Transatlantic orators, the United States of America have entered on the path of foreign aggression with a fixity of purpose, and disregard of the rights of others, worthy to be placed beside the policy of the Roman conquerors of the world.* They have subdued the Mexicans, defrauded the English of Maine, stretched into Oregon, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and acquired in California treasures destined perhaps to effect a social revolution in the world. And the first effect of the French Revolution of 1848 was to light up the flames of war in every country of Europe; to superadd to the contests of interest, those of passion and race; to arm not only the National Guard against the Red Republican, but the Italian against the German, the Prussian against the Dane, the Bohemian against the Austrian, the Muscovite against the Magyar, and drench Europe

* Quincy Adams, in his speech in the Congress on the Oregon question, openly rested their alleged right to that territory on the Divine principle. “Replenish the earth, and subdue it.” This idea has been often felt before, but this was the first time it was ever announced as a vindication of conquest in a grave legislative assembly.

with blood, to be stayed only by the triumph of the aristocratic principle, at least in the first stage of the contest.

73. If this world were the final resting-place of man—if it were intended to be the seat of unbroken happiness, and the human mind was so innocent, and so deserving, as to be capable of enjoying unmixed felicity, such a marked and irretrievable tendency in human affairs might well be a subject of unmingled regret. But if the real condition of mankind be considered, and the necessity of suffering to the purification of the human heart taken into consideration, the reflecting observer will incline to a very different view of the matter. That war is an unbounded source of human suffering to those engaged in or affected by it, can be doubted by none; and if any were disposed to be sceptical on the subject, his hesitation would probably be removed by a consideration of the devastating campaigns that followed the French Revolution. But is not suffering necessary to the purification of the human heart? Is it not in that ordeal that its selfishness, its corruptions, and its stains are washed out? Have we not been told by the highest authority, that man is made perfect by suffering? Is not misfortune, anxiety, and distress, the severe but salutary school of individual improvement? And what is war, but anxiety, distress, and often anguish to nations?

74. Its great and lasting effect is, to counteract the concentration of human interests upon individual interests—to awaken the patriotic and generous affections—to rouse that general ardour which, spreading from breast to breast, obliterates for a time the selfishness of private ambition, and leads to the elevating admission of heroic feelings. Peace exhibits the enchanting prospect of rich fields, flourishing cities, spacious harbours, growing wealth, and undisturbed tranquillity; but beneath that smiling surface are to be found the rankest and most dangerous passions of the human breast. There it is that pleasure spreads its lures, and interest its attractions, and cupidity its selfishness. There are to be found the hard-

hearted master and the reckless servant, the princely landlord and the destitute tenant, the profligate husband and the faithless wife, "*et corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur.*"* The war of weapons ceases, but that of interest begins: the battle-field is no longer stained with blood; but, from the senate-house issue decrees, and from the ascendancy of a particular class in the state is dated a series of measures, which plunge every other class in hopeless difficulties, and in the end prove fatal to the fortunes of the state. With the triumph of the monied Roman patricians, began the misery of the plebeians and the decline of the empire; with the ascendancy of the English towns in the legislature, the most wide-spread suffering England has ever known.

———"I had hope
When violence had ceased, and War on earth,
All would have then gone well; peace would
have crown'd
With length of happy days the race of man:
But I was far deceived; for now I see
Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste."†

Amidst war are to be seen the ravaged field and the sacked city, the slaughtered multitude and famished group, the tear of the widow and the groans of the fatherless; but amidst all that scene of unutterable woe, the generous and noble affections often acquire extraordinary force. Selfishness gives place to patriotism, cupidity to disinterestedness, luxury to self-denial, and heroic virtue arises out of the extremity of suffering. Even the poignancy of individual distress is alleviated by the numbers who simultaneously share it. Misery ceases to be overwhelming when it is no longer solitary; individual loss is drowned in the feeling of common sympathy. Peace may give men a larger share of the enjoyments and comforts of this world, but war often renders them fitter for a future state of existence; and it is by the alternation of both that they are best fitted for the duties of the one, and the destiny of the other.

* "And to corrupt, and be corrupted, is called the manners of the age."—TACITUS, *de Moribus Germanorum*.

† *Paradise Lost*, xi: 789.

75. Whoever has surveyed, either in the annals of mankind or in the observation of society around him, the effects of peace, opulence, and long-continued prosperity upon human character, and the heroic virtues which are called forth in mankind by the arrival of times pregnant with disaster and alarm, will probably have little doubt of the truth of these observations. But they are demonstrated in a way that must bring conviction home to the most incredulous, by the result of the wars of the French Revolution. At the commencement of the period, selfishness, irresolution, and cupidity distinguished all the measures of cabinets; languor, inactivity, and proneness to delusion, characterised the people; mildness and toleration were daily becoming more prevalent in the administration of government; and a general pacific spirit characterised the age. Thence it was that Gibbon then lamented that the world would never again see the vast convulsions, the moving incidents which had occurred in ancient times, and which furnished so many subjects for the immortal historic pencils of Greece and Rome. But amidst all this seeming philanthropy and happiness, selfishness, that grand source of human corruption, was daily extending its influence through every rank; and the human mind, enervated by repose, was losing its manly virtues amidst the unbroken spread of enjoyments. We may judge of the subtle poison which was then debasing European society, and especially the boasted centre of its civilisation in France, from the corresponding evils which we now, from a similar cause, see around us. And the effect of it appeared in the clearest manner in the measures alike of government and the people over all Europe; for self-aggrandisement and selfishness characterised them all.

76. The selfishness of the French aristocracy first induced the evils which brought about the Revolution; the selfishness of the privileged classes postponed till it was too late that equalisation of public burdens which might have averted its evils; the selfishness of the Church impeded that

just and beneficent spread of religious institutions, which could alone have combated its horrors. Nor was the influence of the same evil principle less evident in the conduct of all the nations who were successively called into the field to combat the powers of wickedness. Great Britain, from a selfish passion for economy in her people, was in the beginning powerless at land to maintain the conflict: the forces she did put forth were wasted in the prosecution of "British objects" at Dunkirk, when they might, by co-operating with the Allies, have marched to Paris, and crushed the hydra in its cradle. Prussia starved the war on the Rhine, and at length withdrew from the alliance, to prosecute her schemes of ambition, and secure her ill-gotten gains in Poland. Austria abandoned Flanders, the gate of Europe, to France, in order to concentrate her forces in Italy, and obtain in the spoliation of Venice a compensation for the surrender of Belgium. Russia halted her armies on the Vistula, and stained her standards by the massacre at Warsaw, when they might have been ennobled by the capture of Paris. In all these instances, each of which singly was attended with disastrous effects to the cause of freedom, and which, taken together, induced unheard-of calamities, it was the selfish interest of the different classes of society or nations who were successively called on to make sacrifices for the public good, which was the secret spring that induced the evil. And such is ever the tendency of man in prosperous and pacific times.

77. Turn now to the deeds of heroism and disinterestedness which have for ever signalised the annals of the French Revolution, and say whether or not it is good for nations, as well as individuals, to be in affliction. Where was the selfishness of the French nobility when they were led out to the scaffold by the Jacobins? where the corruptions of the court when Louis XVI. was immured in the Temple? Can the annals of humanity boast more glorious deeds of devotion, heroism, and magnanimity, than were exhibited

even by the corrupted circles of Paris during the Reign of Terror, or by the clergy of France, both dignified and rural, in the days of their suffering? What would the democratic party over the world give to be able to tear the deathless pages of *La Vendée* out of the volumes of history? The selfishness of Prussia, punished by the disaster of Jena and six years of bondage, was gloriously expiated by the resurrection of 1813 and the triumph of the Katzbach; the ambition of Russia by the carnage of Borodino and the devotion of Leipsic. Can peace, with all its charities, produce so sublime an instance of generous spirit as that which fired the torches of Moscow? or so illustrious an example of patriotic fervour as manned the ramparts of Saragossa? Well might the Jacobins call their dread instrument "the holy guillotine;" for what sublime virtues has it brought to light!

78. Even nations the most calculating, and empires the most stable, caught the generous flame, and were in the end dignified by deeds of heroism, to which nothing superior is to be found in the annals of mankind. Who could recognise the tenacious rule of the Austrian aristocracy in the devotion of Aspern, or the money-seeking German mountaineer in the enthusiasm of the Tyrol? If Great Britain blasted the prospects of European deliverance by the niggardly parsimony of former times, which paralysed her efforts in the commencement of the war, and the selfish direction which she so long gave to her efforts, she washed out her national sins by suffering; and the annals of the world cannot present so glorious an example of generous ardour and persevering constancy, as was exhibited by all classes in the British Islands before its termination. Thus, while the subtle poison of human corruption spreads with fatal rapidity during the tranquillity and enjoyment of peace, the manly feelings, the generous affections, are nursed amidst the tumult and horrors of war. And although the actual agents in it may become habituated to bloodshed and rapine, a compensation, and more than a compensa-

tion, arises in the noble and disinterested feelings which are often generally drawn forth in the community. Perpetual war would transform men into beasts of prey—perpetual peace reduce them to beasts of burden: the alternation of both is indispensable to the mixed tendencies to good and evil which exist in mankind. Mutual slaughter may be dispensed with when the seeds of corruption are extirpated from the human breast, but not till then.

79. It is observed by Montesquieu, that the great peculiarity of the physical conformation of Asia is, that the steppes or deserts, which must for ever form the abode only of pastoral nations, are brought into close proximity with the alluvial plains, which speedily become the scenes of agricultural riches and the abode of commercial opulence; and that this is the true reason of the violent revolutions, not merely of dynasties but of empires, which in every age have distinguished the history of that great portion of the globe. There can be no doubt that the observation is well founded; and it may be added, that another peculiarity, not less important, is to be found in the vast extent of those pastoral districts, and the consequent facility of transporting large bodies of men from one part of the continent to another, how distant soever. The nomad race, wandering with their flocks and herds over boundless plains covered with grass, meet with no impediment to their progress from the banks of the Amour to those of the Volga. Life is spent in travelling: continents are almost unconsciously traversed in the search of daily food. Subsistence is everywhere found, for it lies beneath their feet. This circumstance at once provides for the easy dispersion of the pastoral tribes of mankind, even from the confines of China to the shores of the Atlantic, in early ages, and the occasional accumulation of their armed forces, under popular leaders, at later times, in such multitudes, and animated with such fervour, as to be altogether irresistible. And at the same time it perpetually preserves, at the very edge of civilisation, an armed force, an energetic will,

capable, when its action is required, of regenerating, by subduing, their richer and therefore more corrupted neighbours.

80. Europe and America, again, have an entirely different physical conformation. No arid deserts there retain the children of Japhet, in every successive generation, in the rude habits and mingled virtues and vices of their fathers; no table-lands or boundless steppes bring the warriors of the desert into close proximity with the cities of the plain, or the riches and vices of civilisation. The level face of the greater part of the country renders it susceptible of the labour of agriculture; mineral riches at once invite and reward the toils of the artisan: the deep indentations of the coast, and numerous inland seas, let in, to the very heart of the continents, the wealth and interests of commerce. The savage exists, but he is only the feeble and isolated hunter of the forest, who flies and perishes before the advance of civilisation. External danger, therefore, is comparatively unknown: the riches of civilisation need no longer fear the rapine of the desert; the contests of nations lead only to mutual improvement in the military art, and a more decided superiority over the other families of mankind. Boundless facilities for the multiplication and extension of this race are afforded; and the race of Japhet can securely perform its destined mission of overspreading and subduing the earth. The forest impedes the migration of them in early, the labours of agriculture, or the arts, retain them in their homes, in later times. But Providence had not been unmindful of the necessity of regeneration by suffering, which for ever attaches to the corrupt nature of man. Contests are provided; the means of restoring energy, of combating selfishness, are prepared. But they are suited to the stationary abode, and yet advancing civilisation of the species. They are found not in the horrors of foreign conquest, but the vehemence of internal contention; they spring not from the passions of the tent, but those of the forum.

81. It was not without a deep and prophetic insight into the future progress of the species, that this different conformation was given to the Asiatic and European continents. Had the case been reversed—had European industry and civilisation existed close to the Asiatic steppes, and Asiatic wealth and corruption been sheltered from invasion by the European or American forests, the progress of the species would have been rendered impossible. The expansive energy and enduring constancy of the race of Japhet, would have been swept away, ere they acquired strength, by the sabres of the children of Shem; the guilty capitals of Babylon and Nineveh would have permanently debased the race of men by their pleasures and effeminacy. But the foreseeing wisdom of Providence had provided, anterior to the creation of man, not only the seats for his species, but the necessary means of correcting its vices. The energy of the desert for ever stands in the midst of Asiatic opulence, to punish at the appointed season its corruptions, and regenerate its possessors by the infusion of hardy blood: the energy of democracy for ever dwells in the bosom of European society, to purify its vices in the school of suffering, and diffuse its powerful off-shoots through the remotest regions of the earth. The means of rapid and general migration are given to the first in the infancy, to the latter in the maturity of civilisation: to the former, the steppe, the camel, the Arab steed—to the latter, the sail, the ocean, the steam-ship. The migratory passions spring up at the same periods: in the East they were coeval with Abraham—in the West they acquired their full intensity in that of Watt.

82. Historians in all ages have exerted their powers in painting the dreadful devastations produced by the periodical irruptions of the Tartar tribes into the smiling plains of southern Asia; the pyramids of heads which marked where their sabres had been, and the sack, conflagration, and ruin, which have ever attended their footsteps. But, admitting the terrible nature of the whirlwinds which have

thus passed over the earth, it is the height of error to consider them as pernicious in their *ultimate* effects. They resemble the tempest, which is often necessary to restore the purity of the physical atmosphere, of the wintry storms which clear away the decayed riches of summer vegetation; and, accordingly, it was ever under the powerful though transient vigour of northern dynasties that society under the Asiatic rule has risen to greatness, or passing felicity been communicated to mankind. All its great nations—the Medes, the Persians, the Assyrians, the Parthians, the Mongols—have sprung from the intermixture of barbarian energy with civilised opulence; and when greatness had corrupted even the majesty of Rome, “the giants of the north,” in Gibbon’s words, “broke in and amended the puny breed.”

83. Either a physical or moral regeneration seems necessary in the later stages of civilised life in all countries; if no means for producing the former, from internal energy or virtue, exist, the latter is necessary. And the reflecting observer, who has witnessed the innumerable corruptions which have followed in the wake of riches and long-established civilisation, even with all the means of combating them which a purer religion and the free spirit of Europe have afforded in modern times, will probably hesitate to characterise even the inroads of Timur or Genghis Khan as unmixed evil, and doubt whether they are not the severe but necessary means of purifying and reforming mankind, when corrupted by the vices of a society which has no salient and living principle of energy within its own bosom. It is the existence of this spirit which essentially distinguishes, and has ever distinguished, European from Asiatic society, and perhaps rendered unnecessary, and certainly less frequent, in the nations of its family, the awful catastrophes which have always in the East preceded the regeneration of nations. Europe has, and has ever had, its commotions, and often have they terminated in bloodshed, devastation, and ruin. But they

have in general proceeded, not from external conquest, but internal energy; the moving principle which has occasioned them has been not the lust of foreign rapine, but the passion for internal power.

84. The annals of the French Revolution, and the wars to which it has given rise in Europe, may well suggest a doubt whether the latter principle is not sometimes productive, at the time, of devastation as widespread, and misery as acute, as the most terrible inroads of barbarian power. But the effect of it has been to revive the energy of the species from the restoration of internal strength, not the infusion of extraneous valour; and it brings hardy poverty into action, not from the fields of northern conquest, but from the workshop of laborious industry. Whoever has studied the working of the democratic principle in human affairs, cannot entertain a doubt that, with whatever evils it may be followed when it acquires the mastery of the other interests of society, it is at least attended with this important effect—that it produces a degree of energy in all classes, while it subsists in vigour and is duly coerced, to which there is nothing comparable under other forms of government; and that it infuses the elements of strength and vitality into the social system, to such a degree as to prolong, to a period much beyond that assigned to it in ancient times, the life of nations.

85. But it is not only its effect upon the social system, within the state, that democracy is one of the most important elements which works out the progress of the moral world and general government of Providence. Consequences equally important, and still more lasting in their effects, flow from its tendency to produce the dispersion of mankind. It is in truth the great *expansive power* of nature. Under various forms, it has produced the chief migrations and settlements which have occurred in the history of the species. The Cimbric, the Celts, and the Goths, who at successive periods, commencing with the first dawn of authentic profane history, spread

from central Asia to the furthest extremities of Europe, were impelled from their native seats by this insatiable passion. Equality appeared even in the days of Tacitus in the woods of Germany; and the free spirit of our Gothic ancestors has produced the whole peculiar features and glories of modern society. In Southern Europe it has appeared in a different but not less important character. Spreading there, not from the energy of the desert, but the turbulence of the forum, it diffused the republican colonies of Greece, Tyre, and Carthage over the whole shores of the Mediterranean. Rome itself sprang in its infancy from emigrants; enterprise was nourished in its maturity by colonial wealth; and its extension around the shores of that inland sea, clearly demonstrates from what element the strength of the empire had been derived.

86. In modern times the marvels of this expansive power have been not less conspicuous. From the republics of Genoa and Venice, the democratic spirit again penetrated, with their mercantile establishments, as far as the waters of the Mediterranean extend; from the shores of Holland it drove an industrious brood into the Eastern archipelago; with the fervour of the Puritans it planted the Anglo-Saxon race in a new hemisphere; in the wilds of America, it unceasingly impels the hardy woodsman into the solitudes of the Far West. England itself is now in the midst of a similar partition. Amidst the mingled wealth and misery, glory and shame, hope and disappointment of the last fifteen years, above a hundred thousand active citizens have annually migrated from the British Isles* to the western or southern hemi-

spheres. Their numbers, amidst the disastrous changes which began in 1846, have come to exceed two hundred and fifty thousand annually. Attempted political regeneration, producing terror in some classes, disappointment in others, restlessness in all, has greatly strengthened this inherent tendency; and the augmented vehemence of the democratic action in the heart of the empire has uniformly appeared in an enlarged stream of ardent emigrants, which it has sent forth to people the distant places of the earth. Great Britain may well be in travail; for a new world is springing from her loins.

87. The manner in which the democratic spirit brings about this transplantation of the human race is very apparent. It is the combination of visions of perfectibility with realities of degradation, which effects the object. The mind, warmed by boundless anticipations of elevation and improvement to be effected by social or political innovation, feels insupportable disappointment at the failure of its long-cherished projects, and the increasing indigence and profligacy of the great body of mankind, amidst all the efforts made for their elevation. In disgust, numbers leave the abode of ancient corruption, and seek the realisation of their visions amidst the supposed innocence of early society, and the real advantages of plentiful employment. A general passion for change seizes all classes; and such anticipations are formed, and often realised of the advantage to be derived from a change of situation, as effectually extinguishes in great numbers the love of home, in other circumstances one of the strongest affections of the human heart. It is this principle which, in every age, has prompted civilised men to forego all the pleasures of home and kindred, to sever all the bonds of filial or patriotic love, and seek in distant lands those means of elevation which the contracted sphere of their native seats will not afford. The love of power, the desire of distinction, the passion for wealth, envy of superiors, jealousy of equals, contempt of inferiors, com-

* Emigrants from British Isles:—

1839	63,207
1840	90,743
1841	118,302
1842	128,344
1843	87,212
1844	70,066
1845	93,501
1846	129,851
1847	258,451
1848	248,602

—FORBES'S *Parl. Tables*, and *Parl. Return*, 26th July 1849.

bine, in these circumstances, to raise such a tempest in the human breast, as roots man up from his native seats, obliterates his oldest recollections, extinguishes his strongest attachments, and sends forth the burning enthusiast, ardent for the equality of rights and the regeneration of society, into distant lands—where his expectations are too often blasted by the stern realities of his new situation, but from whence return is impossible—where he plants his seed in the soil, and leaves behind him in the wilderness the foundation of an extended and prosperous society.

88. As democracy and the lust of conquest are the moving; so aristocracy and attachment to property are the steadying powers of nature. Without some counterbalancing weight to restrain and regulate the violence of this expansive force—this moral steam-power—it would tear society in pieces, and counteract by its explosion the whole ends of the social union. This counteracting weight is found in the influence of property, and the desires with which it is attended. The habits it induces, the foresight and self-denial which it awakens, the local attachments to which it gives rise, constitute the regulating weight of nature, and the great counterpoise to the moving power of democracy. It is in the moral, what the weight of the superincumbent ocean is to the expansive power of central heat in the physical world. Society appears in its most favourable form, the progress of improvement is swiftest, the steps of the human race are the greatest, when the energy of the moving and expanding is duly regulated by the steadying and controlling power. To restrain it altogether is often impossible, always pernicious; to give it free scope is to expose society to ruin, and defeat the very objects for which this restless desire was implanted in the human breast. Its due direction and effectual regulation is the great desideratum.

89. At particular periods, and by a mysterious agency, extraordinary force is communicated to the moving power.

A desire for change becomes universal; old and important interests are overthrown; society at home is convulsed; the human race is violently impelled abroad, either in the channels of pacific colonisation or the inroads of ruthless conquest; and, in a short time, a vast change in the condition and destinies of mankind is effected. But such violent ebullitions are generally of short duration. The explosion of revolution, though often as devastating in its course, is as brief in its endurance as the eruption of the volcano; and the central heat, according as it is, or is not, regulated by the direction of property, and restrained by the principles of religion, becomes the beneficent central force which impels light and civilisation to the desert places of the earth, or the source of the fiery lava, which, after consuming whatever it has touched, is itself cooled down by external influence, and leaves a track which can be discerned only by the foul devastation which it has made.

90. As these opposing forces are the great agents, the counteracting forces which regulate the general progress of mankind, so their influence is not less important and conspicuous in the bosom of every separate society. Save in the Asiatic communities, where everything has been from time immemorial by universal consent referred to the will of one man, they have generally in every age more or less distracted the different families of men. The internal dissensions, whether religious or civil, which for the last three centuries have so frequently disturbed European society, and often by their violence produced the most dreadful calamities, have been nothing but the conflict, under different forms, and sometimes different banners, of these antagonist principles. The theory of a balance of power in the state, and of the different interests of society mutually checking and counteracting each other, so specious in theory, so inestimable in practice, is nothing but the attempt to methodise and reduce to a bloodless system of hostility this ceaseless conflict of thought and interests.

Various methods have been devised for this purpose, which in some instances have for a season, generally brief, been attended with success. But time has proved fatal to them all. Universally it has been found impracticable to preserve the balance through a series of ages. A prolonged drawn battle is impossible. Either the expansive force has been crushed under the superincumbent weight of property, or its rights have been set at naught by the vehement desires and incessant aggression of an ambitious democracy. In either case the result is the same—the weakening of the vital principle, and final extinction of the life of nations.

91. Since the representative system has been generally adopted in the free states of the modern world, and it has been found that supreme power is practically vested in a majority of its members, the contest of the opposing power has been mainly carried on in the efforts made to obtain the nomination of such a majority. Once that vantage-ground is gained, it is easily seen all the rest is a comparatively easy acquisition. The old English constitution, by means of its varied representation, preserved the seeming balance longer than any other which has yet arisen among men. But in reality it was the government of property, veiled under popular forms, and watched by a vigilant and fearless democracy. The counties and rural burghs secured the influence of landed estates; the close and venal let in by purchase the interests of colonies and commercial wealth; a few safety-valves were preserved in the seats for great cities, for the noisy and ambitious multitude. But since a uniform system of representation has been established by the revolution of 1832, and the great increase of mercantile wealth from the long continuance of peace, this balance has been entirely subverted.

92. This appears in the clearest manner in the direction which legislation has taken since that event. Indirect taxation, which reaches all, has been to a great extent abandoned, and direct, levied entirely from a comparatively small number, substituted in its place;

colonial property has been destroyed as by the scythe of revolution in the West Indies; and under the specious name of free trade, the bond which held together the varied parts of the empire has been dissolved by the general abandonment of protection to domestic industry in all its parts. This all flowed from supreme power being vested in a million of electors wholly confined to the British Islands, three-fifths of whom were represented by burgh members. In France, on the other hand, where supreme power has been, since the Restoration, under every dynasty, confined, from the experience of a revolution, to less than one hundred and fifty thousand electors, the bulwarks of general liberty have been practically destroyed, and the government has become the despotic agent of an urban oligarchy, the great object of which is the preservation of property. In the one country the legislature, from its wide basis, has become the expression of the general wish of the urban consumers; in the other, from its narrow, of the urban producers. In both, all considerations of the general interest have been lost sight of in the rule of a particular class, in whom supreme power had become practically vested. And this affords another illustration of the truth of Sir James Mackintosh's observation, that a uniform representation is but another name for class government; and that under such a system, the inevitable result in an old community is, that the scattered and tranquil rural electors fall under the management, or are overcome by the activity, of the concentrated and wealthy urban ones.

93. The Roman constitution in early times, which gave all the people votes, but that only in separate centuries, in which they were classed according to their respective contributions to the public service, is perhaps the nearest approach which human wisdom has ever made to a just and perfect system of representation. It combined the two great objects of constitutional government, the representation of numbers and property. Accordingly, like every other institution which imposes

an effectual restraint on human ambition, it became the object of vehement and impassioned hostility. The multitude, who desired to reduce government to a mere question of numerical majority, never ceased to assail it, till by the introduction of voting by tribes—that is, by head without any regard to property—they had acquired the practical government of the state, and brought in Marius and Cæsar as their leaders, and the unintended instruments of their punishment. Nevertheless it was founded on the free principle of constitutional government, that supreme power should be vested in the combined representation of property and numbers, and the hostility to it arose from that very cause.

94. Universal suffrage is not the greatest evil in society, nor the most to be dreaded. On the contrary, there is much to be said on principle in its favour; for, as nearly all contribute something to the public service, all have a fair claim to some share in its government. It is *equality* of suffrage which is the real leveller and destroyer of society. The principle should be constantly inculcated, that political influence should be enjoyed in proportion to every one's contribution to the public service. The poor man who contributes his share of the indirect taxes by spending thirty pounds a-year, has a fair claim to a vote; but he has no claim to *as many votes* as the merchant who makes three, or the nobleman who spends thirty thousand a-year. A system of representation which should give every male above twenty-one, not a pauper, a vote, and gives in addition a vote to every man possessing more than thirty pounds a-year, for every pound of direct taxes he paid, would satisfy the just demands of the poor, and probably not endanger the property of the rich. But on that very account it is not likely ever to be advocated by either of the parties which divide society, and, if established, is certain, from the just restraint it would impose on the selfish desires of both, to be of very brief endurance.

95. The external balance of nature in the physical world is almost entirely

preserved by the counteracting impulse of opposite forces, either acting simultaneously, or mutually succeeding when their separate agency is required. It is the same in the moral world: action and reaction is the universal law of human affairs, and the chief instrument of the divine government of men. In the Asiatic empires, as there is no internal spring giving rise to this alteration, it is provided for by foreign conquests. In Europe, at least in modern times, the source of it is found in the prevailing impulse which, under opposite circumstances, is communicated to different classes of mankind. The provision made for this in the original constitution of man consists in two principles, which will be found to be of universal application,—viz. that the great bulk of men blindly follow any impulse which is communicated to them by minds of superior intelligence, or the force of individual interest; and that really original thinkers, the lights of their own, the rulers of the next age, almost invariably exert their powers in direct *opposition* to the prevailing evils with which they are surrounded.

96. Hence it is that the strong intellects in a despotic community are almost always loud in praise of popular institutions and the principles of self-government, and those in democratic states equally decided in support of the principles of order and the control of property; that freedom of opinion constituted the grand deliverance for which the religious Reformers of the sixteenth century contended; and unity of religious faith has become the object of devout aspiration in the nineteenth. The reason is obvious. Creative minds in both periods were impressed with the evils with which they were brought in contact; and in both, instead of yielding, strove to counteract them. The great majority in every age go with the stream, and flatter themselves they are enlightened when they are merely impregnated with the mental atmosphere with which they are surrounded. The reflecting few at once break off from the multitude, and for good or for evil, think for themselves; and in the end give a new direction to the current

of thought. A generation must, in general, descend to its grave before the conversion takes place: but, though slow, the effect is not the less certain. "Show me what one or two great men in the solitude of their chambers are thinking in this age, and I will show you what will be the theme of the orator, the vision of the poet, the staple of the hustings, the declamation of the press, the guide of the statesman in the next."

97. The two great convulsions of modern times, the religious Reformation and French Revolution, demonstrate in the clearest manner the agency of the opposite powers of action and reaction on general thought, and, through it, on the fate of nations. When the Roman Catholic church, strong in the consciousness of universal power, and tainted by the belief of supposed infallibility, revolted the growing intelligence of mankind by the open prostitution and sale of indulgences, the giant strength of Luther arose, and, Samson-like, threw down the pillars of the corrupted edifice. The Protestant nations fondly anticipated the total destruction of the papal power from the shock, and the rapid progress of the Reformation at its commencement seemed in a great measure to justify the expectation. But human passion and ambition, as usual in such cases, got possession of the stream. Crimes and violence were committed by the popular party; extravagance deformed, dissension weakened their cause: intellect and interest combined their efforts to resist it; the torrent was rolled back in southern Europe as rapidly as it had advanced; and, for two subsequent centuries, the frontiers of the opposite opinions have been observed in northern Christendom, without any sensible advantage being gained on either side.*

98. The abuses of the Romish church, the selfishness of the noblesse, the extravagance of the monarchy, induced, in a subsequent age, the terrible convulsion of the French Revolution. The

force of genius, the powers of intellect, the weapons of ridicule, were directed for half a century to the emancipation of thought; and an interminable era of progress and felicity was anticipated, from the liberation of mankind from the fetters which had hitherto restrained and directed them. Here again, however, human wickedness soon obtained the mastery of the current. Selfishness, ambition, rapacity, veiled under the successive names of liberty, patriotism, and glory, directed the movement: Europe was deluged with blood; the original devil was expelled, but straightway he returned with seven other devils more wicked than himself, and the last state of that nation was worse than the first. Humanity sank and wept in silence, philanthropy trembled for the prospects of the race during that long night of suffering; but all this time the salient energy of thought was unceasingly in activity. Reaction arose out of suffering, heroism out of calamity; and the successive overthrow of the democracy of France and the power of Napoleon has afforded an eternal monument at once of the justice of the divine administration, and the system in human affairs by which, through the acts of free agents, the mighty deliverance was accomplished.

99. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the chief remote cause of the French Revolution; and the terrible evils it brought upon the nobility and the government, the natural consequence and just retribution of that atrocious act of religious oppression. Though the overthrow of the aristocracy was the grand object, when the contest was fairly engaged, to which the popular efforts were turned, it was not there that the revolutionary passion commenced, nor was it to a liberation from temporal restraints that the first advances of thought were directed. It was spiritual dominion which was the real incubus sought to be thrown off; it was the fetters of the church which intellect strove to strike from the human soul. In the writings of Voltaire, there is little to be found on change of institutions, amendment of laws, the blessings of self-government; but much

* See RANKEN'S *History of the Popes*, and Macaulay's able Review of it (*Miscellaneous Essays*).

on spiritual tyranny, the art of priests, the benightment of superstition. Even Rousseau was not a political reformer; his visions of perfectibility and the social contract had no practical bearing on existing institutions; it was still the chains of the Roman Catholic church which he endeavoured to remove, by the antagonist principle of original and primeval innocence.

100. Whence was it that these giants of thought so vehemently directed their efforts against a religion which in England had so long been supported by the greatest and most profound intellects? Simply because the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, while it sent five hundred thousand innocent citizens into exile, had removed all restraint on the established church in France; because spiritual tyranny had in consequence become insupportable, and spiritual intolerance universal; because religion, confident in the support of government, had disdained the aid of intellect: and patrician selfishness, engrossed with self-aggrandisement, had seized upon the church as its own appanage, instead of the patrimony of the poor. These evils not only were the principal circumstances which originally stirred up the mental ferment which brought about the Revolution, but they paralysed the only power which could successfully combat it; for they deprived order of the aid of principle, religion of the support of mind, and the poor of the only bond which could unite them with property.

101. The ultimate danger which threatens France, and every country that embraces revolutionary principles, is the annihilation of the only elements out of which a durable free constitution can be constructed. Little as this peril may be considered by the popular party in the days of their success, it is by far the most durable evil with which they have to contend; and it may safely be affirmed that their complete triumph renders it irremediable. It is this which has rendered the formation of a free constitution impossible in that great country, and blasted the whole objects for which the popular party so long and strenu-

ously contended. There are but two ways by which mankind in the long-run can be governed,—by the influence of property, or the will of a sovereign: the third method, so much the object of desire to the advocates of democracy all the world over,—viz. by self-government,—is soon found to be impracticable. The difficulty which proves fatal to it is the impossibility of getting proper functionaries elected by the multitude, and the ungovernable passions which spring up in the human heart with the enjoyment of uncontrolled power. But if property has been destroyed by previous convulsions, and the influence of aristocracy in consequence is at an end, there remains no alternative but the appointment to all offices, and the entire direction of affairs, by the executive. This was what took place in Rome from the destruction of the old patricians during the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, and in France from the confiscations of the Revolution; and, accordingly, the frame of subsequent government which necessity imposed upon both these countries has been extremely similar, and has remained unaltered through every subsequent change of dynasty. The institutions of the Roman Emperors are substantially the same as those of Napoleon's government; and the great body of the French people, since the termination of democratic rule in 1795, have never, except during the weakness of the Restoration, or a few hours of the revolt of the Barricades, enjoyed a larger practical direction of affairs than the populace did in ancient times in the Byzantine empire. The establishment of universal suffrage, by the Revolution of 1848, will make in the end no real difference: the votes of the country will be directed by the thought of the towns.

102. The consequences flowing from the substitution of the government of functionaries for that of property, deserve the serious consideration of every reflecting mind; because it is the evident issue in which the revolutionary fervour of modern Europe is to terminate. Experience has now abundantly

proved, what reason *a priori* might have anticipated, that the unavoidable effect of the overthrow of the influence of property is, after a brief period, during which the theory of self-government is weighed in the balance and found wanting, to establish universally the system of government functionaries. That this system is productive of a much more regular and orderly, and, in some respects, beneficial administration, than any modification of popular election, is evident from this consideration, that all nations have taken refuge in it, after a short experience of the evils of real self-government. But it is by no means equally apparent that it is as favourable to the development of mental energy, or the training of the human mind to its highest character or its noblest duties.

103. Government functionaries are, all stamped with one image and superscription; they all move, like automata, by the direction of one hand. Original thought, independence of character, are unknown among them. Government is ever jealous of genius; "for, if weak, it is a power which it fears; if strong, a liberty which it dislikes."* That such public servants are, in general, in the highest degree useful, nay, that they are often more serviceable in their several departments than those whose more lofty qualifications render them less manageable, may at once be admitted. But what is the destiny of a nation which has the easy meshes of a vast net of government functionaries thrown around it, and in which original thought in all departments is chilled, if not extinguished, by the certainty of neglect? Prussia and France—in the former of which monarchies the whole system, not merely of government, but of education, both civil and religious, is in the hands of the *employés* of administration; while in the latter, a hundred and thirty-eight thousand civil functionaries, appointed by the Tuileries, carry on the whole internal direction of the state,—may convince us how vast a machine for the government of mankind is provided in

such a state of society; and how inextricable may be the fetters of a despotism which, instead of opposing the spread of education or injuring the security of property, carefully supports the former and maintains the latter, and strives only to confine the attention of the people to their private affairs, by at once guiding their thoughts and attending to their interests†

104. Good government depends upon the due intermixture, in public functionaries, of government appointment, aristocratic influence, and popular control. Irreparable evil is only to be apprehended when one of these interests has destroyed the others: for so long as the interests remain entire, they will, in the end, force their way into a due share in the direction of affairs. But when, by the triumph of democracy, the aristocracy is destroyed, or by the victory of aristocracy the democracy is overthrown, or by the dexterity of the crown both are debased, the balance essential to good government is at an end, and it becomes impossible to preserve the equipoise of freedom. It is by the destruction of the property of the aristocracy, and consequent ruin of their influence, either by actual violence or the pacific working of equal succession, that this lamentable change is most certainly effected; and accordingly Montesquieu long ago observed, that the most durable and debasing despotisms recorded in history, have arisen upon the succeeding of a monarch to a successful revolution.† Hence it is that democratic ambition—the most keen and searching element which is known in society, productive of so much good when duly coerced, of such irreparable evil when unrestrained—will ever be the object of such jealousy and apprehension to the real friends of liberty. For in its triumphs the far-seeing mind anticipates the destruction of the very elements of freedom, and the enclosing the whole energies of the

† "There is no authority more absolute than that of the Prince who succeeds the Republic; for he finds himself possessed of all the power of the people, who had not themselves been able to restrain themselves."—*De la Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. 15.

* CHATEAUBRIAND, *Etudes Hist.* i. 166. *Rapports*, ii. 166.

human mind in the inextinguishable fetters of a centralised despotism.

105. The great sin of the Reformation was the confiscation of so large a portion of the property of the church for the aggrandisement of temporal ambition, and the enriching of the nobility who had taken a part in the struggle. When that convulsion broke out, nearly a third of the whole landed estates in the countries which it embraced, was in the hands of the regular or parochial clergy of the Roman Catholic church. What a noble fund was this for the moral and religious instruction of the people, for the promulgation of truth, the healing of sickness, the relief of pauperism, the assuaging of suffering! Had it been kept together, and set apart for such sacred purposes, what incalculable and never-ending blessings would it have conferred upon society! Expanding and increasing with the growth of population, the augmentation of wealth, the swell of poverty, it would have kept the instruction and fortunes of the poor abreast of the progress and fortunes of society, hindered the poor from falling as an oppressive burden on the fruits of industry, and prevented, in a great measure, that fatal effect, so well known in Great Britain in subsequent times, of the national church falling behind the wants of the inhabitants, and a mass of civilised heathenism arising in the very heart of a Christian land.

106. Almost all the social evils under which Great Britain is now labouring, may be traced to this fatal and most iniquitous spoliation, under the mask of religion, of the patrimony of the poor, on occasion of the Reformation. But for that robbery, the state would have been possessed of lands amply sufficient to have extended its religious instruction for any possible increase of the people; to have superseded the necessity of any assessment for parochial relief, or general instruction; and to have provided, without burdening any one, for the whole spiritual and temporal wants of the community. When we reflect on the magnitude of the injustice committed by the temporal nobility in the seizure

at that period of so large a portion of the funds of the church, and observe how completely all the evils which now threaten the social system in Great Britain would have been obviated if that noble patrimony had still been preserved for the poor, it is impossible to avoid feeling that we too are subject to the same just dispensation which has doomed France to oriental slavery for the enormous sins of its Revolution; and that, if our punishment is not equally severe, it is only because the confiscation of the Reformation was not so complete, nor the inroads on property so irretrievable.

107. The great sin of the French Revolution was the confiscation of the estates of the church and the aristocracy: it is that which has produced effects which can never be repaired. It is commonly said, indeed, in regard to individual violence, that restitution can be made of property, but who can restore human life? But the aphorism does not hold good in communities. Wasted life is repaired by the vivifying powers of nature, but divided property can never be restored. A new generation will supply the place of that which has been destroyed; new smiles will arise on young cheeks, and banish the tears of former days. But who can replace ancient possessions alienated, colossal estates divided, old influences extinguished? The transference of property, and with it political influence, to a different class of society, supplants the old by new dominant powers; another balance is thus induced in the state, unalterable save by a fresh revolution. Power never yet was yielded up but to force. Had Cromwell confiscated the estates of the church and divided those of the nobility, the whole subsequent history of England would have been changed; for how could our tempered constitution have existed without political weight attached to property, and religious impressions prevalent among numbers? The great moral lesson to be deduced from every page of the French Revolution is, that the destruction of these classes by the early triumphs and unbridled excesses of the democratic party, has proved for

ever fatal to the reconstruction of freedom, by destroying at once the moral influence which might supersede the necessity of despotism, and the balance of power which might restrain its excesses.

108. This is but another example of the all-important truth, which a right consideration of history so uniformly demonstrates, that communities and nations are subject to moral laws; and that, although inconsiderable deviations from rectitude may be overlooked as unavoidable by humanity, yet outrageous sin and irreparable evil never fail to bring upon their authors, or their descendants, condign punishment even in this world. Individuals have souls to receive retribution in a future state of existence, but nations have no immortality; and that just retribution, which in the former case is often postponed, in appearance at least, to another world, in the latter is brought down with unerring certainty upon the third and fourth generation. How this mysterious system is worked out by Supreme Power, and yet the freedom of human action, and the entire moral responsibility of each individual preserved, will never be fully understood in this world. Yet that there is no inconsistency between them is self-evident, for every one feels that he is free; and the history of every people, as well as the general progress of mankind, demonstrate the reality both of the moral retribution of nations, and the existence of a general system for the direction of human affairs. And without pretending entirely to solve the difficulty, the mystery of which, in all its parts, is probably beyond the reach of the human faculties, a very little consideration must be sufficient to show what in general is the system pursued, and how the divine superintendence is rendered perfectly reconcilable with justice to individual men and nations.

109. The method by which this mysterious system is carried into execution, and yet rendered consistent with the perfect freedom of human action, would appear to be this. The

active propensities of men—that is, their desires and passions—are so calculated and adapted to the ever-varying current of human affairs, that in acting upon the whole in conformity with them, the individual free agents are made unconsciously to forward both the general plan of the divine administration, and the separate justice dealt out to particular men and nations. When Shakspeare put into the mouth of Lear the striking sentiment—

“The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make whips to scourge us”—

he but expressed the conviction of mankind, founded alike upon observation and experience, that, how agreeable and enticing soever the paths of sin may be in the outset, they terminate, alike to communities and individuals, in disappointment and ruin. Providence in the end is found to be just; and the early and often long-continued triumph of wickedness, is but the ordeal appointed for the trial and purification of virtue, and the preparation, in the very success of the unjust, for their final and deserved retribution.

110. And the means by which this dispensation is effected, is not the special interposition of the avenging angel, so much as the natural effect of the triumph of wickedness, in the indignation it excites, the misery it occasions, the reaction to which it gives rise. The laws of Providence, merciful to early or inconsiderable transgressions, have doomed signal wickedness, whether in individuals or nations, to ultimate and condign punishment; and the reality of the existence of these laws may be clearly discerned in the calamitous consequences which invariably, in the end, attend any flagrant violation of the rules of virtue. But it is not the less apparent that the agents in this retribution are men themselves; that it is in their feelings that the moving power in this vast and complicated machine is to be found; and that the long-continued delay which often takes place in the chastisement of the wicked, arises from

the protracted period during which the reaction is preparing, in the increased suffering, enlarged experience, or aroused indignation of mankind.

—“In guisa tale
Dio gli eventi dispora,
Che serve al suo voler qui plu s'oppono.”* *

111. Nor is there anything in this agency inconsistent with the perfect freedom of human action, and the entire responsibility of every individual by whom it is conducted. There is a difficulty, doubtless, in discerning how a general system, at once of progress and retribution, is conducted by the voluntary acts of a multitude of detached individuals. But this is only one of the many instances in which the human intellect, with all its power, is shattered against the simplest cases of the agency of Supreme Mind upon terrestrial affairs. It is just as difficult to tell how a plant grows, or an infant is formed, or the vital spark communicated, or a stone falls to the ground, or the system of worlds coheres by the mutual attraction of an infinity of particles. And although each individual mind, in the vast system, is a free agent, yet is there nothing in the whole administration inconsistent with such unrestrained agency, or, in the general result, incompatible with the simultaneous operation of a multitude of actors. Every one feels that he is master of his own actions; yet these actions upon the whole, and on an average of men, lead to certain known results; and the great social functions connected with individual existence, the continuance of the species, the coherence of society, and the progress of the world, are securely provided for by the independent actings of an innumerable multitude of separate agents, each obeying the impulse of his active propensities, directed by his free choice. Moreau expressed a fact of general application, explained according to the irreligious ideas of the French Revolution, when

* —“In such wise
God does the events dispose,
That they who most oppose, do work his
will.”

METASTASIO'S *Gine. Ricena*, Part ii.

he said that “Providence was always on the side of dense battalions.” But he forgot to add, what experience soon taught his country, that it is the moral laws of nature which, in the end, determine on which side the dense battalions are to be found.

112. No more striking instance is to be found of the manner in which the ultimate effects of the actions of men are made to deviate from, and sometimes defeat, the original intentions of their authors, than in the final result of the French Revolution upon the progress of the Christian faith. It was begun to throw off the fetters of the Roman Catholic religion, with which its deluded leaders confounded the whole precepts and doctrines of Christianity; and its first triumphs were accordingly signalised by the entire confiscation of the property of the church, and overthrow of the institutions and even forms of religion in the whole of France. What were its final effects on this the grand object of philosophic ambition, utilitarian industry, and Jacobin revenge? They were to give an impulse to Christianity, unknown since the days when it mounted with Constantine the throne of Rome; to diffuse its blessings over an extent unparalleled in any former age; to extend the gospel in a purer form, and under brighter auspices, over the remotest parts of the earth; and rear up two powers, each irresistible on its own element, whose forces, specially adapted to the theatres on which they were destined to act, have now given it an irresistible ascendancy in human affairs. Voltaire said, that “he was tired of hearing how twelve men had established the Christian religion, and he was resolved to show that one could pull it down;” but no man, since the days of the apostles, has done so much, without intending it, for its establishment and propagation, as Voltaire himself.

113. The great effect of the wars of the French Revolution was the aggrandisement of the colonial empire of England, and the territorial conquests of Russia. If we contemplate the manner in which, during the early

years of the contest, the strength of England was paralysed by the miserable parsimony which had starved down its military and naval forces in former years, we may well feel astonishment at the blindness of the democratic principle which had occasioned a lamentable result. But though this circumstance unquestionably protracted the war for eighteen years after it might have been otherwise terminated, and added at least six hundred millions to the national debt, its effect upon the extension of the British empire into the remote parts of the world was immense. During the course of this long-continued struggle, the colonies of all the European states successively fell into the hands of England; the British navy obtained a decisive supremacy in every sea, and British commerce gradually acquired an extension unparalleled in any former age of the world. The effect of this prodigious expansion, unobserved during the dangers and animation of the conflict, appeared in the most decisive manner on the termination of hostilities.

114. British commerce, the object of jealous rivalry and anxious exclusion to all the Continental states, was forcibly turned into new channels, in spite of all the erroneous policy of government, which aimed, by the reciprocity system, and the delusion of free trade, at the extension of the markets of the Old World. Colonisation, invigorated alike by the riches, the poverty, the virtues, the vices, the ambition and luxury, the enjoyments and sufferings of the mother country, went on with the steps of a giant; the great development of the democratic principle, consequent on a long course of pacific extensions, impelled the British race, in prodigious multitudes,* alike into the western and the southern hemi-

spheres; and above two hundred thousand emigrants now annually leave the British Islands, to carry into distant lands the power of European art and the blessings of Christian civilisation.† No such migration of mankind has taken place since the Goths and the Huns overthrew the Roman empire: no such step in the spread of civilisation and the diffusion of the gospel has been made since it first appeared on the shores of Palestine. To such marvellous and unforeseen results has an overruling Providence conducted the convulsions consequent on the scepticism of Voltaire, the changes emanating from the dreams of Rousseau!

115. But the British navy can reach only maritime shores; British colonisation can people only the desert or the forest, inhabited by the savage or the hunter. Great as its powers, when suffered to develop themselves, undoubtedly become, they have need of peace for their extension. England may call a new world into existence in the woods of America or the isles of Australia; but pacific colonists would speedily perish under the sabre of the Tartar. Her descendants will never effect a settlement in the interior of Asia. But here, too, the efforts of irreligion have, without intending it, developed a power as irresistible at land as the British navy is at sea, and which, perfectly adapted to the element on which it was intended to prevail, has given to the arms of civilisation a decisive superiority in Asia over the forces of barbarism. The military strength of Russia, long restrained by the unwieldy extent of its empire, acquired a surprising extension during the wars of the French Revolution;

† "Not o'en by ocean's tempests some are staid;

These rush on steel; those court the fav'rite aid:

All law, all right, the traitor's acts defy,
To drink from gems, on purple couch to lie.
One broods in mis'ry o'er his hoarded gold;

And some in chains the people's plaudits hold:

A brother's blood stains his more guilty hand,

And drives an exile from his native land."

Georgics, book ii.

* In the year 1841, the British emigrants amounted to 118,000.—*Lord Stanley's Speech*, 9th February 1842, *Parl. Deb.* In 1847 they reached the enormous number of 258,000, of whom 60,000 settled, almost all in comfortable circumstances, in Canada alone.—*Lords' Emigration Committee's Report*, 1842; and *ante*, Chap. xcvi. § 85, note, where the numbers are given.

but it was the invasion of Napoleon, the flames of Moscow, which gave it its full development. When the forces of the Revolution had reached the Kremlin, the last hour at once of European infidelity and Mahometan supremacy had struck.

116. Rolled back with unheard-of rapidity from the Moskwa to the Seine, revolutionary power perished with the overthrow of its leader: overwhelmed by the might of civilised energy, the squadrons of the Crescent ere long fled before the soldiers of the Cross. Turkey and Persia now drag on a precarious dependent existence, solely at the pleasure of the Muscovite autocrat. Combated with its own weapons, pierced by its own lances, trod down by its own cavalry, the forces of Asia speedily recoil before the ascending might of Russia. Placed on the frontiers of Europe and Asia, this vast empire unites the forces of both hemispheres; for it has the solid infantry, military skill, and enduring valour of Europe, joined to the powerful multitudes, incomparable horse, and enthusiastic daring of Asia. And both of these great powers, which have sprung up from the effects of the French Revolution, are in the clearest manner adapted to the giant task they are called to perform in the advance of mankind; for British democracy and colonisation could have effected nothing against the Asiatic sabres, and Russian despotism and conquest would have turned aside of necessity from the sterile and uninviting fields of Transatlantic and Australian settlement.

117. Contemporary with this great development of civilised energy, this awful heave of the human race, has arisen a new power communicated to man, calculated in an immeasurable manner to aid the extension of civilisation and religion through the desert or barbarous portions of the earth. At the moment when Napoleon's armies were approaching Moscow, when Wellington's legions were combating on the Tormes, STEAM NAVIGATION arose into existence, and a new power was let into human affairs, before which alike the forces of barbarism and the seclu-

sion of the desert must yield. In January 1812, not one steamboat existed in the world; in January 1813, the first one in Europe was launched on the Clyde;* now, on the rivers beyond the Alleghany Mountains alone, there are five hundred. Even the death-bestridden gales of the Niger will in the end yield to the force of scientific enterprise, and the fountains of the Nile themselves emerge from the solemn obscurity of six thousand years. The great rivers of the world have now become the highways of improvement and religion. The Russian battalions will securely commit themselves to the waves of the Euphrates, and wait again to the plains of Shinar the blessings of regular government and a beneficent faith: ascending the St Lawrence and the Missouri, the British emigrants will carry into the solitudes of the Far West the Bible and the wonders of European civilisation. Such have been the final results of the second revolt of Lucifer the Prince of the Morning. Was a great and durable impression made on human affairs by the infidel race? No! It was overruled by Almighty Power: on either side it found the brazen walls which it could not pass. In defiance of all its efforts, the British navy and the Russian army rose invincible above its arms; the champions of Christianity in the East, and the leaders of religious freedom in the West, came forth like giants refreshed with wine from the termination of the fight. The infidel race, which aimed at the dominion of the world, served only by its efforts to augment the strength of its destined rulers; and from amidst the ruins of its power emerged the ark which was to carry the light of religion to the western, and the invincible host which was to spread the glad tidings of the gospel through the eastern world.

118. Taking man, then, as reason equally with revelation tells us he is, variously compounded of great and

* The Comet, which began to ply in March 1813, between Glasgow and Greenock. The author early in that year made the voyage by that novel conveyance, then the object of wonder, distrust, and misrepresentation.

noble, with base and selfish propensities, with a natural tendency to evil and yet an inherent desire, conspicuous in all elevated minds, to regain his original destiny, the system of the Divine administration is very apparent, and nowhere more conspicuous than in the history of Europe during the French Revolution. It clearly appears, that resting on this basis, assuming as its agents those mingled virtuous and vicious propensities, using the moving power of the active passions and desires of men, there is a system established for the moral government of the world. Provision is made both for the righteous retribution of nations and the general advancement of the species; and it is evident that, while signal wickedness or strenuous performance of duty seldom fail, even in this world, to work out their appropriate reward or punishment, the Great Architect of the universe overrules both to the ultimate good, at once of the individual, the nation, and the species; and builds up, alike from the wisdom and folly, the virtues and vices, the greatness and weakness of men, amidst the chastisement and reward, the elevation and destruction of nations, the mighty fabric of general and progressive improvement.

119. Distrusting all plans of social improvement which are not founded on individual reformation, recognising no hope for man but in the subjugation of the wicked propensities of the human heart, acknowledging the necessity of Divine assistance in that herculean task, the reflecting observer will not, even amidst the greatest evils arising from general iniquity, despair of the fortunes of the species. He will hope little from the wisdom of Man, but trust much in the goodness of God. He will recognise in the social conflicts which may again, as in times past, desolate the world, the perpetual warring of the ambition or folly of man against the wisdom and justice of his Creator. He will discover in the evils with which they are attended, the provision mercifully made for the extirpation of sin by an early experience of its effects; he will observe that there is established, in the consequences of these iniquities, an unseen agency destined for their ultimate removal or punishment; and acknowledge that, amidst the infinite maze of events, the only sure guide which can be followed is that which is founded on the eternal principles of Supreme Wisdom, human Corruption, spiritual Regeneration, and Christian Charity.

A P P E N D I X.

CHAPTER XCIII.

Note A, page 208.

Public Income of Great Britain for the Year ending 5th January 1816.

HEADS OF REVENUE :—

Ordinary Revenue. Permanent and Annual Taxes.

	Gross Produce.	Net Produce.
Customs, - - - - -	£11,807,322 12 1½	£9,070,554 13 7
Excise, - - - - -	23,370,055 8 3¼	20,539,028 14 11
Stamps, - - - - -	6,492,804 14 10	6,139,585 8 9½
Land and Assessed Taxes, -	7,611,938 4 9½	7,609,016 10 11
Post Office, - - - - -	2,349,519 0 10	1,755,898 2 1
Pensions and } 1s. in the pound,	20,280 19 1	19,908 15 2
Salaries, } 6d. ..	11,776 6 6	11,138 0 3
Hackney Coaches, - - - - -	29,283 14 10	24,721 9 8
Hawkers and Pedlars, - - - -	21,591 10 2	18,516 9 0
Total Permanent and Annual Duties, - - - - -	£51,014,572 11 5½	£45,188,368 4 4½

Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.

Alienation Fines, - - - - -	£11,769 15 5	£10,620 7 5
Post Fines, - - - - -	6,380 4 6	6,284 15 2
Seizures, - - - - -	9,415 7 2	9,445 7 2
Compositions and Proffers, - -	626 15 4	626 15 4
Crown Lands, - - - - -	145,146 13 8	142,761 9 2

Carry forward,

	Gross Produce.	Net Produce.
Brought forward, -		
<i>Extraordinary Resources.</i>		
War Taxes.		
Customs, - - - - -	£2,841,406 1 7	£2,280,631 17 8
Excise, - - - - -	6,737,024 19 0	6,607,776 18 6
Property Tax, - - - - -	15,277,499 9 4	14,978,248 18 2
Arrears of Income Duty, &c., -	313 19 1	308 5 9
Lottery, not profit, (one-third for the service of Ireland,) - - - - -	327,906 13 4	304,651 10 6
Monies paid on account of the Interest of Loans raised for the service of Ireland, - - - - -	3,981,783 6 2	3,981,783 6 2
On account of balance due by Ireland on joint expenditure of the United Kingdom, - - - - -	6,107,986 12 3	6,107,986 12 3
On account of the Commissioners for Grenada Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	25,000 0 0	25,000 0 0
On account of the interest, &c., of a loan granted to the Prince Regent of Portugal, - - - - -	28,585 1 6	28,585 1 6
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices, - - - - -	98,750 13 2	98,750 13 2
Imprest Monies repaid, and other Monies paid to the Public, - - - - -	107,836 16 10	107,836 16 10
Total War Taxes, - - - - -	36,607,455 8 4	34,751,301 15 5
Permanent do., - - - - -	50,114,583 11 6	45,188,368 3 9
Total, without Loans, - - - - -	86,722,038 19 10	79,939,669 19 2
Loans paid into Exchequer, (including amount raised for service of Ireland,) - - - - -	39,421,959 2 0	39,421,959 2 0
Grand total, - - - - -	£126,143,998 1 10	£119,361,629 1 2

—*Annual Register* for 1816, p. 420.

Public Expenditure of Great Britain, year ending 5th January 1816.

1. For interest of the National Debt, and charges of the Sinking Fund, - - - - -	£41,015,527 10 0
2. Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	3,014,003 3 8
3. Civil List, Courts of Justice, Mint, Allowance to Royal Family, Salaries and Allowances, Bounties, - - - - -	1,555,408 6 4
4. Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	126,613 11 9
5. Other Payments in anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts—viz. Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue, Militia, and Deserters' Warrants, - - - - -	364,117 14 5
6. The Navy, - - - - -	16,371,870 7 5
7. Ordnance, - - - - -	3,736,424 17 3
8. Army—viz. :	
Ordinary Services, - - - - -	£21,333,831 10 8
Extraordinary Services, - - - - -	1,443,992 16 10
	23,177,824 17 6
Carry forward - - - - -	

Brought forward, - - - - -			
9. Loans, &c., to other Countries—viz. :			
Ireland, - - - - -	£7,277,032	8	8
Austria, - - - - -	1,795,229	8	8
Russia, - - - - -	3,241,919	7	0
Prussia, - - - - -	2,382,823	14	8
Hanover, - - - - -	206,590	6	4
Spain, - - - - -	147,333	19	10
Portugal, - - - - -	100,000	0	0
Sweden, - - - - -	521,061	17	1
France, Canton of Berne, Italy, and Netherlands, - - - - -	78,152	14	2
Minor Powers, under engage- ments with the Duke of Wel- lington, - - - - -	1,724,001	8	4
Miscellaneous, - - - - -	837,134	17	0
		18,312,280	1 9
10. Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -			
		3,371,178	13 8
Total, - - - - -		111,045,249	3 9
Deduct sums, which, although included in this account, form no part of the expenditure of Great Britain— viz. : Loans, &c. for Ireland, interest £1 per cent, and management on Portuguese Loan, Sinking Fund, on loan to the East India Company, &c. -			
		7,460,734	4 8
Total, - - - - -		£103,584,514	19 1

—*Annual Register for 1816, pp. 429, 430.*

*Table, showing the state of the National Debt of Great Britain on 1st
February 1816.*

I. FUNDED DEBT.

	Total Capitals.	Annual Interest.	Total of Annual Expenses.
Total Debt of Great Britain,	£724,092,611	£25,091,785	£37,203,412
.. Ireland, pay- able in Great Britain,	103,032,750	3,194,966	4,303,715
.. Amount of loans to the Emperor of Germany, payable in ditto, - -	7,502,633	225,079	495,675
.. Amount of loans to the Prince Regent of Por- tugal, payable in ditto, -	895,522	26,865	57,047
	£835,523,516	£28,538,695	£42,149,849
In the hands of the Commis- sioners for the reduction of debt, - - - - -	40,392,540	1,211,776	..
Carry forward, -	£795,130,976	£27,326,919	..

	Total Capitals.	Annual Interest.	Total of Annual Expenses
	£	£	£
Brought forward,			
Transferred to the Commissioners by purchasers of life annuities, pursuant to Act 48 Geo. III. c. 142,	3,097,551	92,026	..
Total charge for debt, British and Irish, payable in Great Britain,	£792,033,425	£27,233,003	£42,149,849

II. UNFUNDED DEBT.

Exchequer—	Amount.	Outstanding.
Exchequer bills provided for,	£19,772,800	
.. unprovided for, *	21,669,100	
		£41,441,900
Treasury—		
Miscellaneous services,	530,535	1,556,664
Warrants for army service,	20,615	1,030,109
Treasury bills,	1,005,514	125,005
Army,		876,857
Barracks,		3,694,821
Ordnance,		..
Navy,		
Civil list advances,		
	Total,	£48,725,356
	Summary.	
Total funded debt,		792,033,425
Total unfunded debt,		48,725,356
		£840,758,781

Grand total of national debt at the close of the war, £840,758,781

—*Annual Register for the year 1816*, pp. 434, 435.

Public Funded Debt of Great Britain on 1st February 1816.

An account of the progress made in the redemption of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain at 1st February 1816:—

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by Commissioners from 1st August 1786, to 1st February 1816.	Total sums paid by Commissioners.
Total stock created for sums borrowed,	£1,000,986,526	£273,418,402	£172,009,352
Transferred to the Commissioners on account of land-tax redeemed,	25,155,056		
	£975,831,470		
Ditto for purchase of life annuities, per 48 Geo. III.	3,097,551		
Carry forward,	£972,733,919		

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by Commissioners from 1st August 1786, to 1st Feb- ruary 1816.	Total sums paid by Com- missioners.
Brought forward,	£972,733,919	..	..
Redeemed by the Com- missioners, - - -	273,418,402		
	<u>2</u>		
Debt of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, unredeemed at 1st February 1816, - -	£699,315,517	..	..
— <i>Annual Register for 1816, p. 431.</i>			

Note B and C, pages 221 and 222.

I. FRENCH FORCE.

Army with which Napoleon entered Flanders on the 15th of June 1815.

Corps, Commanders, and Divisions.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery-men.	Guns.
Force of each division.				
1st Corps—Count D'Erlon.				
1st division, ..	4,120	..	160	8
2d	4,100	..	160	8
3d	4,000	..	160	8
4th	4,000	..	160	8
1st division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	160	8
Force of 1st corps : men 18,640, cannon 46.				
2d Corps—Count Reille.				
5th division, ..	5,000	..	160	8
6th	6,100	..	160	8
7th	5,000	..	160	8
9th	5,000	..	160	8
2d division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	170	8
Force of 2d corps : men 23,530, cannon 46.				
3d Corps—Count Vandamme.				
10th division, ..	4,430	..	160	8
11th	4,300	..	160	8
8th	4,300	..	160	8
3d division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	180	8
Force of 3d corps : men 15,290, cannon 38.				
4th Corps—Count Gerard.				
12th division, ..	4,000	..	160	8
13th	4,000	..	160	8
14th	4,000	..	160	8
6th division of cavalry, ..	..	1,500	120	6
Reserve of artillery, ..	..	..	160	8
Force of 4th corps : men 14,260, cannon 38.				

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Corps, Commanders, and Divisions.	Infantry.	Force of each division.		
		Cavalry.	Artillery-men.	Guns.
6th Corps—Count Lobau.				
19th division, ..	3,500	..	170	8
20th	3,500	..	160	8
21st	4,000	..	160	8
Reserve of artillery,		..	280	14
Force of 6th corps: men 11,770, cannon 38.				

Imperial Guard:—

Young Guard, ..	3,800	..	320	16
Chasseurs, ..	4,250	..	320	16
Grenadiers, ..	4,420	..	320	16
Light Cavalry, ..	..	2,120	240	12
Cavalry of Reserve, ..	..	2,010	240	12
Artillery of Reserve, ..	..	..	480	24

Reserve Cavalry under Marshal
Grouchy:—

Grossly:—					
1.	Corps—Count Pajol,	{ 4th ..	1,820	120	6
		{ 5th ..	1,420	120	6
2.	.. Excelmans,	{ 9th ..	1,300	120	6
		{ 10th ..	1,300	120	6
3.	.. Kellerman,	{ 11th ..	1,310	120	6
		{ 12th ..	1,300	120	6
4.	.. Millhaud,	{ 13th ..	1,300	120	6
		{ 14th ..	1,300	120	6
Total,		- - -	85,820	20,460	7,020
					350

Engineers, pontoons, sappers, drivers, &c.	9,184	
Grand total, - - -	122,464	

—GOURGAUD, *Campagne de 1815*, p. 150; VANDONCOURT, iv. 108; PLOTRO, iv. *Appendix*, pp. 8, 9; and NAPOLEON, *Book ix.* 71.

II. Wellington's whole Army at the opening of the Campaign,
Effective and Non-effective.

British and King's German Legion, - - - - -	43,236
Hanoverians, - - - - -	10,447
Brunswickers, - - - - -	8,000
Belgian and Nassau troops, - - - - -	28,387

Total, -	90,070
Under Wellington's orders, but who had not arrived at the opening of the campaign,	
Hanse troops, - - - - -	4,000
Danes, - - - - -	12,000

Grand total, - 106,070

—PLOTRO, iv. *App.* 45.

CHAPTER XCIV.

Note D and F, pages 238 and 243.

WELLINGTON'S ARMY AT WATERLOO.

1. British and King's German Legion,										Effective men.
Infantry—viz.:										
Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,077
Sergeants, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,189
Trumpeters, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	500
Rank and file,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,896
										<hr/> 20,661
Cavalry—viz.:										
Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	521
Sergeants, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	641
Trumpeters, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	125
Rank and file,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,448
										<hr/> 8,735
Artillery, Engineers, &c.—viz.:										
Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	201
Sergeants, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	231
Trumpeters, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
Rank and file,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,280
										<hr/> 6,877
General Summary—viz.:										
English Infantry,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,661
.. Cavalry,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,735
.. Artillery and Engineers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,877
Total,										<hr/> 36,273
2. Hanoverians—viz.:										
Infantry,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,312
Cavalry, (Estorff's brigade,)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,135
Total,										<hr/> 7,447
3. Brunswickers,										5,962
4 Belgians,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,724
5. Nassau troops,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,280
Total,										<hr/> 69,686

Abstract.—Total of Wellington's Army at Waterloo.

British and King's German Legion,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36,273
Hanoverians,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,447
Brunswickers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,962
Belgians,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17,724
Nassau troops,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,280
Total,										<hr/> 69,686

STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH ARMY ON THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

BRITISH AND KING'S GERMAN LEGION ONLY.

18TH JUNE 1815.

DIVISIONS.	BATTALIONS.	REGIMENTS.	STATIONS.	OFFICERS.				TROOP QUARTER-MASTERS AND SERGEANTS.				TRUMPETERS OR DRUMMERS.				RANK AND FILE.				
				Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total Rank and File.
Artillery, Engineers, etc.,		Royal Artillery Artillery, K.G.L. Royal Engineers Royal Sappers and Miners Wagon Train Staff Corps		8	50	61	95	123	9	1	161	44	-	-	44	4,573	305	17	9	4,914
				5	5	13	6	30	-	-	31	6	-	-	6	520	73	-	-	623
				1	17	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718
				1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249
				1	3	4	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218
				1	4	11	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218
				18	75	103	35	231	9	6	295	75	-	-	75	6,280	384	23	65	6,776
				1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233
				1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214
				2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237
Cavalry	1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th 14th 15th 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th 21st 22nd 23rd 24th 25th 26th 27th 28th 29th 30th 31st 32nd 33rd 34th 35th 36th 37th 38th 39th 40th 41st 42nd 43rd 44th 45th 46th 47th 48th 49th 50th 51st 52nd 53rd 54th 55th 56th 57th 58th 59th 60th 61st 62nd 63rd 64th 65th 66th 67th 68th 69th 70th 71st 72nd 73rd 74th 75th 76th 77th 78th 79th 80th 81st 82nd 83rd 84th 85th 86th 87th 88th 89th 90th 91st 92nd 93rd 94th 95th 96th 97th 98th 99th 100th 101st 102nd 103rd 104th 105th 106th 107th 108th 109th 110th 111st 112nd 113th 114th 115th 116th 117th 118th 119th 120th 121st 122nd 123rd 124th 125th 126th 127th 128th 129th 130th 131st 132nd 133rd 134th 135th 136th 137th 138th 139th 140th 141st 142nd 143rd 144th 145th 146th 147th 148th 149th 150th 151st 152nd 153rd 154th 155th 156th 157th 158th 159th 160th 161st 162nd 163rd 164th 165th 166th 167th 168th 169th 170th 171st 172nd 173rd 174th 175th 176th 177th 178th 179th 180th 181st 182nd 183rd 184th 185th 186th 187th 188th 189th 190th 191st 192nd 193rd 194th 195th 196th 197th 198th 199th 200th 201st 202nd 203rd 204th 205th 206th 207th 208th 209th 210th 211st 212nd 213th 214th 215th 216th 217th 218th 219th 220th 221st 222nd 223rd 224th 225th 226th 227th 228th 229th 230th 231st 232nd 233rd 234th 235th 236th 237th 238th 239th 240th 241st 242nd 243rd 244th 245th 246th 247th 248th 249th 250th 251st 252nd 253rd 254th 255th 256th 257th 258th 259th 260th 261st 262nd 263rd 264th 265th 266th 267th 268th 269th 270th 271st 272nd 273rd 274th 275th 276th 277th 278th 279th 280th 281st 282nd 283rd 284th 285th 286th 287th 288th 289th 290th 291st 292nd 293rd 294th 295th 296th 297th 298th 299th 300th 301st 302nd 303rd 304th 305th 306th 307th 308th 309th 310th 311st 312nd 313th 314th 315th 316th 317th 318th 319th 320th 321st 322nd 323rd 324th 325th 326th 327th 328th 329th 330th 331st 332nd 333rd 334th 335th 336th 337th 338th 339th 340th 341st 342nd 343rd 344th 345th 346th 347th 348th 349th 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682nd 683rd 684th 685th 686th 687th 688th 689th 690th 691st 692nd 693rd 694th 695th 696th 697th 698th 699th 700th 701st 702nd 703rd 704th 705th 706th 707th 708th 709th 710th 711st 712nd 713th 714th 715th 716th 717th 718th 719th 720th 721st 722nd 723rd 724th 725th 726th 727th 728th 729th 730th 731st 732nd 733rd 734th 735th 736th 737th 738th 739th 740th 741st 742nd 743rd 744th 745th 746th 747th 748th 749th 750th 751st 752nd 753rd 754th 755th 756th 757th 758th 759th 760th 761st 762nd 763rd 764th 765th 766th 767th 768th 769th 770th 771st 772nd 773rd 774th 775th 776th 777th 778th 779th 780th 781st 782nd 783rd 784th 785th 786th 787th 788th 789th 790th 791st 792nd 793rd 794th 795th 796th 797th 798th 799th 800th 801st 802nd 803rd 804th 805th 806th 807th 808th 809th 810th 811st 812nd 813th 814th 815th 816th 817th 818th 819th 820th 821st 822nd 823rd 824th 825th 826th 827th 828th 829th 830th 831st 832nd 833rd 834th 835th 836th 837th 838th 839th 840th 841st 842nd 843rd 844th 845th 846th 847th 848th 849th 850th 851st 852nd 853rd 854th 855th 856th 857th 858th 859th 860th 861st 862nd 863rd 864th 865th 866th 867th 868th 869th 870th 871st 872nd 873rd 874th 875th 876th 877th 878th 879th 880th 881st 882nd 883rd 884th 885th 886th 887th 888th 889th 890th 891st 892nd 893rd 894th 895th 896th 897th 898th 899th 900th 901st 902nd 903rd 904th 905th 906th 907th 908th 909th 910th 911st 912nd 913th 914th 915th 916th 917th 918th 919th 920th 921st 922nd 923rd 924th 925th 926th 927th 928th 929th 930th 931st 932nd 933rd 934th 935th 936th 937th 938th 939th 940th 941st 942nd 943rd 944th 945th 946th 947th 948th 949th 950th 951st 952nd 953rd 954th 955th 956th 957th 958th 959th 960th 961st 962nd 963rd 964th 965th 966th 967th 968th 969th 970th 971st 972nd 973rd 974th 975th 976th 977th 978th 979th 980th 981st 982nd 983rd 984th 985th 986th 987th 988th 989th 990th 991st 992nd 993rd 994th 995th 996th 997th 998th 999th 1000th	1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233		
		1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214		
		2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237		
		1	18	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718		
		1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249		
		1	3	4	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218		
		1	4	11	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218		
		18	75	103	35	231	9	6	295	75	-	-	75	6,280	384	23	65	6,776		
		1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233		
		1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214		
2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237				
1	18	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718				
1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249				
1	3	4	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
1	4	11	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
18	75	103	35	231	9	6	295	75	-	-	75	6,280	384	23	65	6,776				
1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233				
1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214				
2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237				
1	18	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718				
1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249				
1	3	4	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
1	4	11	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
18	75	103	35	231	9	6	295	75	-	-	75	6,280	384	23	65	6,776				
1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233				
1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214				
2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237				
1	18	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718				
1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249				
1	3	4	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
1	4	11	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
18	75	103	35	231	9	6	295	75	-	-	75	6,280	384	23	65	6,776				
1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233				
1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214				
2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237				
1	18	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718				
1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249				
1	3	4	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
1	4	11	-	9	-	-	20	2	-	-	2	203	5	3	10	218				
18	75	103	35	231	9	6	295	75	-	-	75	6,280	384	23	65	6,776				
1	3	4	4	19	-	3	23	14	-	-	4	210	10	1	7	233				
1	4	6	3	19	-	2	27	3	-	-	4	197	10	1	7	214				
2	6	7	4	46	-	1	50	4	-	-	4	217	9	9	18	237				
1	18	20	-	39	-	-	35	19	-	-	19	683	10	3	17	718				
1	2	9	-	17	-	3	20	2	-	-	2	232	5	10	10	249				

1st British.	1st Guards, 92 batt.	1st	56	91	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
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III. *Prussian troops under Blücher who took part in the Campaign.*

	Men.	Art.	Esq.	Batrs.	Cann.
The 1st corps d'armée under Gen. Ziethen,	34,800	34	32	12	96
2d under Gen. Kleist,	36,000	30	36	12	96
3d under Gen. Thielman,	33,000	33	32	12	96
4th under Gen. Bülow,	37,800	36	48	12	96
	141,600	130	148	48	384

IV. *Prussian force that advanced upon Waterloo, after deducting the loss at Ligny.*

	Men.	Art.	Esq.	Batrs.	Cann.
The 1st corps d'armée under Gen. Ziethen,	27,000	34	32	12	91
2d under Gen. Kleist,	29,000	36	36	12	91
4th under Gen. Bülow,	30,000	36	48	12	91
Total,	86,000	106	116	36	273
Deduct one-half of the second corps which did not come into action,	14,000	18	18	6	45
Total Prussian corps which advanced to Waterloo, of whom about 40,000 were actually under fire,	72,000	88	98	30	228

—PLOTTO, iv. *Appendix*, pp. 36, 55.

V. *Force commanded by Napoleon and Ney at Ligny and Quatre Bras, on March 16th:*

At Ligny.		At Quatre Bras.	
Infantry,	53,500	Infantry,	32,320
Cavalry,	12,730	Cavalry,	7,710
Artillery,	4,850	Artillery,	2,170
	71,080		42,200
With 242 guns.		With 108 guns.	

Note E, p. 243.

French Force which fought at Waterloo, according to Gourgaud.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	
			Men.	Guns.
1st Corps—D'Erlon.				
4 divisions of infantry,	16,220			
1 division cavalry,		1,400		
Artillery,			900	46
3 divisions of infantry,	12,640			
2d Corps—Reille.				
1 division of cavalry,		1,300		
Artillery,			710	38
3d Corps.				
1 division (Dumont) attached to 6th corps,		1,370		
6th Corps—Lobau.				
2 divisions of infantry,	7,000			
Carry forward,	35,860	4,070	1,610	84

		Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	
				Men.	Guns
	Brought forward,	35,860	4,070	1,610	84
Artillery,	-	..	..	610	30
Imperial Guard.					
Young Guard (Duhesme,)	-	3,800	..	..	..
Middle Guard,	-	4,200	..	..	..
Old Guard,	-	4,400	..	..	..
Cavalry of reserve,	-	..	2,100	..	..
Cavalry (grenadiers and dragoons,)	-	..	2,000	..	..
Artillery,	-	..	..	1,920	96
Cuirassiers—Kellerman.					
2 divisions,	-	..	2,330	..	..
Artillery,	-	..	..	220	12
Cuirassiers—Milhaud.					
2 divisions,	-	..	2,530	..	..
Artillery,	-	..	..	210	12
Corps of Pajol.					
1 division (Subervich,)	-	..	1,130	..	..
Artillery,	-	..	..	110	6
		45,260	14,160	4,680	240
	Men in line,		67,100		
	Sappers, drivers, engineers, &c.		7,000		
	Total,	-	74,100		
Cannon,	-	-	-	240	

Force under Marshal Grouchy at Wavre.

Infantry,	..	25,520
Cavalry,	..	4,870
Artillery,	..	1,830

Men, 32,220, with 110 guns.

General Abstract.

	Men	Guns.
Army under Napoleon at Waterloo,	74,100	240
With Grouchy at Wavre,	32,220	110
Loss at Ligny,	6,800	..
At Quatre Bras,	4,140	..
Grand total,	117,260	350

—GOURGAUD, *Camp. de 1815*, *Tables*, pp. 150 and pp. 71, 72.

This is the statement given by Gourgaud; but there can be no doubt it is below the truth, as Ney's corps set down here (the first) as only 18,040 men, was stated by Ney himself, shortly after the battle, to have amounted to between 25,000 and 30,000. And as Gourgaud himself states the force with which Napoleon crossed the frontier at 122,464 men, it is evident that the force which fought at Waterloo must have been at least 80,000 men.—See NEY's *Letter to Fouché*, June 26, 1815.—Given in JONES' *Battle of Waterloo*, 262.

Note G, page 246.

Account of the Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Waterloo.

"Orders were now given that we were to prepare to charge. We gave our countrymen in front of us three hearty huzzas, and waving our swords aloft in the air, several swords were struck with balls while so doing; and I must not forget the piper—

'The piper loud and louder blew,
The balls of all denominations quick and quicker flew.'

The Highlanders were then ordered to wheel back—I think by sections, but I am not certain: infantry words of command differ from the cavalry. When they had, and were wheeling back imperfectly, we rushed through them; at the same time they huzzaed us, calling out, 'Now, my boys, Scotland for ever!' I must own it had a thrilling effect upon me. I am certain numbers of them were knocked over by the horses: in our anxiety we could not help it. Some said, 'I didna think ye wad hae saired me sae'—catching hold of our legs and stirrups, as we passed, to support themselves. When we got clear through the Highlanders (92d), we were now on the charge, and a short one it was. A cross road being in our way, we leaped the first hedge gallantly; crossed the road, and had to leap over another hedge. At this time the smoke from the firing on both sides made it so that we could not see distinctly. We had not charged far—not many yards, till we came to a column. We were pretty well together as yet, although a great number fell about that cross road. We were in the column in a very short time (making pretty clean work). We still pushed forward, at least as many as could—a number had dropped off by this time—and soon came to another column. They cried out, 'Prisoners!' and threw down their arms, and stripped themselves of their belts (I think it is part of the French discipline to do so), and ran to our rear. Ay, they run like hares! We still pushed on, and came upon another column; and some of them went down on their knees, calling out 'Quarter!' in a very supplicatory way. The answer generally was, 'Well, go to the rear (pointing to our rear), d—n ye!' We now got amongst the guns, the terrible guns, which had annoyed us so much. *Such slaughtering!*—men cut down and run through, horses houghed, harness cut, and all rendered useless. Some, who were judges of such work, reckoned we had made a very good job of it. Amongst the guns—I think six or seven in number, all brass—that I was engaged with, mostly all the men were cut down, and the horses, most of them, if not all, were houghed. While we were at work amongst these guns, never thinking but, when we were done with it, we would have nothing to do but to return from where we came, but I must own I was very much surprised when we began to retrace our steps, when, what should we behold coming away across betwixt us and our own army but a great number of these cuirassiers and lancers, the first I ever beheld in my life, who were forming up in order to cut off our retreat; but, nothing daunted, we faced them manfully. We had none to command us now, but every man did what he could. 'Conquer or die!' was the word. When the regiment returned from the charge mentioned, the troop that I belonged to did not muster above one or two sound men (unwounded) belonging to the front rank. Indeed, the whole troop did not muster above a dozen; there were upwards of twenty of the front rank killed, and the others wounded."—*M.S. Account of the Battle by MR JAMES ARMOUR, Rough-Rider to the Scots Greys.*

CHAPTER XCV.

Note H, *passim*.

TABLE SHOWING FOR EVERY YEAR FROM 1792 TO 1847,

THE Precious Metals annually raised and coined in the South American and Mexican Mines—the Bank Notes of the Bank of England in Circulation—the Aggregate of Bank Notes of Private Bankers—Total of Notes in Circulation—the Coin annually issued from the Mint—the Annual Price of Gold—the Commercial Paper under Discount at the Bank of England—the Exports, Official Value, and Exports, Declared Value—British and Irish Produce, Exports—Total Exports, Official Value—Imports, Official Value—Tonnage of Shipping—Revenue, Crime, and Population of the British Empire—Emigrants from the United Kingdom—Sums levied annually for Poor and County Rates in England and Wales—Amount of Poor Rate in Quarters of Grain annually—Taxes Imposed, Net Amount—Taxes Repealed, Net Amount—National Debt in each Year—National Debt in each Year in Quarters of Wheat at annual Prices—Revenue Yearly in Quarters of Wheat at annual Prices—Money applied to the Redemption of Debt—Price of Wheat the Quarter.—Compiled from Porter's Parliamentary Tables, Marshall's Parliamentary Tables, and other Parliamentary Sources.

TABLE.

Years.	Money annually raised and coined in Bank of America.	Bank of England Notes and Bank Post Bills in circulation.	Aggregate of Private Bank Notes, England and Wales.	Total of Notes.	Gold and Silver Coin annually issued from the Mint.	Price of Gold in each Year, per Ounce.	Commercial Paper under Discount at Bank of England.	Years.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1792	5,264,672	11,307,380			1,171,863		1,179,641	1792
1793	6,301,471	11,388,919			2,747,439		1,842,781	1793
1794	5,262,391	10,744,020			2,558,895		2,143,673	1794
1795	5,861,342	14,017,510			493,416	4 4 0	2,946,500	1795
1796	6,752,591	10,729,520			464,680	..	3,505,000	1796
* 1797	5,891,611	11,114,120	No return.		2,600,267	3 17 6	5,360,000	1797
1798	6,763,311	13,095,830			2,907,565	3 17 10½	4,490,600	1798
1799	5,981,311	12,959,610			449,963	3 17 9	5,403,900	1799
1800	6,112,411	16,854,809			189,137	4 5 0	6,421,900	1800
1801	5,201,200	16,203,280			450,242	4 4 0	7,905,100	1801
1802	5,175,957	15,188,880			437,019	4 3 6	7,523,300	1802
1803	5,032,227	15,849,980			596,445	..	10,747,600	1803
1804	5,058,211	17,077,830			718,397	4 0 0	9,982,400	1804
1805	7,104,436	17,871,170			54,658	4 0 0	11,265,500	1805
1806	6,502,142	17,730,120			45,106	..	12,380,100	1806
1807	5,356,152	16,950,680			None.	..	13,484,800	1807
1808	6,169,098	19,183,860			371,714	..	12,950,100	1808
1809	6,997,853	18,542,860			298,946	4 10 0	15,475,700	1809
1810	5,870,972	21,019,809			316,936	3 17 10½	20,070,800	1810
1811	4,718,584	23,360,220			312,263	4 17 6	14,365,400	1811
1812	3,619,352	23,480,320			None.	4 15 0	14,291,600	1812
1813	3,784,700	23,210,930			519,722	..	12,380,200	1813
1814	3,687,249	24,801,080	22,700,000	47,501,080	None.	5 8 0	13,285,800	1814
1815	3,104,565	27,261,610	19,011,000	46,272,650	None.	4 9 0	14,917,000	1815
1816	2,598,008	27,913,620	15,096,000	42,109,620	1,805,251	3 19 0	11,416,400	1816
1817	3,461,475	27,397,900	15,894,000	43,291,900	6,711,635	3 18 6	3,960,000	1817
1818	3,893,925	27,771,070	20,507,000	48,278,070	3,438,652	..	4,325,200	1818
† 1819	3,838,350	25,227,100	15,701,328	40,928,428	1,270,817	4 1 0	6,515,000	1819
1820	3,557,236	23,569,150	10,576,245	34,145,395	1,797,233	3 17 10½	3,883,600	1820
1821	2,887,467	22,471,450	8,266,180	30,727,630	9,954,444	3 17 10½	2,676,700	1821
1822	3,080,403	18,172,170	8,416,430	26,588,600	5,388,217	3 17 10½	3,306,700	1822
1823	2,636,267	18,176,470	9,920,074	27,396,544	1,045,020	3 17 6	3,123,809	1823
1824	2,367,426	19,929,800	12,831,352	32,761,152	4,347,145	3 17 6	2,369,800	1824
1825	2,050,829	26,069,130	14,980,168	41,049,298	4,998,454	3 17 9	4,941,500	1825
1826	2,327,861	24,955,040	8,656,101	33,611,141	6,505,067	3 17 6	4,908,300	1826
1827	2,894,007	21,508,650	9,985,300	31,493,850	2,546,656	3 17 6	1,240,400	1827
1828	2,923,006	22,174,780	10,121,476	32,296,256	1,024,547	3 17 6	1,167,400	1828
1829	2,354,803	20,264,300	8,130,137	28,394,437	2,555,014	3 17 6	2,250,700	1829
1830	2,589,879	29,480,060	7,841,396	28,501,456	2,388,082	3 17 9	919,900	1830
1831	837,343	19,050,680	7,914,216	26,965,096	621,845	3 17 10½	1,585,600	1831
1832	938,729	18,485,310	8,221,895	26,707,205	3,720,902	3 17 10½		1832
1833	3,587,736	17,581,910	10,152,104	27,684,014	1,225,414	3 17 9		1833
1834		19,195,000	10,152,000	29,347,000	499,724	3 17 9		1834
1835		18,085,000	10,650,000	28,744,000	256,505	3 17 9		1835
1836		18,018,000	11,134,000	29,152,000	2,285,501	3 17 9		1836
1837		18,687,000	12,012,196	30,699,196	1,329,112	3 17 9		1837
1838		19,468,000	10,225,488	29,713,488	3,056,432	3 17 9		1838
1839	No return in these years.	16,317,010	12,259,467	27,576,477	794,293	3 17 9	No return.	1839
1840		15,797,000	10,833,244	26,630,244	216,414	3 17 6		1840
1841		16,397,450	10,251,450	26,648,900	474,640	3 17 9		1841
1842		16,290,790	10,311,211	26,602,001	6,289,888	3 17 9		1842
1843		18,361,410	7,114,458	26,475,868	6,684,455	3 17 10½		1843
1844		20,796,295	7,487,145	28,283,440	4,190,610	3 17 10½		1844
1845		20,359,495	7,497,711	27,857,206	4,892,363	3 17 10½		1845
1846		20,971,265	7,234,141	28,205,406	No return.	3 17 10½		1846
†† 1847		18,780,038	6,742,789	25,522,827		3 17 10½		1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

† New Poor Law.

† Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

† Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish famine.

Years.	Exports, Official Value, of Great Britain and Ireland.	Exports, Declared Value.	British and Irish Produce, Exports.	Total Exports, Official Value.	Imports, Official Value.	Shipping, Tons.	Years.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1792					19,659,358	1,088,302	1792
1793	16,231,672	27,361,142			19,459,357	719,908	1793
1794	14,407,491	28,169,112			22,294,693	1,879,580	1794
1795	17,267,311	29,671,200	No return.	No return.	23,736,889	1,231,461	1795
1796	17,900,041	30,236,671			23,187,309	1,584,311	1796
* 1797	18,321,111	31,042,121			21,013,956	1,426,592	1797
1798	18,556,891	31,252,836	8,760,196	27,327,017	25,122,203	1,632,112	1798
1799	22,284,941	35,903,851	7,271,606	29,556,637	24,066,700	1,746,221	1799
1800	22,831,936	36,929,007	11,549,681	32,381,617	26,257,781	1,906,438	1800
1801	24,501,608	39,730,659	10,336,966	34,031,574	30,435,268	2,725,949	1801
1802	25,195,893	45,102,230	12,677,431	38,873,324	28,308,373	2,147,629	1802
1803	20,467,531	36,127,781	8,032,643	28,499,174	25,104,541	2,167,463	1803
1804	22,687,300	37,135,746	8,938,741	31,616,050	26,454,281	2,268,570	1804
1805	23,376,341	37,234,396	7,643,120	31,020,061	27,344,720	2,288,442	1805
1806	25,661,879	39,746,581	7,717,555	33,579,434	25,501,478	2,269,714	1806
1807	23,391,214	36,394,443	7,624,312	31,015,536	23,326,845	2,281,621	1807
1808	24,611,215	36,396,385	5,776,775	30,387,090	25,660,953	2,324,519	1808
1809	33,542,274	46,049,777	12,750,358	46,292,632	30,170,292	2,368,468	1809
1810	34,061,901	47,000,926	9,357,435	43,419,356	37,613,294	2,429,044	1810
1811	22,684,400	22,684,418	6,117,720	28,801,120	25,240,704	2,474,774	1811
1812	29,508,508	39,854,526	9,533,065	39,042,273	24,923,922	2,278,790	1812
1813	Custom	House	Records	destroyed	by	fire.	1813
1814	34,207,253	43,447,373	19,365,981	53,573,234	33,622,771	2,616,965	1814
1815	42,875,996	49,653,245	15,748,554	58,624,550	31,822,053	2,001,276	1815
1816	35,717,070	40,328,940	13,480,781	49,197,851	26,374,921	2,618,593	1816
1817	40,111,427	40,349,235	10,292,684	50,404,111	29,910,502	2,664,986	1817
1818	42,790,521	45,180,150	10,869,817	53,560,338	35,845,340	2,674,468	1818
1819	33,534,176	34,252,251	9,904,813	42,438,989	29,681,640	2,666,396	1819
1820	38,395,625	35,569,077	10,555,912	48,965,537	31,515,222	2,648,593	1820
1821	40,831,744	35,823,127	10,629,689	51,461,423	29,769,122	2,560,203	1821
1822	44,236,533	36,176,897	9,227,589	53,464,122	29,432,376	2,519,044	1822
1823	43,804,372	30,580,410	8,603,904	52,408,276	34,591,260	2,506,760	1823
1824	48,735,551	37,600,021	10,204,785	58,940,336	36,056,571	2,559,587	1824
1825	47,166,020	38,077,330	9,169,494	56,335,514	42,660,954	2,553,682	1825
1826	40,965,785	30,847,528	10,076,286	51,042,071	36,174,350	2,635,044	1826
1827	52,219,290	36,394,817	9,830,724	62,050,008	43,489,346	2,614,515	1827
1828	52,797,455	36,150,379	9,946,545	62,744,002	43,536,187	2,783,429	1828
1829	56,213,041	35,212,873	10,622,402	66,835,443	42,311,609	2,660,515	1829
1830	61,140,864	38,271,597	8,550,437	69,691,301	46,245,241	3,196,792	1830
1831	60,683,933	37,184,372	10,745,071	71,429,004	49,713,889	2,880,492	1831
1832	65,026,702	36,450,594	11,044,869	76,971,571	44,586,741	3,002,875	1832
1833	69,939,389	39,667,347	9,833,753	79,773,142	45,952,551	3,149,152	1833
§ 1834	73,831,550	41,649,191	11,562,036	85,393,686	49,362,811	3,149,168	1834
1835	78,376,731	47,372,270	12,797,724	91,074,455	48,911,542	3,225,211	1835
1836	85,229,837	53,368,572	12,391,711	97,621,548	57,023,867	3,566,697	1836
1837	72,548,047	42,070,744	13,233,622	85,781,669	54,737,301	3,583,985	1837
1838	92,459,231	50,060,970	12,711,318	105,165,479	61,268,320	4,099,039	1838
1839	97,402,726	53,233,500	12,795,990	110,199,656	62,004,000	4,333,015	1839
1840	102,705,372	51,401,430	13,774,306	116,481,015	67,432,664	4,659,376	1840
1841	108,180,517	51,604,430	14,723,151	116,902,887	64,377,962	4,657,376	1841
1842	100,260,101	47,361,043	13,584,158	113,841,802	65,204,729	4,500,028	1842
¶ 1843	117,877,278	52,276,449	13,956,113	131,832,947	70,093,353	4,847,296	1843
1844	131,584,508	58,584,292	14,397,246	145,986,634	75,441,555	5,049,601	1844
1845	134,590,116	60,111,081	16,280,870	150,379,056	85,231,955	6,045,718	1845
1846	132,288,345	57,786,576	16,296,162	148,584,507	75,958,875	6,091,052	1846
†† 1847	125,007,063	58,971,166	19,909,344	146,194,079	90,921,866	7,196,033	1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.
 § New Poor Law.
 ¶ Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.
 †† Year after Canadian rebellion.
 †† Irish famine.

Years.	Population, Yearly, of Great Britain.	Committ- ments Annually in Eng- land and Wales.	Emigrants from the United Kingdom.	Suma levied for Poor and County Rates Annually in England and Wales.	Amount of Poor's Rate in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Taxes Imposed. Net Amount.	Taxes Re- pealed. Net Amount.	Years.
1792	9,400,000			£		£	£	1792
1793	9,800,000							1793
1794	9,920,000							1794
1795	10,080,000							1795
1796	10,200,000							1796
* 1797	10,320,000					No return.		1797
1798	10,440,000							1798
1799	10,560,000							1799
1800	10,680,000							1800
1801	10,880,000			4,017,871	693,234	1,720,000		1801
1802	10,492,646							1802
1803	11,007,000			4,077,891	1,428,751	4,000,000		1803
1804	11,200,000					12,500,000		1804
1805	11,404,000	4,605				1,000,000		1805
1806	11,600,000	4,346				1,500,000		1806
1807	11,850,000	4,446				6,000,000		1807
1808	12,020,000	4,735				..		1808
1809	12,190,000	5,330				200,000		1809
1810	12,340,000	5,146						1810
1811	12,596,803	5,337		6,656,105	1,440,455	1,617,600		1811
1812	12,800,000	6,576				1,495,000		1812
1813	13,000,000	7,164				980,000		1813
1814	13,200,000	6,390		6,294,581	1,746,474	285,000	932,827	1814
1815	13,420,000	7,818		5,418,846	1,702,255	423,937	222,749	1815
1816	13,640,000	9,091		5,724,839	1,503,240	320,058	17,547,565	1816
1817	13,860,000	13,932		6,910,925	1,470,400	7,991	36,495	1817
1818	14,000,000	13,567		7,870,801	1,881,466	1,336	9,564	1818
1819	14,200,000	14,254		7,691,470	1,970,016	3,094,902	705,846	1819
1820	14,300,000	13,710	18,984	7,330,256	2,226,913	119,602	4,000	1820
1821	14,391,631	13,116	13,194	6,959,249	2,557,703	42,642	471,309	1821
1822	14,600,000	12,201	12,349	6,358,702	2,940,440	..	2,139,101	1822
1823	14,800,000	12,263	8,860	5,772,958	2,231,094	18,596	4,050,250	1823
1824	15,000,000	12,698	8,210	5,736,898	1,850,612	45,605	1,704,724	1824
1825	15,200,000	12,437	14,891	5,786,989	1,740,747	43,000	3,639,551	1825
1826	15,400,000	16,164	20,900	5,928,501	2,083,221	188,000	1,973,812	1826
1827	15,600,000	17,924	28,003	6,441,088	2,269,987	21,402	4,038	1827
1828	15,850,000	16,564	26,062	6,206,000	2,084,855	1,966	51,998	1828
1829	16,140,000	18,675	31,198	6,332,410	1,911,671	..	126,406	1829
1830	16,240,000	18,107	56,907	6,829,042	2,125,772	696,004	4,093,955	1830
1831	16,539,318	19,647	83,160	6,798,888	2,649,916	627,580	1,598,536	1831
1832	16,800,000	20,821	103,140	8,662,920	2,398,966	44,526	747,264	1832
1833	17,050,000	20,072	63,527	8,279,217	2,566,601	..	1,520,914	1833
1834	17,270,000	22,451	76,222	8,338,070	2,736,717	198,304	2,091,516	1834
1835	17,480,000	20,731	44,478	7,373,807	2,394,116	75	165,817	1835
1836	17,690,000	20,984	75,417	6,364,538	2,398,796	..	980,786	1836
1837	17,800,000	23,612	72,034	5,294,506	1,507,357	3,991	234	1837
1838	18,000,000	23,004	33,222	5,186,389	1,788,410	100	289	1838
1839	18,200,000	24,451	62,207	5,613,939	1,651,158	1,733	63,258	1839
1840	18,410,000	27,187	90,743	6,014,605	1,822,607	2,155,673	18,959	1840
1841	18,600,000	27,670	118,592	6,351,823	2,348,825	..	27,176	1841
1842	18,830,000	31,309	128,344	6,552,800	2,840,347	..	1,596,366	1842
1843	19,200,000	39,891	57,212	7,085,595	3,015,147	5,529,989	..	1843
1844	19,440,000	26,542	70,686	7,066,797	3,063,608	..	..	1844
1845	19,600,000	24,303	93,501	6,791,006	2,663,145	23,720	4,535,561	1845
1846	19,850,000	25,107	129,851	6,844,241	2,488,870	..	..	1846
†† 1847	20,100,000	28,883	240,461	6,986,480	1,906,131	..	..	1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

† New Poor Law.

‡ Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

‡ Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish famine.

Years.	National Debt in each Year.	*Revenue Yearly.	National Debt in each Year in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Revenue Yearly in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Money applied Yearly to the Redemption of Debt.	Average Price of Wheat, Winch. Qr. over the Year.	Years.
	£	£		•	£	s. d.	
1792	231,537,865	19,258,814	98,526,751	8,196,240	1,558,504	47 1	1792
1793	220,614,446	19,845,705	93,720,182	8,100,287	1,631,972	49 6	1793
1794	234,034,718	20,193,074	86,670,525	7,478,916	1,872,957	54 6	1794
1795	247,877,237	19,833,520	61,204,256	4,897,165	2,143,697	81 6	1795
1796	301,881,306	21,454,724	75,462,826	5,363,682	2,639,956	80 3	1796
* 1797	355,323,774	23,126,940	114,620,572	7,460,303	3,393,214	02 0	1797
1798	414,936,331	31,035,363	151,680,123	11,494,579	4,083,164	54 0	1798
1799	423,367,547	35,602,444	112,898,012	9,493,985	4,528,568	75 8	1799
1800	447,117,164	34,145,584	70,416,876	5,378,123	4,908,379	127 0	1800
1801	447,043,449	34,113,146	69,850,545	5,330,179	5,528,315	128 6	1801
1802	522,231,786	36,364,149	157,890,085	10,856,163	6,114,033	67 3	1802
1803	528,260,642	38,609,392	176,086,880	12,869,797	6,494,694	60 0	1803
1804	515,903,318	46,176,492	158,203,889	13,384,490	6,436,929	69 6	1804
1805	573,520,932	50,847,706	197,768,942	17,533,691	9,406,866	88 0	1805
1806	593,694,287	55,796,066	134,930,519	12,680,928	9,602,658	88 0	1806
1807	601,751,071	55,339,321	154,290,531	15,215,210	10,125,419	78 2	1807
1808	604,287,474	62,998,191	112,185,288	13,616,633	10,681,579	85 3	1808
1809	614,789,091	63,719,400	115,097,913	12,022,500	11,350,691	106 0	1809
1810	624,301,996	67,144,542	111,482,927	11,990,096	12,095,977	112 0	1810
1811	635,583,448	65,173,515	117,700,634	12,069,175	13,073,577	108 0	1811
1812	661,409,958	65,037,850	112,103,383	11,023,364	14,098,842	118 0	1812
1813	740,021,535	68,718,393	121,837,251	11,458,060	16,064,057	120 0	1813
1814	762,857,236	71,134,501	177,142,879	16,737,530	14,830,057	85 0	1814
1815	816,311,930	72,210,512	214,818,931	19,055,398	14,241,307	76 0	1815
1816	796,200,196	62,264,446	194,195,170	15,188,913	13,946,117	82 0	1816
1817	776,742,403	52,065,913	133,921,104	8,975,157	14,514,457	116 0	1817
1818	791,867,314	53,747,796	161,605,374	10,908,937	15,339,484	98 0	1818
1819	794,980,180	52,648,817	203,811,148	13,499,704	16,306,590	78 0	1819
1820	801,505,110	51,282,954	210,638,289	14,284,988	17,499,773	76 0	1820
1821	790,312,767	55,534,192	221,031,765	15,727,941	17,219,957	71 0	1821
1822	796,530,141	55,663,650	300,577,413	21,005,150	18,880,319	53 0	1822
1823	791,701,612	57,972,999	277,790,019	20,341,403	7,482,325	57 0	1823
1824	781,123,222	50,382,403	216,978,672	16,469,586	10,625,050	72 0	1824
1825	774,125,265	57,273,669	185,268,634	13,636,635	6,093,475	81 0	1825
1826	788,801,739	54,894,080	214,740,202	12,710,955	5,621,291	73 0	1826
1827	777,476,890	51,932,518	310,590,736	21,073,007	5,704,766	50 0	1827
1828	772,322,610	55,187,142	217,555,645	15,545,673	4,667,065	71 8	1828
1829	771,251,932	50,786,602	290,435,248	18,467,855	2,559,485	55 4	1829
1830	757,486,097	56,056,616	236,711,696	17,517,692	4,545,465	64 10	1830
1831	751,100,549	10,424,416	260,034,672	16,008,429	1,663,093	58 3	1831
1832	751,658,881	46,988,755	289,099,570	18,072,598	5,696	52 8	1832
1833	713,675,229	46,271,326	316,457,514	19,379,719	1,023,761	47 10	1833
1834	751,658,889	46,423,283	373,829,441	23,807,827	1,776,378	39 8	1834
1835	743,675,280	45,893,169	424,957,313	26,221,925	1,270,650	35 3	1835
1836	758,549,866	48,691,180	261,569,919	16,755,580	1,690,727	57 9	1836
1837	761,422,570	50,592,653	298,597,089	19,840,256	None.	51 3	1837
1838	763,275,189	51,278,928	262,800,406	17,854,802	None.	57 11	1838
1839	761,317,690	52,058,349	223,925,791	15,311,279	Deficiency from 1837 to 1843 of 1,130,000,000 in six years.	68 7	1839
1840	766,541,680	51,693,510	235,858,978	15,907,233		05 8	1840
1841	766,371,725	52,315,433	283,811,379	19,376,086		54 6	1841
1842	774,319,913	51,120,040	336,660,831	22,226,104		49 0	1842
1843	773,068,340	56,935,022	329,865,251	24,237,608		47 4	1843
1844	771,069,858	52,913,028	336,247,764	23,005,684		46 8	1844
1845	766,672,822	52,009,324	300,656,008	20,395,813		50 10	1845
1846	761,608,284	54,473,762	289,186,253	20,175,467		54 8	1846
† 1847	777,603,818	52,082,757	222,172,519	14,880,787	2,956,683	69 9	1847

* Bank Restriction Act passed.

† New Poor Law.

‡ Income-tax imposed.

† Rank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

‡ Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish famine.

END OF VOLUME XII.

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